

‘The whole nation on one station’? National FM as a case study of radio for indigenous small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe

Tariro Ndawana

NDWTAR001

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Declaration

I, Tariro Ndawana (Student Number NDWTAR001), declare that this thesis is my own original unassisted work. I have fully acknowledged where I have used other people's works. This thesis is submitted for the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town.

It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination, or to any other university.

Signed

Signed by candidate

Date 30/5/19

Dedication

To my Uncle Jombho-John Hwacha, for he realised my academic interest.

Acknowledgements

I give glory to the Almighty God for the unmerited mercies that He has granted me all my life. It is also through God's grace that I have managed to complete this arduous and long task. This thesis is a result of assistance and support from a number of people. I would like to express my special, heartfelt and sincere gratitude to my supervisors Associate Professors Wallace Chuma and Tanja E. Bosch. Without these two's unwavering support, guidance, motivation and encouragement, this thesis would not have been a success. Their critical reading in all these years contributed immensely in working on this study.

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Abstract

Tariro Ndawana

Title- ‘The whole nation on one station’? National FM as a case study of radio for indigenous small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe

30 May 2019

This thesis is an institutional ethnography of National FM as the only PSB radio that broadcasts in all local languages. It examines the feasibility of having one radio station broadcasting in all the indigenous languages of Zimbabwe. Language rights are pivotal in human development and many countries have developed many ways that can be used to promote them. The media have also been used in preservation of language rights (AMARC, 2014). However, many minorities are deprived of their language rights. Previous research in Zimbabwe on small indigenous communities, have looked at general rights and the right to education. Available literature on radio has also studied content and concentrated on Radio Zimbabwe. This thesis explores both the promotion of language rights and the involvement of radio in the preservation of minority languages. It delves into the forces behind the production of local minority languages at National FM. The institutional ethnography encompassed the use of observation, in-depth interviews with sixteen participants and document analysis. It also used content analysis of all programmes that are Barwe, Chikunda, Doma and Hwesa which have the smallest number of speakers in the country (Hachipola, 1998; Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009).

This study proves that National FM is not fully representing all the minority languages. The political economy of the station and sociology of journalism directly affect the production. National FM, like all PSB radio stations in the country has gone commercial. Management is now focusing on generating revenue than promoting language rights. National FM broadcasts in Shona and Ndebele instead of the minority languages. ZBC management consists of Shona and Ndebele speakers and decision making is done by people who are not minority language speakers. Content analysis of the four selected languages indicates that the languages which have been dominated are still marginalized as National FM broadcasts current affairs programmes only for the selected languages. These languages are given very little broadcast time and the programmes are not interactive.

Acronyms

AFRRI	African Farm Radio Research Initiative
AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
ALCs	Active Listeners' Clubs
AMB	African Media Barometer
AMR	Africa Media Review
ANC	African National Congress
BAZ	Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BSA	Broadcasting Services Act
CORAH	Community Radio Harare
CRIs	Community Radio Initiatives
CRTV	Cameroon Radio and Television
GPA	Global Political Agreement
GNU	Government of National Unity
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
ICTs	Information Communication Technologies
IMPI	Information and Media Panel Inquiry
FRI	Farm Radio International
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MMPZ	Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe
NBC	Nigeria Broadcasting Commission
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PF ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union Patriotic Front
PSB	Public Service Broadcasting
RBC	Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation
RCLs	Radio Listeners 'Clubs
RF	Rhodesia Front

RTL	Radi Television Libre des Milles Collines
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
TOLAKO	Tonga Language Committee
UBC	Uganda Broadcasting Corporation
VETOKA	Venda, Tonga and Kalanga
VMCZ	Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe
VOA	Voice of America
VOP	Voice of the People
ZACRAS	Zimbabwe Association of Community Radio Stations
ZAMPS	Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZIMURA	Zimbabwe Music Rights Association
ZILPA	Zimbabwe Indigenous Language Promotion Association
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement

Contents

Declaration	ii
Dedication	iii
To my Uncle Jombho-John Hwacha, for he realised my academic interest	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Acronyms.....	vii
Contents	ix
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Introduction.....	1
Focal Research Question/Problem	3
Research Sub-questions	3
Rationale of the study	3
An overview of the thesis.....	6
Chapter Two: An overview of the ‘Soundscape’ of Radio in Zimbabwe	9
Introduction.....	9
Background to the present radio broadcasting system	9
Radio in the colonial era.....	13
Radio in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe	17
Radio in the GNU era.....	19
Radio in the Post GNU era.....	20
General Radio Content.....	21
Conclusion	23
Chapter Three: The Media and Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe.....	24
Introduction.....	24
The State of Indigenous Small Linguistic Communities.....	24
The Media and Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe	28
The Linguistic Condition in Zimbabwe	31
Chewa.....	34
Chikunda.....	34
Hwesa	35
Kalanga	35
Khoisan (Tshwawo)	36
Nambya	36

Ndau	37
Shangaani (Tsonga)	37
Sotho	38
Tonga.....	38
Tswana.....	39
Venda	39
Xhosa (Fingo)	40
Yao.....	40
Small Linguistic Communities and Ethnicity in National Identity	40
Conclusion	43
Chapter Four: Literature Review	45
Introduction.....	45
The Eminence of Radio.....	45
The State of Radio in Africa	48
Radio and the Public Sphere.....	52
The Question of Language.....	56
Radio and Culture	59
The ‘Janus-Faced’ Radio	61
Public Service Broadcasting in Africa	64
Public Service Broadcasting in Zimbabwe	74
Radio Programming for Minority Languages.....	77
Conclusion	81
Chapter Five: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework	82
Introduction.....	82
Sociology of Journalism.....	82
Political Economy of the Media	89
Conclusion	94
Chapter Six: Research Methodology.....	95
Introduction.....	95
Philosophical Foundations.....	96
Research Context and Participants	98
The Case Study Strategy	101
Ethnography	101
Institutional Ethnography in Production Research	103

Participant Observation.....	104
Semi-structured Interviews	106
Document Analysis.....	110
Content Analysis	111
Purposive Sampling.....	113
Methods of Data Analysis and Presentation	114
Research Ethics	114
Conclusion	115
Chapter Seven: National FM- The Organisation and its Production Units	115
Introduction	116
National FM Studios	116
The Production Units	117
Station Manager.....	117
Chief Producer	118
Executive Producers (EPs).....	119
Sources	126
Training and Qualifications.....	129
Remuneration and Working Conditions.....	131
Facilities Office.....	133
Technical Department.....	134
Library Department.....	135
The Production Process.....	136
Live Programmes.....	137
Pre-recorded Programmes	138
Conclusion	141
Chapter Eight: The Radio Station’s ‘National Content’	141
Introduction	142
Forces behind the Production of Content at National FM	142
Regulation.....	142
Censorship at all levels	144
Funding.....	146
Commercialisation	149
News in all languages	152
Current Affairs as ‘News’ for the Small Linguistic Communities	154

Magazine Programmes as ‘News’	157
Music as the Main Content on Radio	159
Promoting Audience Participation through Phone-in Programmes	160
‘Greetings in the mother tongue’	162
Sports	164
Live Commentaries.....	165
Conclusion	166
Chapter Nine: Content Analysis of Selected Languages	167
Introduction	167
Farmers’ Update	168
Health	173
Civic Education.....	175
Culture.....	177
Youth	180
Overall Analysis of the Selected Content	181
Conclusion	183
Chapter Ten: Conclusion	184
Introduction.....	184
Summary of the study	184
Findings in Relation to Research Questions	187
Limitations of the Study	190
Recommendations	191
Recommendations for further study.....	192
Conclusion	193
References.....	196
Appendix	217

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

Radio as a medium of communication has managed to serve the interests of both users and producers. Research has shown that, if it is properly managed, this medium is valuable in many spheres of life. This thesis examines how radio can be used to promote the use and survival of indigenous small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has only one radio station that broadcasts in small indigenous languages, National FM. The radio station broadcasts in 18 languages including Shona, Ndebele and English. This study analyses how National FM is representing the speakers of all the small indigenous languages that are spoken in the nation.

The study is mainly concerned with three related issues. The first and central concern is examining the practicality of having one radio station broadcasting in 18 languages. There are four public service radio stations in the country but only one radio station was mandated to broadcast in the small indigenous languages. It is of paramount importance to explore how one radio station can fully represent all those languages and satisfy the interests of all listeners. The study examines how “the whole nation” is being served by “one station”.

Related to the point above is the matter of how National FM is fulfilling its mandate of broadcasting for small indigenous linguistic communities in Zimbabwe. Broadcasting for particular people encompasses the use of the language or languages that are spoken by those particular people. This means that the research interrogates the extent to which the radio station broadcasts in the languages that are spoken by the indigenous small linguistic communities. The study examines the programming at National FM to ascertain how it uses these languages in the programmes and the frequency with which these languages are used is also explored. Both time and type of programmes that are broadcast in these languages are investigated.

At inception radio was only disseminating information without getting feedback from consumers (Fiske, 1990; Moores, 1993; Baran, 2000). It was during this period that scholars believed the media had absolute power over the audiences. As such the audiences only consumed media content. They were not involved in the production. Later and contemporary research indicate that the audiences also have a role to play in the production of media content (Chater, 2004; Dickinson, 2007).

Production of media content does not occur in a vacuum as there are a lot of forces involved (Chater, 2004; Schultz, 2005; Scannell and Cardiff, 2007). In this regard, this research is also an inquiry into how sociology of journalism, political economy and other factors affect the production of radio content at the station. Precisely, the study is also a production research that uses institutional ethnography as a means of data collection. The inquiry assesses the role of ownership, control, regulation, politics and how socio-economic factors affect the production of content for small linguistic communities at National FM.

National FM

National FM is one of ZBC's four radio stations. Like all other ZBC radio stations, National FM is presumed to be a public service broadcaster (PSB) and is supposed to disseminate information that satisfies the interests of the whole nation. The station's mission is to broadcast in all the national indigenous languages. The radio station mainly broadcasts from Mbare Studios in Harare but it also broadcasts from Montrose Studios in Bulawayo. Just like other ZBC radio stations, National FM has also embraced new technology as audiences can access it online through its live streams. However, due to poor connectivity that affects most parts of the country (IMPI Report, 2014; MISA, 2015; Africa Media Barometer, 2015) (AMB) the radio station is not accessed by many people. It also has Facebook, twitter and WhatsApp platforms. The station broadcasts for 24 hours and has a variety of programmes. As in the case of most radio stations, National FM also plays a lot of music and has talk shows and news bulletins. While the radio station is mainly administered by ZBC, it also has its own station manager who supervises its day to day operations. Similar to other ZBC radio stations, programme producers at National FM also work as presenters and duty announcers. The producers/presenters also have personal Facebook, twitter and WhatsApp accounts and these enhance social news gathering and audience participation.

The station's slogan is "*National FM: The whole nation on one station*", and this means that the radio station broadcasts in all the national languages including the small indigenous languages. While Zimbabwe has 16 official languages, National FM does not broadcast in all these languages. The small indigenous languages that are broadcast on National FM are Barwe, Chewa, Chikunda, Doma, Hwesa, Kalanga, Nambya, Khoisan/Tshawo, Ndau, Shangani, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Yao. It also broadcasts in Shona and Ndebele. The producers/presenters who work at this station are speakers of these languages and they broadcast programmes in their respective languages. The station

does not broadcast in English or any foreign languages although there are few announcements that are aired in English. In addition, all the producers/presenters are conversant in both Ndebele and Shona. There are some producers/presenters who can speak up to five languages and these are the ones who are usually assigned to cover national events as their linguistic ability allows them to interview more sources than their colleagues whose command of other languages is limited. For instance, Shangani and Chewa have three producers/presenters each while Tonga, Kalanga and Nambya have two producers/presenters each.

Focal Research Question/Problem

The study is an exploration of the feasibility of representing Zimbabwe's indigenous linguistic minority ethnic groups on National FM radio station.

Research Sub-questions

- How has National FM met its public service obligations in relation to national languages?
- How have the social, economic and political factors influenced National FM?
- How have the performance of staff, programme structure and broadcasting content contributed to National FM public service remit?

Rationale of the study

There is an existing body of literature acknowledging that attaining a homogenous national identity in Zimbabwe has remained elusive (Chiumbu 2004; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009). Just like any other postcolonial state (Nyamnjoh 2005), Zimbabwe is a country plagued by ethnicity (Msindo 2005). The media in Zimbabwe just like elsewhere, are at the nexus of mediating these ethnic differences. While existing literature on the media and ethnicity largely focuses on differences between the Ndebele and the Shona ethnic groups (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009; Ncube 2014), this study is interested in what has been termed Zimbabwe's "invisible minorities" (Muzondidya 2004).

Problems haunting nation-building and attainment of national identity attributed to ethnic differences, are incomplete without exploring Zimbabwe's ethnic minorities such as the Barwe, Doma, Chikunda and Hwesa. The role of radio or the media in general has been acknowledged in harmonising or fueling ethnic differences, depending on how the media handle these aspects. The Zimbabwean government in early 2004, following the proclamation of the Broadcasting Services Act in 2001 (BSA, 2001),

bestowed on National FM the mandate to cater for minority languages in an attempt to balance national interests. Through civic society groups, small linguistic communities have been complaining about poor representation in language planning as well as in the constitution. Since the attainment of independence in 1980 English, Shona and Ndebele had been dominating as official languages. It was only in 2013 that the Zimbabwean constitution included minority languages as official languages. Furthermore, 2014 became a turning point in the history of the marginalised communities in the education sector as Tonga was examined at Ordinary Level for the first time. Other languages are now taught up to secondary school level. Another historic phase in the lives of the indigenous linguistic communities was witnessed in 2017 following the introduction of TV news in Kalanga, Nambya, Ndau, Venda, Sotho, and Shangani.

National FM is supposed to be a public service radio station which is a system of broadcasting set up by law and premised to operate under minimal editorial interference. However, the Zimbabwe BSA (2001) does not make provision for editorial independence. Like other PSB radio stations in Zimbabwe, National FM broadcasts content that is mainly guided by the ZBC. Public service broadcasting is financed partly by public funds raised through compulsory licence fees that are levied on owners of radio (and television) sets. This funding regime makes the public service broadcaster answerable to the public and the content of its broadcasts should be in the public interest. ZBC as a public service broadcaster should be guided by the public interest in its operations rather than government directives. Furthermore, National FM also relies on advertising revenue as a source of funding and this makes it liable to the influence of market forces. Different scholars have come up with different principles, tenets or characteristics of public service broadcasting and there is no agreement about the basic principles. For example, McQuail (2010:178) argues, “There has never been a generally accepted ‘theory’ of public service and different national variants have somewhat different versions of the rationale and logic of operation.” Before independence, the Rhodesian government controlled and manipulated radio which was operating as a public service broadcaster. Upon independence in 1980, the Zimbabwe government inherited radio and only changed the name from Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation to Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation but the system remained the same. The ZANU PF government has always controlled broadcasting although many critics such as civil society movements and opposition parties have been protesting against it. A number of studies were carried out in relation to radio operations in Zimbabwe and the researchers concluded that the

regulatory policies and state intervention are prohibiting the radio personnel from performing their basic role of mediation (Chiumbu, 2009; Ndlela, 2007; 2010; Moyo, 2010; Windrich, 2010).

The South African situation is important to note when discussing broadcasting. During apartheid, broadcasting was state-owned and was used as a propaganda tool for the ruling elite. In preparation for the transition from apartheid to multi-party democracy, the then ruling National Party and the main opposition African National Congress (ANC) held debates about how the SABC was going to operate during the transition as well as after the elections. Contradicting discussions and decisions were based on the funding, administration, operations and programming of PSB (Mbaine, 2003; Nyamnjoh, 2003; Teer- Tomaseli, 2008, 2018; Duncan and Glenn, 2010). For them, PSB should have qualities that make it a public sphere and commercialisation and politics should not interfere with program content. Teer- Tomaseli (2008) says that the transition period was marred with a lot of problems associated with funding mechanisms, “social and cultural adjustments” (89), structural issues, political interference and self-censorship among others. Just as it was in South Africa, the subject of this study, National FM, is also supposed to be a PSB, which can also be influenced by external factors and therefore it is crucial to explore if these do affect productions.

However, given that there are around 18 recognised “minority” languages, this study is an attempt to explore the feasibility of integrating and representing these minority “national” languages in one radio station. Foucault (1980) has argued that representations are a game of power. This thesis thus proposes to unpack power discourses implicit in the representation of these minority languages. Moreover, political economy scholars (e.g. Picard 1989; Mosco, 2008) have asserted that the media operate as business entities in a dual market where advertisers and audiences’ needs must be balanced. From this viewpoint it is critical for this thesis to explore how National FM is influenced by “market forces “but still potentially remains focused in fulfilling its obligations.

Radio is very popular the world over and in developing countries it is most often used to disseminate information. “Radio has remained the top medium in Africa” (Mano, 2011:102) and it is through this background that the researcher has decided to study National FM. There is a considerable amount of research that has been conducted on the state of “minority” languages in Zimbabwe, but these focus on language planning and the education sector (Hachipola, 1998; Ndlovu, 2007; Magwa, 2008; Makoni, Makoni and Nyika, 2008; Gondo, 2009). Nyika (2008) admits that little has been done in

terms of studying how the media are used to promote “minority” languages and he recommends further study in this area. Maseko and Ndlovu (2013) give a general overview of how indigenous languages are represented in the media but they did not look at any specific medium or any particular languages.

National FM was established to provide broadcast services to local small linguistic communities, compelling the one radio station to apportion time slots to the 18 indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe. There are no community radio stations in the country and the public service radio stations that are operating mainly target the mainstream communities. It is under this background that the research examines the radio station’s content as well as carry out an institutional ethnography of the station.

An overview of the thesis

The thesis consists of ten chapters. The first chapter introduces the thesis while the second chapter discusses the background information to the thesis, i.e. an overview of radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe from the colonial era. This chapter starts by examining how the colonial government operated radio broadcasting, exploring issues related to ownership, control, funding and the content that was broadcast for blacks as well as whites. It also examines the use of language and the personnel who worked at the station. The power relations that transpired during this epoch are also explored in relation to the content as well as the people who worked as broadcasters. It examines the transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe and explores whether the difference in ownership also entailed difference in the production and dissemination of content. Furthermore, the chapter debates the radio broadcasting arena in the Government of National Unity (GNU, 2009 to 2013) era and the period after.

The third chapter is an analysis of the linguistic situation in Zimbabwe and how the media are involved in promoting the survival of the small indigenous languages. The first part of the chapter presents an overview of the state of linguistic communities while the second segment deliberates on the correlation between the media and small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe’s linguistic condition is examined in the third section and this is where the demographics of the small indigenous languages of the country are discussed. The last part of the chapter explores the connection between national identity and language rights.

Chapter four comprises reviews of related literature. This study is located in production research and it analyses both the process of producing content and the content itself. It examines works that are grounded in radio broadcasting from different perspectives. These are the public sphere, culture, language, the strength and pitfalls of using radio as a medium of communication and other related issues. The chapter also debates the state of radio in Africa as well as how different scholars view the operations of the so-called public service radio stations in Africa. Scholars agree that there is no pure public service broadcasting (Hills, 2003; Berger, 2009; McQuail, 2010; AMB, 2014).

The fifth chapter discusses the theoretical and conceptual framework. It deliberates on sociology of journalism and political economy of the media. This sector of the chapter explores how power struggles affect the production of radio content. It interrogates the involvement of the government and market forces in the production of programmes for small indigenous language communities at National FM. Political economy of the media is also related to sociology of journalism as both affect production of media content. Sociology of journalism discusses how the society in which the media product is manufactured affects the type of creation. These concepts are both pivotal in the study as they assist in analysing how radio content at National FM is manufactured in an economically and politically unstable environment.

Methodology is discussed in the sixth chapter and the first section discusses the research design. The study chose the case study approach as it is best suited for a production research (Silverman, 2000; Robson, 2002). The second part of the chapter discusses how the study purposively sampled four languages for thorough analysis. The use of ethnography in data collection is also discussed in the second segment. Furthermore, the section discusses in detail how the researcher used semi structured interviews, participant observation, document analysis and content analysis of the radio programmes for the selected languages. The third section of the chapter deliberates on how the study used discourse analysis to analyse data. The last part of the chapter reflects on the ethical considerations that were pivotal in carrying out this study.

Research findings for this study are discussed in three chapters, which are chapters seven, eight and nine. Chapter Seven discusses the organisation's production units at National FM and how each one

of them is involved in the production of radio content. Chapter Eight explores the station's general content including programmes that are broadcast in Shona, Ndebele and English. The next part examines the news, sports and music sections as well as the use of language in these programmes.

Chapter Nine presents a detailed analysis of the current affairs programmes for four selected languages. It also explores the nature of the programmes and the participation of the listeners in programmes. Information related to length of programmes, time of broadcasting, sources of information and type of presentation is analysed here. This chapter is crucial in this study as it gives a thorough assessment of content that is specifically produced for a particular group of people.

The last chapter presents the concluding remarks. This chapter comments on the whole project, paying particular attention to the research questions, the methodology and the major findings. It also discusses recommendations to ZBC, the government and suggestions for further research. The chapter also makes recommendations to the indigenous small linguistic communities to be more vibrant in their advocacy for the promotion and preservation of their mother languages.

Chapter Two: An overview of the ‘Soundscape’ of Radio in Zimbabwe

Introduction

While this study is chiefly centred on the feasibility of having one radio station broadcasting in 18 languages, it is also crucial to examine Zimbabwe’s radio broadcasting arena. This chapter briefly explores the country’s broadcasting system from the time white settlers introduced radio broadcasting in the country (1932) to the period of Mugabe’s reign (2017). The first section of the chapter discusses the background and the radio stations that are found in the country and how they operate. The second part of the chapter chronicles the radio broadcasting system and content from the colonial era to the Mugabe regime. It examines the funding, control patterns, content, language and the regulation of radio in relation to content.

Background to the present radio broadcasting system

Radio in Zimbabwe is mainly composed of two types of broadcasting systems which are commercial and state controlled. The government and its statutory regulations purport that the Zimbabwe broadcasting field consists of three classifications of broadcasting. These are public service, commercial and community broadcasting as stipulated by the African Charter on Broadcasting (2001). The charter encourages African governments to have what is known as the three-tier system of broadcasting.¹ While the Broadcasting Services Act of 2001 stipulates that the country should have the three-tier system, the country does not have a single community radio station. Instead, there are registered Community Radio Initiatives (CRIs) which were set up to prepare for the operations of community radio stations when they are licenced.

Presently, Zimbabwe has four PSB radio stations which are rather state run and state controlled². Radio broadcasting is dominated by ZBC which operates these four radio channels which broadcast for 24 hours. These include Classic 263 (formally Spot FM and Radio One), Radio Zimbabwe (formally Radio Two), Power FM (formally Radio Three) and National FM (formally Radio 4). Spot FM and Power FM mainly broadcast in English although the broadcasters sometimes speak in Ndebele and

¹ Other countries have got their own versions of three tier systems.eg India has the local, international and regional.

² More information on these will be discussed in the ensuing paragraphs.

Shona. Power FM is more into commercial broadcasting than the other three. Radio Zimbabwe and National FM both broadcast in main vernacular languages. However, National FM goes further to broadcast in the small local languages.

Two national commercial radio stations, Zi FM Stereo and Star FM were licenced in 2011 and started operating in 2012. However, their proprietorship is questionable (MISA, 2013; AMB, 2013). AB (African Business) Communications which is owned by Supa Mandiwanzira, who is a staunch ZANU PF supporter owns Zi FM Stereo. He is also the Minister of Communication Technology. Star FM is owned by Zimpapers, an organisation in which the government owns 51% shares. This is disparaged by many critics and activists who are of the view that the government still has control over radio broadcasting (AMR, 2015; MISA, 2015; MMPZ, 2015; VMCZ, 2015). These radio stations mainly broadcast in English, Shona and Ndebele although Star FM sometimes has Shangani, Venda, Chewa and Tonga broadcasts. It does not have real programmes in these languages.

In March 2015 the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) issued local commercial radio broadcasting licences to eight companies. Their transmission covers a radius of between 40 and 80 kilometres. These commercial radio stations are community based and when some of them were launched the broadcasters misled listeners by telling them that they were community radio stations.³ The ownership of the newly licenced radio stations has raised eyebrows among critics and members of the civil society. Zimpapers⁴, which owns Star FM, was awarded another licence to operate Diamond FM which broadcasts in Mutare. Diamond FM also broadcasts in Ndau, Hwesa and Barwe. Zimpapers also owns Capitalk 100.4 FM which broadcasts in Harare. This indicates that the government is still in charge of the media in the country (MISA, 2015; AMR, 2015). These radio stations, like their sister radio station Star FM, also disseminate ZANU PF propaganda.

Another organisation, AB (African Business) Communications, which runs Zi FM Stereo, was given two licences for Gogogoi FM and FAYA FM (now called 98.4 FM Midlands) broadcasting in Masvingo and Gweru respectively. BAZ also licensed Fairtalk Communications' two stations which

³ This information was gathered from news clips from both Ya FM and Diamond FM on their launch.

⁴ Zimpapers is the largest media company in the country. It has more than ten newspapers including the most popular Sunday Mail and The Herald. It also owns three radio stations. The government owns fifty-one percent of the organization.

are: Breeze FM that broadcasts in Victoria Falls and Skyz Metro FM in Bulawayo. Fairtalk Communications is co-owned by popular local film and drama production specialist Cont Mhlanga and Qhubani Moyo who is a Zimbabwe Electoral Commissioner. Cont Mhlanga has been producing entertainment programmes for ZBC for a very long time now. His content has been agreeable with ZBC and the government expectations and this can mean that he has links with the ruling elite. His counterpart's involvement with the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) might also mean that Qhubani Moyo also has associations with the ruling elite. In relation to the issue of vernacular language development, Fairtalk Communications' Breeze FM has brought a change to the broadcasting arena. While Breeze FM mainly broadcasts in English, Shona and Ndebele, it also broadcasts in languages that are spoken around Victoria Falls and Hwange as it covers an 80kilometre radius like other community based radio stations (MISA, 2015; MMPZ, 2015; AMR, 2015). Breeze FM also broadcasts in Chewa, Nambya and Tonga.

Another company licensed is Ray of Hope trading as YA FM, which broadcasts from Zvishavane. It is owned by former ZBC chief executive Munyaradzi Hwengwere and this also shows that the newly licenced radio stations are likely to be used as instruments to maintain the status quo (MISA, 2015). The chief executive officer of YA FM has strong allegiance to the ruling party and government and critics argue that the station is not likely going to bring any alternative voices (AMR, 2015; MMPZ, 2015). State-owned Kingstones won two licences for KE100.4 FM and Nyaminyami FM, which are broadcasting in Harare and Kariba respectively. While Nyaminyami FM broadcasts in English, Shona and Ndebele, it also broadcasts in Chewa and Tonga. This accords the Tonga in both Zimbabwe and Zambia a chance to participate in the radio programmes. The station plays a lot of music and has phone-in programmes. However, KE 100.4 only broadcasts in English and main vernacular languages.

The issuance of licences to the community based commercial radio stations is not in any way different from the national commercial ones as the same proprietors were given licences and the same content is being broadcast (VMCZ, 2015; ZACRAS, 2015). Like the national commercial radio stations, these were also licenced to ZANU PF supporters (MISA, 2015; MMPZ, 2015). All the radio stations are broadcasting in English and the main vernacular languages except for Diamond FM and Nyaminyami FM, which sometimes broadcast in the small indigenous languages. Like in other African countries, the media are still in the hands of the government (Mbaine, 2003; Myres, 2009). Many civic organisations' comment show disgruntlements over the ownership structures of these new stations

(MISA, 2015; VMCZ, 2015; ZACRAS, 2015). For instance, the (Information and Media Panel Inquiry) IMPI⁵ Report (2014:54) says, “The licencing of new radio stations by the BAZ has been perceived as unfair as the shareholders of the organisations that were awarded were viewed as sympathetic to the ruling party”. The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Zimbabwe chapter also argues that this ploy by the government was an exhibition of insincerity in its initiative of freeing the airwaves. The proprietors of the new radio stations are aligned to the ruling party and are just an extension of the already existing ones (MISA, 2015). Nyathi (2015:1) also comments:

Zimbabwe's broadcasting industry is still controlled by the ruling Zanu PF party.... But the metropolitan radio licences which were handed over on Tuesday by the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) were handed to companies linked to President Robert Mugabe's ruling Zanu PF party and the government.

This scenario is not only peculiar to Zimbabwe as the AMB (2013) postulates that in Angola, Zambia and Cameroon, owners of private media are linked to the government. The issue of lack of pluralism and independence in commercialisation of the media is also echoed by Barker (2001:13) in the statement: “In a commercial media landscape, pluralism and independence are not necessarily mutually inclusive”. The commercial radio stations appear to be plural but the ownership structure is similar and the content lacks diversity as the proprietors have the same political interests.

All the commercial and PSB radio stations broadcast on the FM band. The allocation, maintaining and monitoring of these frequencies is done by Transmedia⁶, which is an organisation that is responsible for the technical and engineering services of broadcasting in Zimbabwe. There are also clandestine radio stations which are termed “pirate” by the government. These operate from outside the country using the amplitude modulation and short wave because of their strength in beaming to very long distances and difficulty in jamming (Chignell, 2009). They include Voice of America's Studio 7, Radio VOP and the now defunct SW Radio Africa. Audience studies have shown that these radio stations have a wider listenership in Zimbabwe especially because most remote parts of the country do not receive FM transmission (IMPI Report, 2014; AMB, 2015; MISA, 2015; MMPZ, 2015). Moyo, 2010; Mhiripiri, 2011; Moyo, 2012).

⁵ The IMPI Report is an account of the investigation on the condition of information and the media industry in Zimbabwe. The research was carried out in 2014 by media academics, practitioners and artists.

⁶ Transmedia is a government organisation that is responsible allocating and monitoring frequencies.

Radio in the colonial era

Radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe has been a contested terrain since its introduction in the 1930s in the then colonial Rhodesia (Kupe, 2003; Moyo, 2004; Willems, 2010). The radio history of the country stretches from the colonial era where different colonial regimes or administrations ruled the country under the governorship of Britain and later Ian Smith. Unlike Western scholars Shaw (2009) and Moyo and Mutsvairo (2018) are of the view that communication and communication technologies were there in Africa before colonisation. They gave examples of the use of folk tales, music, dance and the use of village criers. The African broadcasting system used English and main vernacular languages (Mosia, Riddle & Zaffiro, 1994; Windrich, 2010; Ndlovu, 2016). Because of the inequalities that have continuously been prevalent in society, small linguistic communities have always had an unequal representation in even cultural aspects like being allowed to use their own languages (Batibo, 2005; Nhongo, 2013). Radio in former Rhodesia did not have programmes in the indigenous small linguistic communities except for Chewa.

According to Miller (2007) radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe began in 1932, when stations were opened in Salisbury and Bulawayo. However, serious and organised radio started in 1953 when the Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was created. It consisted of present-day Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. During this period, broadcasting in the three countries was operated by the Federal Broadcasting Corporation which was set up in 1958. It was modelled on the BBC and it existed until the end of 1963 when the Federation was dissolved prior to the independence of Malawi and Zambia. Southern Rhodesia then became a separate country, and the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) was formed.

The colonial broadcasting period is divided into three phases (Zaffiro, 2002; Windrich, 2010; Ndlovu, 2016). In the first phase, radio broadcasting was controlled by the British government through the British Broadcasting Corporation. While London was responsible for the governing of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), it allowed the country's occupants to listen to radio. Radio broadcasting was initially only meant for the white settlers. The indigenous people, the natives in colonial parlance, were then not involved in radio broadcasting. English was the only language that was used and the content that was broadcast was meant for the whites only. Communication was only meant to

spearhead the lives of the white minority who lived in the country (Zaffiro, 2002; Moyo, 2004; Windrich, 2010). The colonial masters only used radio to satisfy their hunger for knowledge about what was happening back home and in other colonies.

During the Federation of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi), radio continued to be one of the vibrant media of communication. It however, did not only cater for the white minority but also had broadcasts for the Africans. During this period (1953- 1964) radio broadcasting catered for both the white minority and black majority. There was a European station that broadcast from Salisbury, which is now called Harare. This station used English language and it only broadcast information that promoted colonial ideologies (Zaffiro, 2002; Moyo, 2004). Dissenting white minority voices were suppressed and were never given the chance to air out their sentiments. The African broadcasting station was based in Lusaka, Zambia, and the African Rhodesian listeners got radio broadcasting in their vernacular languages. While the use of vernacular languages is commendable, the issue of the involvement of all African languages is questionable. Available literature (Zaffiro, 2002; Windrich, 2010; Ndlovu, 2016) gives emphasis on the use of radio in propagating colonial ideologies and does not discuss the use of all local languages. The scholars commend the use of vernacular languages by the settlers but the dispute of only promoting major vernacular languages is overlooked. This shows that colonialism also hindered the promotion of small linguistic communities. This can be further illustrated by the demarcation of major and minor Zimbabwean languages by Doke in 1933 (Hachipola, 1998). Although statistics indicate that Shona and Ndebele are the most widely spoken languages in the country, Doke's study overlooked the use of Chewa which is also spoken by many people (Hachipola, 1998; Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009). The relevance of Chewa in the media was also seen during the Federation as broadcasts from Zambia were also done in Chewa (Banda, 2003; Myres, 2009). The Chewa people are also found in Zambia and Malawi and Hachipola (1998) further expounds on how the Chewa people have occupied many parts of farming and mining areas of Zimbabwe. However, when the federation collapsed after the attainment of independence by Malawi and Zambia, Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation stopped Chewa broadcasts.

During the early days of radio in Rhodesia, broadcasting was only done by white trained personnel (Zaffiro, 2002; Windrich, 2010). When they later realised the need for the Africans to receive radio

broadcasts, the colonial ‘masters’ then trained African radio personnel. The main vernacular language speakers were the only ones selected and this left out the small indigenous languages. According to Windrich (2010), these local radio broadcasters received training before they joined the service. This is unlike what happened when Zimbabwe’s Radio 4 was renamed National FM and mandated to broadcast in small indigenous languages. There was no single trained radio journalist when National FM was launched in 2004. The broadcasters got employment because of their being conversant in the languages. However, information gathered in this study indicates that presently National FM is one of the radio stations with the highest number of radio professionals in the country. The personnel now have journalism certificates, diplomas, general and master’s degrees. It is quite pertinent to note that BBC has always valorised training of radio journalists as it has continued to sponsor and facilitate the training of radio broadcasters in developing countries (MISA, 2015; AMB, 2015). Back then in Rhodesia, the radio broadcasters were trained but this was only done to promote the major vernacular languages. The local small linguistic communities were always segregated in the media, education, and religion, in government and in the social sector. For instance, there is very little literature on many of these languages and some do not have any (Ndlovu, 2009; Mpofu, 2013; Nhongo, 2013).

During the Federation, radio broadcasting also involved listeners as they also participated in radio production. The broadcasters would give recorders to African administration officers who would ask listeners to comment on issues that they would have listened to (Windrich, 2010). This could be one of the basis for the BBC’s values of media having the mandate to “educate, entertain and inform” (Scannell, 2007). The BBC African Services radio would then disseminate information on development and no critical political and social issues were discussed. It therefore meant that listeners only participated in educational broadcasts they received and like other matters, only main vernacular language speakers were involved.

Radio broadcasting was not meant for listeners to give their opinions on governance issues (Zaffiro, 2002; Moyo, 2004; Windrich, 2010). These were only allowed to comment on developmental and trivial issues. Even the European station thwarted any dissenting voices from both whites and blacks. Broadcasters for Southern Rhodesia were taken to Lusaka to work in the radio studios. These Africans were later blamed for using subversive vernacular language to disseminate anticolonial messages. This is similar to what was established by Odhiambo (2011) and Lekgoathi, (2011) in Kenya and South Africa respectively. In the former, the radio presenters used humorous vernacular language to air out

the weaknesses of the ruling elite. In the latter case, the presenters used deep and subversive Sotho to ridicule the evils of apartheid.

The third phase of Rhodesia's colonial epoch is when Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front (RF) came into power and he declared independence from Britain- Unilateral Declaration of Independence (1965). The RF further used the radio to thwart opposition from both whites and blacks who were against his government. Like in the previous epochs, radio was used as the government's mouthpiece and it was used to spread anti-communist propaganda. During this period radio broadcasting for both European and African stations was based in Harare and RBC used trained broadcasters who were supposed to follow instructions from the Minister of Information (Frederiske, 1982; Zaffiro, 2002; Moyo, 2004; Windrich, 2010). In this period the RF government had increased its grip on broadcasting as it feared for its hold on to power due to the escalation in African nationalism. This was exacerbated by the fact that most of the SADC countries, except South Africa and Namibia, had gained independence and were helping in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle.

This meant that the RF government had to have total control of the radio. It was after Smith's UDI that nationalist movements intensified and radio operations were then monitored. Before independence there was a historic period that affected radio operations. This is the period when Muzorewa connived with Smith and there were elections which were boycotted by other nationalist movements. Muzorewa won the elections and many critics argue that Muzorewa was Smith's puppet and the country was named Zimbabwe Rhodesia but the government only lasted six months. In this era radio was still used as a government mouthpiece. When the country got independent in 1980 after Mugabe and ZANU PF won elections, radio continued to be used for propaganda purposes.

Furthermore, radio broadcasting in the colonial era comprised clandestine radio stations which broadcast from as far as Egypt and Russia. After the attainment of independence by some SADC countries, the radio stations were also operating from Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique. The main anti-colonial political parties; ZANU PF and PF ZAPU had each a radio station that operated from neighbouring countries. The ZANU PF radio station was called Voice of Zimbabwe and it operated from Mozambique and Tanzania. Voice of the Revolution, which was broadcasting from Zambia, belonged to PF ZAPU. The ZANU PF led government later revived Voice of Zimbabwe from 2004 to 2014. The colonial government had to ensure that it broadcast information to counter what came from the unregistered radio stations (Frederiske, 1982; Windrich, 2010; Ndlovu, 2016).

To do this the government invited traditional leaders to disseminate colonial propaganda. These guests were asked to talk about the fruits of colonialism and the evils that were being committed by the liberation movements. They also talked about how the freedom fighters were mercilessly killing people, stealing, raping and doing all sorts of bad deeds. Furthermore, news from the radio and other government sources reiterated that the freedom fighters were losing in all battles and were being encouraged to surrender. The radio also inflated the number of casualties on the part of the freedom fighters where they could exaggerate up to a ratio of one government soldier to 20 freedom fighters (Windrich, 2010). The RF government also jammed the external broadcasting systems but they did not fully succeed as the pirate radio stations used the short wave system which is difficult to block. While all this information was broadcast in vernacular languages and English, there is no mention of the use of small indigenous languages in any of the broadcasts. This suggests that the local small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe have always been inadequately represented in all sectors of life from time immemorial (Batibo, 2001; Nyika, 2007; Ndlovu, 2009).

Radio broadcasting in the then Rhodesia became very tense in the last days of the war. During this period censorship became rife. Even though the journalists were trained they still had to work under maximum supervision from the responsible ministry (Frederiske 1982, Zaffiro, 2002; Windrich, 2010), which went on to write scripts that ensured that the ideologies that were disseminated promoted and protected the interests of the ruling party. The government had to monitor everything that was broadcast and some programmes were cancelled and replaced with music or documentaries. As time went on, the journalists practiced self-censorship where they would use their instincts to select what and how to broadcast and what to leave out. During this period, it was a matter of using diction and register to ensure that the listeners received the intended messages.

Radio in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe

A number of studies have indicated that the attainment of Zimbabwe's independence led to a lot of reforms in the political and socio-economic arena. However, the transformation from RBC to ZBC was just a "cosmetic" change as the system of broadcasting remained in place (Zaffiro, 2002; Moyo, 2004; Windrich, 2010). The country inherited the Rhodesia Broadcasting Act of 1957, which guaranteed that the state broadcasting corporation operated as a legally protected monopoly. Scholars agree that the change was also manifest only in the people who were employed, the employers and the kind of propaganda that was used. While the RF government was disseminating anticommunist

propaganda, the ZANU-PF government disseminated anti-imperialist philosophies. ZBC used untrained broadcasters who had been working for the clandestine liberation movements' radio stations that were working from outside the country during the armed struggle. These were inexperienced and only had basic training.

Zimbabwe experienced civil unrest two years after the attainment of independence when the two liberation movements, ZANU PF and PF ZAPU, revolted against one another. There was a lot of bloodshed in Matabeleland and some parts of Midlands province. During this period radio was not only used to disseminate government propaganda but it was also used to broadcast hate speech (Eppel, 2004; Muzondidya, 2004; Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2009; Mhlanga, 2013; Ndlovu, 2016). The hate speech was targeted towards the Ndebele people and those who sympathised with them. Music, news, current affairs programmes and others all contained information that portrayed the Ndebele as a bloodthirsty tribe. After the signing of the Unity Accord (1987) between ZANU PF and PF ZAPU, the hate speech was then directed at opposition political parties like Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM). Radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe was mainly used as a government mouthpiece and as a propaganda tool to disseminate the ruling party's philosophies. When National FM was established in 2004 it also broadcast this caliber of content in the small indigenous languages.

Civic organisations and the general public complained of government monopoly over broadcasting and lobbied for the freeing of the airwaves (MISA, 2007; MMPZ, 2008). The call to free the airwaves was not taken seriously by the government until 2000 and Windrich (2010:82) posits,

The move to free the airwaves was initiated by Capitol Radio, a group of independent broadcasters...the group intended to broadcast a mixed programme of news, current affairs and popular music, its efforts were aborted after only a couple of broadcasts...

Chiumbu (2009:41) also says that Capitol Radio challenged ZBC's monopoly in the Supreme Court and after that incident there were some changes in the legal system, which resulted in the enactment of the Broadcasting Services Act (BSA 2001). From 2001 the government of Zimbabwe has been assumed to be advocating the inclusion of diverse voices in the broadcasting industry through the BSA. However, since the enactment of this law no single broadcaster had been licenced to operate a radio station until 2011. This was done after the BSA had an amendment which did not have a provision which prohibited cross ownership. Chuma (2010), Moyo (2010), Ndlela (2007) and Chiumbu (2009) are in agreement about the fact that after the amendments of 2011 BSA created conditions for new

broadcasters to enter the field. The issue of the use of small indigenous languages in radio broadcasting was not debated on in the period just after the attainment of independence. This could be attributed to the fact that the small linguistic languages were not taught at school and they were also not officially recognised.

The Broadcasting Services Act of 2001(BSA) also did not allow other players though there were constant calls urging the state to free the airwaves (Moyo, 2004; Ndlela, 2007). The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation Commercialisation Act (2001) stipulates that the state is the only shareholder of ZBC and this gave it monopoly over all broadcasting in the country. Just after independence, the Zimbabwean government managed to increase the number of state-run radio stations from two that were operating in the colonial era to five.

Radio content praised the different ruling party initiatives like the land repossession and there were partial reports on what really transpired. Radio was used as an instrument to defend and propagate what was happening in the farms (Moyo, 2010; Moyo, 2012; MISA, 2015). There was agenda setting where the radio concentrated on broadcasting information about gains of the liberation struggle, the land and constantly reminding listeners about the import of ZANU PF in the country. ZBC radio stations have been the platform through which the government promotes its policies (Ndawana and Muromo, 2012; Mudavanhu, 2014).

Due to the proliferation of unlicensed radio stations that opposed ZANU PF, the government set up a shortwave radio station called Voice of Zimbabwe. It was a news station based in Gweru and broadcast more propaganda for the ruling party. It mainly catered for people who are outside Zimbabwe and want to hear the Zimbabwean story from the Zimbabwean perspective. The radio station was not on air for 24 hours like the other stations. It broadcast in the morning and evening so that the intended Western audiences could have clear transmission. Critics argue that the radio station was an extension of ZBC radio stations as it also churned out ZANU PF propaganda (MISA, 2010; MMPZ, 2010). They also blamed ZANU PF of using government resources for its political campaign.

Radio in the GNU era

The Government of National Unity (GNU) or Inclusive Government (IG) was in charge of governance in Zimbabwe from 2009 to 2013 after the signing of the power-sharing deal known as the Global Political Agreement (GPA) between ZANU PF and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) factions. From the attainment of independence until November 2011 when two private radio stations

were awarded operating licences, radio broadcasting has been controlled by the government (MISA, 2015; AMR, 2015). However, the new players who entered the broadcasting field during the GNU era are not in any way different from the already existing broadcasters. They did not offer any alternative voice; they rather reinforced the propagation of the ruling party viewpoints. All the new radio stations including the two new commercial radio stations which were licenced during the GNU were aligned to the ruling party.

During this period radio was controlled by ZANU PF. The GPA castigated the use of hate speech by the government-controlled media. However, ZANU PF continued to do this with the news centred on the president and his party. ZANU PF used radio to castigate MDC parties and their leaders. Radio was still owned and controlled by ZANU PF despite the fact that it was a multiparty government. ZANU PF used radio as a platform to campaign for the 2013 elections and the opposition parties were never given the chance to use the PSB radio stations. The two privately owned commercial radio stations also propagated ZANU PF ideologies and did not allow opposition parties to use the radio stations for their political communication.

Radio in the Post GNU era

Radio is a popular media information platform in Zimbabwe (Ndlela, 2007; Mano, 2010) as 35 percent of the population prefer to use it in comparison with other media (IMPI Report, 2014). The licenced broadcast media in Zimbabwe do not follow the bifurcated structure of the print media where the publicly owned newspapers have an editorial slant that appears to be in support of the government and ruling party while the privately owned press looks like it sympathises with the opposition (Ndlela, 2009; Moyo, 2012). The beginning of 2015 witnessed the licencing of eight commercial radio stations which were likely to abet the already functional commercial radio stations and the PSB ones that have been operating in the country (MISA, 2015). Although section 7 subsection 2 paragraph (b) of the BSA has provisions for the licencing of community broadcasters there are still no community radio stations.

Zimbabwe only has PSB and commercial radio but does not have community radio stations. Community radio plays a pivotal role in human development (Bosch, 2003, 2011, Buckley, 2008; Gordon, 2012 etc.). Community radio can broadcast programmes on farming and how it can enhance development in society. The government of Zimbabwe has not granted any radio operating licences to

the many applicants who want to set up community radio stations (ZACRAS, 2015; MMPZ, 2015; MISA, 2015). This may be caused by the fact that the government does not trust those who want to setup the stations. The AMB Zimbabwe Report (2013:38) posits, “They suspect that community radio stations have a political agenda not sympathetic to... ZANU PF and that this could lead to ‘regime change’”. Because of that, there are no community radio stations in Zimbabwe but only Community Radio Initiatives (CRIs), which operate as trusts. Examples are Radio Dialogue in Bulawayo, Community Radio Harare (CORAH), Wezhira in Masvingo, Nkabazwe FM in Gweru, Kwelaz in Kwekwe, (MISA Zimbabwe, 2013, ZACRAS, 2012). Lack of licencing resulted in these stations broadcasting without real transmission but through roadcasting, the internet, messages over mobile phones as well as recording, distribution and playing of radio programmes using compact discs. Since this is not real transmission, some audiences do not get immediate information as in “real” radio. These, however, have been acting as the alternative media for Zimbabwe although they do not cover much ground and some are based in urban areas only (Mhiripiri, 2011; Moyo, 2012; Chuma, 2013).

Other alternative voices come from on-line radio stations which are very popular (Moyo, 2012; Chuma, 2013). Examples are former SW Radio Africa, Radio VOP and Nehanda Radio. British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Voice of America’s Studio 7 (which has news broadcasts in English as well as Shona and Ndebele, the main vernacular languages in the country) are very crucial in radio broadcasting. Those who want alternative voices on radio news tune into Studio 7 which uses short wave and covers all parts of the country. Furthermore, the technical limitations associated with loss of transmission signals has resulted in some listeners relying on Studio 7 (AMB 2013; MISA Zimbabwe, 2013; ZAMPS, 2013; IMPI Report, 2014). According to the IMPI Report, (2014) ZBC blames Transmedia for this failure, while Transmedia laments the scarcity of funding. The IMPI report also states that Zimbabweans who live in places which are presumed to be ZANU PF’s strongholds listen to Studio 7 because it is the only radio that is available to them. Even the new commercial radio stations do not cover the whole of the country and Zi FM covers 70% of the country (IMPI Report, 2014).

General Radio Content

In Zimbabwe, radio primarily broadcasts local content and this is usually in English and local languages (AMB 2013; IMPI Report 2014). Like all radio stations in Africa, Zimbabwe’s radio content is predominantly music (Mano, 2009) and it constitutes 70 percent of broadcast time (IMPI Report,

2014). However, as discussed earlier, the subject of quality is relative and it has been comprehended that Zimbabwe radio listeners have varying interests so they select different radio stations for different reasons (Mano, 2007). The predicament that is faced by Zimbabwean radio listeners is that they do not have a wide variety to choose from; the PSB radio stations are partially commercial and the newly licenced radio stations are also commercial. Furthermore, due to their ownership patterns the radio stations produce similar programmes. Hills (2003:38) echoes the same sentiments when she says, “Commercialisation exacerbates the trend towards uniformity because advertisers want larger audiences and commercial broadcasters look to their audience share in order to sell advertising.” Private radio stations only aim to get profit at the expense of quality.

ZBC’s music policy is to play songs that purport to espouse national values while at the same time educating, entertaining and informing and it is also supposed to support the government in power (Nyakunu, 2005). Most of the music that has been played on radio has been promoting ZANU PF ideologies in the guise of national values. During the celebration and commemoration of some national events like Independence, Heroes’ Day, Defence Forces Day and Unity Day revolutionary songs are aired. Most of the music played is local as stipulated by the BSA. However, during election time music that is played on all radio stations in the country is pro-ZANUPF as radio is pivotal in elections (Zaffiro, 2002). Whenever there are elections in the country, radio as a mouthpiece of most African governments (Moyo, 2004; Myres, 2009) is used to campaign for the ruling party. This is done through music, talk shows, documentaries and news.

All ZBC radio stations support the ruling party (Ndlela, 2007; Chiumbu, 2009) while unlicensed radio stations provide pro-opposition coverage (Moyo, 2004; Masuku, 2006; Moyo, 2012; Chuma, 2013). Fundamentally, songs that are played on radio in Zimbabwe do not reflect on the flaws of the government. Music that appears to be criticising the government or ruling party is censored (Muza, 2005; Nyakunu, 2005; Nyathi, 2005). Some of the revolutionary songs that are played are those that were played during the war at meetings and on the “illegal” and clandestine radio stations that were operated by ZANU PF (Voice of Zimbabwe) and PF ZAPU (Voice of the Revolution) (Mosia, Riddle and Zaffiro, 1994). The ruling party continues to bombard the citizenry with its propaganda through these revolutionary songs whose content stretches from the Second Chimurenga to the Third Chimurenga.

Mano (2009) talks of the similarity between Radio Zimbabwe and National FM in the kind of music they play and the fact that both stations were supposed to play 70 percent local music while Power FM and Spot FM played 30 percent local music. There were complaints from local musicians about Power FM not promoting them (Scannell, 2001, Mano, 2009) and this led to the 75 percent local content stipulation in BSA. In that study Mano (2009) discovered that Radio Zimbabwe's music was popular among all age groups and it could be one of the factors the station is the most popular in the country. This thesis also examines the language and the kind of songs that are played on National FM in relation to it being a station for small linguistic communities.

Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of the broadcasting arena in Zimbabwe. It has traced the history of radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe from the colonial era to the Mugabe era. It has revealed that radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe is still in the hands of the elite. There are both PSB and commercial radio stations. These stations mainly broadcast ZANU PF propaganda and since the attainment of independence they have always supported ZANU PF. PSB radio stations are also influenced by market forces as they also get funding from sponsorship and advertising. Commercial radio stations are owned by ZANU PF members and supporters. Their content does not show any diversity as their ownership structures are linked to ZANU PF (MISA, 2015; MMPZ, 2015; AMR, 2015). All the radio stations in Zimbabwe also broadcast on-line and have social media platforms. This gives the audiences a chance to participate in radio programming. Of importance to this thesis is the fact that some of the community based commercial radios broadcast in the small indigenous languages. However, not all small indigenous languages are catered for on these commercial stations. If each of these languages gets a chance to be broadcast on different commercial radio stations, then language rights would be met. This thesis will show that National FM is not fulfilling its mandate of broadcasting for small linguistic communities.

Chapter Three: The Media and Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe

Introduction

This study investigates the feasibility of having one radio station broadcasting in more than 15 languages. In order to thoroughly scrutinise this, the research analyses the production process at the station. The first part of this chapter examines the linguistic scenario in relation to the media in Zimbabwe. It also explores the language situation in the country and how it relates to the education system and politics in general. The section also describes each of the small linguistic communities whose languages are broadcast on National FM. There are also vivid explanations about the origins, geographical location, linguistic rights activism and the status for each of the minority languages. The second section of the chapter explores the rapport within language, ethnicity and national identity. In doing so, the chapter traces the relations among the different ethnic groups from the colonial era to the post-colonial period. The section also briefly analyses some of the perceptions about the relationships among different ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. It also mirrors how the small linguistic communities themselves regard their language and general status of the minority people in the country pertaining to language rights and governance.

The State of Indigenous Small Linguistic Communities

This study concentrates on local small linguistic communities of Zimbabwe. It is pivotal at this juncture to discuss the meaning of a linguistic community. A linguistic community can be described as a group of people who use the same language or dialect. Socio-linguists refer to such a group as a speech community. Gumperez (1972:463) defines a linguistic community “...as a social group which can be either monolingual or multilingual... Linguistic communities may consist of small groups bound together by face-to-face contact or may cover large regions”. This quotation indicates that small linguistic communities could share a common language or dialect and could be geographically located in the same area or different areas. Like any other nationals, these people are expected to receive mass media messages in the language that they normally use as recommended by the African Union Charter-The Peoples’ Communication Charter (1999) Article 9 on Diversity of Languages. The charter states that it is important that the minority people should receive media messages in their own language rather than having an “official” language imposed upon them. The Charter (Article 3) also highlights the right for people to “receive opinions, information and ideas in a language they normally use and understand”. Furthermore, the United Nations’ affirmation, the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights (UDHR) (1948) Article 27 states, “Everyone has the right to freely participate in the culture of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.” Taking language to be part of culture therefore entails that the issue of language should be taken into consideration in public broadcasting. This would also be consistent with the observation by McQuail (2010) that public broadcasters should endeavour to cater for minority communities.

The African Charter on Broadcasting (2001) emphasises the extension of broadcast services to minority communities. Part 1 (section 1) of the African Charter on Broadcasting, in part, states that:

“The legal framework for broadcasting should include a clear statement of the principles underpinning broadcast regulations, including promoting ... diversity and the free flow of information and ideas as well as a three-tier system for broadcasting, namely: public service, commercial and community”. “Diversity” and “free flow” could indeed refer to the media taking into consideration the peculiarities of minority groups and the communication of mass media information in languages spoken by these groups. The three-tier system increases media pluralism and diversified content, while a community radio broadcast provides an opportunity for the establishment of a mass media channel whose programmes would have been designed for them and possibly with their participation in the planning and production of the programmes (Moyo, 2012).

In addition, The Peoples’ Communication Charter (1999: Article 9) on Diversity of Languages states:

All people have the right to a diversity of languages. This includes the right to express themselves and have access to information in their own language, the right to use their own languages in educational institutions funded by the state and the right to have adequate provisions created for the use of minority languages where needed.

This confirms that neglecting or under-serving the small communities is denying them their right as a people. The Charter (Article 3) also highlights the right for people to “receive opinions, information and ideas in a language they normally use and understand”.

Human rights organisations valorise the importance of using mother languages by all the peoples of the world and this has resulted in the setting up of the International Mother Language Day celebrated on 21 February every year. Zimbabwe also commemorates this day but it is not given much prominence even on National FM or any other media. It could be because it coincides with the birthday of the country’s former president Robert Mugabe. Several scholars worldwide have researched minority languages and different terms have been used to describe them. They are termed indigenous

languages, small linguistic communities, ethnic minorities, endangered languages and marginalised groups. This study uses these terms interchangeably.

Extensive academic research has been undertaken in education (Fafunwa, 1989; Mazrui, 1997; Batibo, 2000; Ndlovu, 2007; Magwa, 2008 etc.) but the media and legal fraternities have done little in studying the state of minority languages. Indigenous languages are catered for in the media and countries like Canada, Italy, Czech Republic, Thailand and China have provisions for the protection of endangered languages. International Conventions on Human Rights have provisions that guarantee the promotion and protection of small linguistic communities. Article 27 of International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) encourages the use of minority languages in all communication. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages Article 11 states that the media should use minority languages. The Peoples' Communication Charter (1999) Article 9 on Diversity of Languages states that it is important that these people receive media messages in their own language rather than having an "official" language imposed upon them. The new Zimbabwean Constitution now has 13 minority languages as official languages. This study, therefore examines how National FM represents these and other languages that are broadcast on this station.

The plight of combating the "death" (Mufenwa, 2006) of minority languages is universal as there are complaints that there is a dearth in the study of the media's role in the upliftment of minority languages. When looking at the state of research in minority languages and the media in the Australian situation, Rubino (2010:5) posits, "An issue that is still under-researched is the impact of media and of new technology on language maintenance." In Bangladesh the issue of mother languages has been very crucial as four students were killed on February 21, 1952, because they campaigned to officially use their mother language, Bengali. McMonagle (2012), Rubino (2010) and Cormack (2003) discuss the importance of academic research in the use of minority languages in the media. Cormack (2003) laid out contributions to the study as follows:

- It improves the minority language media practice.
- It enhances the formulation of media policy at both regulation and institutional levels.
- It helps improve the teaching of minority language media both within minority language institutions and in the media studies curriculum.
- It enriches the value of the field of media studies in general.

In conclusion Cormack (2003:7) is of the view that there is need for collective lobbying for academic research in the study of the use of minority languages in the media. This would bring better opportunities compared to “a lone voice”. This statement is an indication that research work in the media should also encompass how the media, especially radio, can be used in the promotion of minority languages.

Nyika’s (2007) research established that in Zimbabwe minority languages are taught at primary school and he recommends that research work on minority languages should be extended to the media. Furthermore, Gondo (2009) studies the upliftment of the indigenous people by researching the possibility of teaching minority languages at tertiary level and this resulted in the inclusion of the minority languages in the Great Zimbabwe University curriculum. Magwa (2008), Viriri (2003) and Nyika (2008) all explore the possibilities of using minority languages at school through revisiting the language policy in the country. Ndhlovu (2009) also discusses the state of minority languages in Zimbabwe and agrees with Nyika (2008) that little has been done to involve media in promoting minority indigenous languages. Nyika (2007) illustrates this by listing languages which do not have publications at all and these are: Tshawo, Hwesa Doma, Mudzi Tonga and Chikunda; while Sena, Kalanga, Barwe and Nambya have a limited number of publications.

Maseko and Ndlovu (2013) investigated linguistic rights in the Zimbabwean media and realised that the print media in Zimbabwe do not have any material that is in minority languages except for occasional Tonga and Kalanga inserts in *Umthunywa* (a Ndebele weekly tabloid). A community private newspaper, *The Mirror*, also has some Shangani inserts. All these scholars agree that there are milestones in the development of small linguistic communities in the education sector. They further agree that the media in Zimbabwe are doing very little in promoting minority languages. Like Cormack (2003), they urge scholars to do thorough investigation into how the media can be used to promote small linguistic communities.

Contrary to the Zimbabwean situation, radio is giving a platform for minority languages in other African countries like Botswana, Malawi, Zambia, Rwanda, Kenya and many others. What is lacking in almost all countries is proper implementation and more robust academic research into the relationship between media and minority languages. Many Africans are dissuaded from public debates as “the post-colonial state continues to operate on the basis of ‘Eurocentric norms and values’

perpetuating the denigration and marginalisation of indigenous languages, cultures, and norms with the consequence of furthering the alienation of the majority of Africans from the processes of the state” (Dersso, 2008:6). Language use can hinder the use of radio as a public sphere (Bosch, 2011) and it is therefore pivotal for PSB radio stations to broadcast in the languages of all the people of a nation.

The Media and Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe

There is a considerable number of studies on the use of indigenous languages in the media. As mentioned earlier, scholars agree that the media are not doing enough to produce content in local languages (Hachipola, 1998; Mabaso, 2006; Magwa, 2008; Nyika, 2008; Maseko and Ndlovu, 2015). These scholars and others agree that the marginalisation of the small linguistic communities dates back to the colonial era and at independence the African governments did very little to redress the situation. Hachipola (1998) examines the situation of minority languages in Zimbabwe. He also discusses the historical origins and geographical location of the small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe. Hachipola (1998) also analyses the general language situation, use of minority languages in education and published material in these languages. However, the media’s involvement in upholding the minority languages is overlooked. Hachipola (1998) just mentions the use of different languages in the media. There is not much discussion on the use of minority languages in the media. Furthermore, Nyika (2007) analyses Zimbabwe’s language scenario and his emphasis is on the development and promotion of linguistic rights. He overlooks the potential of the media in enhancing these rights. His work concentrates on how different human rights groups are involved in assisting the marginalised people in their plight for minority language conservation.

Like Hachipola (1998) and Nyika (2007), Ndhlovu (2009) explores the language situation in the country but he takes it from a nation building perspective. His work includes the role of the media in nation building and his research findings indicate that National FM allocates too little air time to small languages. Ndawana and Muromo (2012) and Maseko and Ndlovu (2013) also established that National FM mainly broadcasts in Shona and Ndebele. It does not abide by its basic mandate of broadcasting for small linguistic communities. In the same vein, Mabika and Salawu (2014) also found out that National FM does not give enough air play to the small linguistic communities. Nyika (2007) also discusses the lack of minority languages content in the print media. His research established that there are no newspapers that are written in any of the minority languages. Most of the newspapers in

Zimbabwe are written in English with only one in Shona (Kwayedza) and one in Ndebele (Umthunywa). Kwayedza does not contain any article written in the minority languages from Mashonaland and Manicaland where Shona related minority languages are dominant. Umthunywa has occasional Tonga and Kalanga inserts. Maseko and Ndlovu (2013) concur with Nyika (2007) on the complaint that African indigenous languages are overshadowed by foreign languages. Maseko and Ndlovu (2013) also agree with Nyika (2007), Ndhlovu (2007) and others that it is not only English that dominate the media, education and other sectors but also Shona and Ndebele.

The question of Shona domination is a prickly issue among some scholars who feel that the Ndebele have been side-lined by the Shona even during the armed struggle. Muzondiya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009), Mhlanga (2009) and others agree that the Shona have always been exploiting the Ndebele. In line with this, Nyagumbo (1997) and Sithole (1999) also complained about how the Manyika have been side-lined by the Zezuru and Karanga from the liberation war to the present. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2000) and Sithole (1999) discuss the divisions among the Ndebele-aligned and Shona-aligned tribes respectively. These scholars do not examine the pre-colonial era when the Ndebele exploited the Shona through the payment of taxes. The scholars also overlooked the slavery that took place when the Shona had failed to pay the taxes. Furthermore, these scholars do not consider the state of other small linguistic communities like the Tswawo/Khoisan and Nambya. It can be concluded that these are writing from an activist perspective. All these scholars are concerned with larger communities and the issue of small linguistic communities is not valorised.

Many scholars have researched on indigenous languages and their place in human development. Some scholars agree that the use of these languages in education is a milestone towards education for all the people of Zimbabwe (Viriri, 2003; Magwa, 2008; Makoni, Makoni and Nyika 2008; Makoni, 2011 etc). They analyse the language situation in relation to the education system. They do not explore the role of the media in socio-economic development. On one hand, this could be attributed to the fact that these academics are grounded in the education sector. On the other hand, it can be argued that at that moment there was need to have people who could read and write in those languages. It would then be possible to have these languages being used in the media. A UNESCO (2012) special edition on local language radio programming emphasises the importance of writing radio programmes in local

languages. It is then vital to promote minority languages education concurrently with the media or to have education first then the media later.

There is a rich body of literature which advocates for the promotion of indigenous languages. As discussed earlier, radio is the most flexible and popular medium in Africa (Hungbo, 2008; Myers, 2009; Mano, 2011). Radio studies in Zimbabwe have concentrated on music, programmes in indigenous languages and general talk shows. There is not much research on radio production and content for small linguistic communities. As a starting point, Scannell (2001) established that local musicians were complaining that radio stations were playing more foreign music than local. It is not stated whether this local music was in English or in vernacular. There is no reference to minority languages in this study. It can be argued that what was crucial at that time was the inclusion of local music. Mano (2009) concurs with Scannell (2001) when he realised that local audiences enjoyed listening to local music. However, Mano's (2009) study only examines the popularity of local music in Shona and Ndebele. It does not go further to look at minority languages. This could be because there was not much in terms of music in those languages. Another shortfall in Mano's (2009) study is that he only analysed scheduling of music on Radio Zimbabwe yet National FM also broadcasts in local languages.

For Mano (2004) radio has managed to renegotiate the traditional court (*dare*) –public sphere– through a discussion of family problems. Mano (2004) examines a Shona programme that discusses domestic problems (*Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*) on Radio Zimbabwe but does not look at its Ndebele equivalent (*Ihlupo Zalamuhla*). National FM was already operational at that time but there is no research that specifically analyses its content or production activities like what Mano (2004, 2005, and 2006) did for Radio Zimbabwe. This could be attributed to the fact that it was and is not as popular as Radio Zimbabwe. Recently, Mabika and Salawu (2014) also established that the four PSB radio stations in Zimbabwe broadcast mainly in English, Shona and Ndebele. They lament the fact that National FM, whose mandate is to broadcast for the small linguistic communities, also broadcasts mainly in Shona and Ndebele.

In most societies women and minority groups are marginalised. The media should play a pivotal role in ensuring that these people's rights are developed and promoted. Ndawana (2012) explored the

fostering of gender equality on Radio Zimbabwe and National FM. This research realised that these programmes are only broadcast in Shona and Ndebele. National FM does not have programmes on gender equality that are broadcast in minority languages. Instead of promoting minority languages, National FM continues to cater for Shona and Ndebele which are already catered for by Radio Zimbabwe. This study underlines the necessity to find out why National FM has no such programmes in minority languages. Furthermore, Ndawana and Muromo (2012) also established that the air time allocated for minority languages is very minimal. In an earlier study, Mano (2006) had also realised that the competence of a single station to adequately broadcast in all ethnic languages in a multilingual and multicultural nation such as Zimbabwe is a canard. In the same way, Ndlovu (2004:139-140) bewails the way minority languages are treated in the Zimbabwe broadcasting media. He argues:

While NFM is meant to cater for minority languages that include Doma, Chikunda, Chewa, Yao, Hwesa, Barwe, Venda, Sotho, Kalanga, Shangani, Tonga, Xhosa and Tshwawo, Shona and Ndebele programmes take up most of the airtime. - - - Minority groups are always unfairly left out of the national agenda.

All the scholars cited above agree that the other dispute is that the concerns discussed in those few minutes are not directly related to these small linguistic communities. They are rather ordinary issues it is only their languages used to discuss very abstract topics. The previous studies just analyse the content without exploring the forces and the processes behind the production of that content. This study digs deeper to find out how these programmes are produced and it also analyses the content.

Mabika and Salawu (2014) argue that English should also be used on National FM and Radio Zimbabwe. They point out that this is necessary to promote globalisation. Like all studies on the use of minority languages, their research also established that not much minority language content is broadcast on National FM. Shona and Ndebele, with a bit of code switching to English, are prevalent on these radio stations. All these studies are related to this research as they lay a foundation for its undertaking. Mumpande (2006) argues that minority language listeners have become very active participants in programmes which are broadcast in their own languages and it is one of the objectives of this study to find out how the audiences are involved in content production.

The Linguistic Condition in Zimbabwe

Accurate statistics on the language situation in Zimbabwe are difficult to come by. The 2012 census only has information about the Shona and Ndebele. This study relies on the information provided by

Hachipola (1998), Magwa (2008) and Ndlovu (2009). Although Magwa (2008) used information from Fortune (1959) and Hachipola (1998), he also carried surveys to find out statistical data on the language situation in Zimbabwe. Language researchers agree that the precise figure of indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe is not clear although most approximations range from 14 to 17 (Hachipola, 1998; Viriri, 2003; Magwa, 2008 and Ndlovu (2009). Ndlovu (2009) agrees with Magwa (2008) who argues that it is difficult to know the exact number of minority languages in Zimbabwe “... largely because sociolinguists are often not agreed on whether certain varieties are fully-fledged languages or regional varieties (dialects) of recognised languages” (Ndlovu, 2009:49).

According to Magwa (2008) the following languages are spoken in Zimbabwe:

1. English
2. Shona
3. Ndebele
4. Sotho
5. Shangaani
6. Tonga
7. Venda
8. Doma
9. Sena
10. Tswana
11. Xhosa
12. Tshwawo
13. Kunda
14. Nyanja/Chewa
15. Hindi
16. French
17. Portuguese
18. Italian
19. Afrikaans
20. Greek

Magwa (2008) discussed 20 languages and for indigenous languages he left out Barwe, Hwesa, Kalanga, Ndau and Nambya. As said earlier, he argues that these languages are Shona dialects just like Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika and Ndau. While Magwa (2008) discusses all languages that are spoken in Zimbabwe, Hachipola (1998) and Ndlovu (2009) examine minority languages that are found in Zimbabwe. This study explores the indigenous languages that are broadcast on National FM. It is not concerned with the controversies surrounding issues to do with whether it is a language or a dialect. Hachipola (1998) and Ndlovu (2009) agree that there are 16 minority languages which are:

1. Kalanga
2. Sotho
3. Tonga
4. Tonga Mudzi
5. Nambya
6. Venda
7. Shangani/Tsonga
8. Chikunda
9. Hwesa
10. Barwe
11. Chikunda/Sena
12. Doma
13. Xhosa
14. Tshwawo/Khoisan
15. Tswana
16. Chewa/Nyanja

Scholars agree that except for Chewa and Xhosa all of these minority languages are found in the border areas where they share these languages with neighbours. These areas have radio transmission problems and this affects both production and reception of National FM programmes.

The current Zimbabwe National Constitution has 16 officially recognised languages which are:

1. English
2. Shona
3. Ndebele
4. Kalanga
5. Tonga
6. Shangani
7. Venda
8. Nambya
9. Chewa
10. Chibarwe
11. Khoisan
12. Ndau
13. Sotho
14. Xhosa
15. Tswana
16. Sign Language

National FM does not broadcast in all the official languages and at the same time it broadcasts in some languages which are not officially recognised. National FM broadcasts in the following languages:

1. Shona
2. Ndebele
3. Barwe
4. Chewa
5. Chikunda
6. Doma
7. Hwesa
8. Kalanga
9. Nambya
10. Ndau
11. Shangani
12. Sotho
13. Tonga
14. Tswana
15. Hwesa
16. Venda
17. Yao
18. Xhosa

Although Shona and Ndebele are broadcast on National FM, they do not belong to the minority languages. Shona is the most widely spoken and it is spoken by more than 75 percent of the population. Ndebele is second in popularity and is spoken by 16 percent of Zimbabweans. The other indigenous languages constitute just above eight percent and non-African languages are less than one percent. While Hachipola (1998) and Magwa (2008) categorise Barwe, Hwesa, Kalanga and Nambya as Shona dialects, this study regards them as full languages as stated in the Zimbabwean constitution. Non-African languages are not discussed in this thesis. The following paragraphs briefly discuss each of the languages and the geographical location of each of the languages. The information relating to these minority languages is derived from Hachipola (1998), Magwa (2008), Ndlovu (2009) and others who contributed in individual languages.

Barwe

Barwe is largely spoken in Mozambique and there are only a few speakers of this language in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean Constitution recognises this language as an official language and in the constitution it is called Chibarwe. These speakers are found mainly along Zimbabwe's border with Mozambique. They are found in Manicaland's Nyanga district in Nyamaropa and Nyakomba. They are also found in Mashonaland East in Mudzi district together with the Hwesa people. There is little published material on Barwe and it has never been taught in schools. While Magwa (2008) argues that Barwe is a Shona dialect, this study treats Barwe as a language for two main reasons. The first one pertains to the fact that some scholars (Hachipola, (1998) and Ndhlovu (2009) regard it as a language. The other factor is that at National FM Barwe is taken as a language which has its own programmes and time slots. Like all other languages, it is very difficult to ascertain the exact number of Barwe people in Zimbabwe. This can also be attributed to the fact that Barwe people tend to speak languages of the people of the places they would have moved into. In Mudzi the Barwe people also speak Hwesa and in Manicaland they speak Manyika. The Barwe people have an association (Barwe Language Association) that promotes its use but it is not as active as the ones for the Shangani, Tonga, Kalanga or Nambya people.

Chewa

Chewa is one of the official languages in Zimbabwe. Unlike other minority groups, the Chewa people have no specific geographical location and they do not form any community in any area in Zimbabwe. They came into the country during the colonial era and the federation to look for any kind of job that was available. They are mainly found in mining towns and farming areas. They have also settled in some urban areas like Harare and Bulawayo and are scattered all over the country. During the colonial era, Chewa was taught at primary school but since the attainment of independence it is no longer taught at any level (Hachipola 1998; Makoni, 2011). Scholars argue that this could be because Chewa is considered to be a foreign language and other minority languages in the same class (Chikunda, Doma and Yao) are also not in the curriculum. Hachipola (1998), Viriri (2003) and Makoni (2011) however, posit that re-introducing Chewa into the school curriculum might be cumbersome as the speakers are scattered all over the country. Like all speakers of minority languages in Zimbabwe, the population of the Chewa people is very difficult to measure.

Chikunda

Like the Barwe, the majority of the Chikunda people are found in Mozambique. They are also found in Zambia and in Zimbabwe they are found in Mashonaland West, in Guruve along the Zambezi valley together with the Doma and Korekore. The Chikunda people are also called Kunda people or Achikunda. Chikunda people speak Korekore in public and Chikunda in private. Hachipola (1998) is of the view that the Chikunda people have an inferiority complex and feel ashamed of themselves like other minority language speakers. This has resulted in them not talking in Chikunda in public. They also live together with the Karanga and the Zezuru. Chikunda is not taught at school and the schools in this area only teach Shona as a local language. There are no publications for Zimbabwean Chikunda and like other minority languages, statistics regarding the speakers are difficult to establish. Chikunda people have no vibrant cultural or language association.

Doma

There are several versions of the origins of the Doma people. Some say they came from Mozambique and others say they originated from the Korekore of Zimbabwe. Doma people are found in Mashonaland West, specifically in Kanyemba. They live a nomadic lifestyle. Previous research indicates that the Doma language has the least number of speakers among Zimbabwe's minority groups. The Doma language has not been studied and no school has ever taught Doma. While scholars agree that Doma has the least number of speakers, they do not agree on the exact numbers of the

speakers. Like other minority groups who live in remote areas of Zimbabwe, the Doma people are regarded as some of the poorest people in the country. Like Chikunda people, they do not have an active language or cultural group.

Hwesa

This language is spoken by people who live in Nyanga district, Manicaland province in Zimbabwe. Their area is called Hwesaland and it shares its borders with other small linguistic communities like the Barwe and Manyika. Like the Barwe, the Chikunda and the Doma, the Hwesa people appear to be ashamed of their language. In public they speak Manyika and Zezuru which are both Shona dialects. According to Hachipola (1998), Hwesaland consists of both Barwe and Hwesa people. He goes further to say that these people speak more Hwesa than Barwe. There are no Hwesa publications and it has never been taught in schools and there are no prospects of it being taught. The schools in the area use Shona as a local language, just like other areas where there are small linguistic communities. Statistics for the Hwesa population are also hard to determine just like those of other minority languages. Hachipola (1998) categorises Hwesa under dying languages together with languages of other small linguistic communities. Hwesa speakers, like other indigenous language speakers, are also interested in promoting the use of their language. They formed an association called Hwesa Cultural Association which, like TOLACO, advocates for the use of Hwesa in education and other sectors. Hwesa is not an officially recognised language in Zimbabwe but it is broadcast on National FM.

Kalanga

While Hachipola (1998) and Magwa (2008) classify Kalanga as a Shona dialect, this study regards it as an independent language due to the reasons discussed in the Barwe section. Kalanga is a legitimately accepted language in the Zimbabwean Constitution. Kalanga people are found in Botswana and Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, they are located in Matabeleland South in Bulilima, Mangwe, Nyamandlovu, Kezi, Matobo districts and in Matabeleland North in Tsholotsho district. As in the case with other small linguistic communities, it is hard to determine the number of people who speak this language. The Kalanga people in Zimbabwe also speak Ndebele as it is the main indigenous language that is predominant in the province. Kalanga was taught up to Standard Six at some stage during the colonial era before it was discontinued. After independence it was introduced up to Grade Three and gradually extended up to O'Level. There is scarce literature in Kalanga and teachers who teach this language translate most of the reading and teaching material from Ndebele to Kalanga. They also make

some translations from English to Kalanga. Like Venda and Tonga, Kalanga people have been active in promoting the use of their language. Speakers of these three languages formed an association called VETOKA Languages and Cultural Promotion Society but it did not stay for long. It was meant to promote these languages in the education sector and they formed VETOKA Publishing Company to produce literature in their languages. The organisation collapsed in 1985 and, it is argued, because of lack of both capital and human resources among other factors (Nyika, 2007; Makoni 2011). Kalanga also belongs to Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA), a group that advocates for the use of indigenous languages. The association is made up of Kalanga, Nambya, Shangani, Sotho, Tonga and Venda. The association was formed in 2001 and is mainly concerned with the use of their languages in the education sector.

Khoisan (Tshwawo)

The population of Khoisan or Tshawo people in Zimbabwe is very small. They are located in Matabeleland North in Tshlotsho alongside the Kalanga and the Ndebele. They are also found in smaller numbers in Matabeleland South in Bulilima and Mangwe. According to Hachipola (1998), the Khoisan people claim that they are related to the nomadic Basarwa people of Botswana, Namibia and Zambia. Some Khoisan people are still nomadic while others have settled into permanent homes. Their language is Tshwawo and it is officially recognised in the Zimbabwean Constitution. The Khoisan prefer to be called Bakhwa and Khoisan is an anthropological name which describes a Southern African group of people that survived on hunting and gathering food (Hachipola, 1998). The children of those who have settled go to school and learn Ndebele. There are no Tshwawo publications or literature in Khoisan and the language is not taught in any school. Like other minority languages, it is also difficult to ascertain the actual number of the Khoisan people who live in Zimbabwe. This is also worsened by the fact that the Khoisan are rovers. They do not have an organisation that campaigns for the promotion of their language and culture. Khoisan is also broadcast on National FM.

Nambya

Although scholars like Doke (1931), Hachipola (1998) and Magwa (2008) regard Nambya as a Karanga (Shona dialect), in this study it is regarded as a stand-alone language. Nambya is an official language in Zimbabwe. Nambya people are mostly found in Hwange district where they live together with the Chewa, Tonga and Ndebele. They are also found in Victoria Falls but in small numbers. The Nambya are active in the preservation of their language and have an association called Nambya

Cultural Association. This association advocates for the inclusion of Nambya in the school curriculum and is Nambya is taught at primary school level up to Grade Seven. A few secondary schools in Hwange teach Nambya. Nambya is part of (ZILPA) since its formation in 2001(See Kalanga section). Just like other minority groups, it is very hard to establish the exact number of Nambya speakers both in Hwange and Victoria Falls. According to Hachipola (1998), when the Nambya people arrived in Hwange they found the Tonga already occupying the area.

Ndau

Ndau is considered an official language in the Zimbabwean Constitution although Hachipola (1998) and Magwa (2008) regard it as a Shona dialect. It is also considered as a language on National FM where there is a Ndau presenter and programmes that are specifically broadcast in Ndau. The Ndau people are located in Chipinge, Chimanimani, Nyanga and parts of Chiredzi. Ndau people are also found in Mozambique. They claim that they are of Nguni origin from South Africa and are related to the Tsonga (Shangani in Zimbabwe). Like all minority languages, it is difficult to establish the exact number of Ndau speakers in Zimbabwe. Ndau is not taught in any school and there are no publications or literature in the Ndau language. The Ndau people have a vigorous association that promotes the elevation of Ndau language and culture. They have a Facebook page called *Rekete Chindau -Leave a Legacy* where they encourage one another to promote their language and culture.

Shangaani (Tsonga)

This language is one of Zimbabwe's 16 official languages and it is also spoken in Mozambique, South Africa and a few other speakers are found in Swaziland. In South Africa and Mozambique, the language is called Tsonga. In Zimbabwe, the Shangani-speaking people are located in Masvingo province in Chiredzi district together with Karanga (a Shona dialect) people. There are also a few Shangani people who moved to Mwenezi and Zaka to give way to sugar plantations. The Shangani are also found in Beitbridge but in small numbers. As with all other minority languages in Zimbabwe, it is difficult to get correct data on the number of Shangani speakers.

Shangani is taught at school up to O'Level and even at tertiary education at Great Zimbabwe University. Like Tonga and Nambya, Shangani has an association that advocates for the upliftment and promotion of the language. The association is called Gaza Cultural Association and it helps in organising material for teaching of Shangani in schools. Shangani speakers are also part of ZILPA (See Kalanga section). Like other minority language speakers, the Shangani complain about the dominance of Shona in the areas they live in and some schools still teach Shona instead of Shangani.

Sotho

The Sotho people originated from Lesotho, South Africa and Botswana and in Zimbabwe they are located in Matabeleland South in Gwanda district, specifically in Manama. They are also found in Kezi district, Beitbridge, Plumtree and a few in Masvingo. In Matabeleland they stay among the Tswana and the Ndebele and this has led them to speak all these languages. Sotho is now an official language in Zimbabwe but most of the speakers use Ndebele as it used to be the only official indigenous language. Sotho was taught up to Standard Six during the colonial era. At independence, schools stopped teaching the language but it was later revived in the school curriculum. It is still taught in schools with publications from outside the country especially Lesotho as the Sotho that is spoken in Zimbabwe is similar to that spoken in Lesotho. Presently, Sotho is taught up to Grade Seven and some secondary schools are also teaching it. Sotho speakers are part of ZILPA and the inclusion of Sotho at school may be attributed to the active participation of ZILPA (See Kalanga section). The language is related to Tswana and most Sotho speakers also speak Tswana. Like other minority languages, it is not easy to establish the exact number of Sotho speakers.

Tonga

This is one of the languages whose speakers advocate for the promotion of the language in Zimbabwe. It is an official language which is now taught up to O'Level. The Tonga people are also found in Namibia, Botswana, Malawi and Zambia. In Zimbabwe, Tonga has two versions which are Tonga itself and another one called Mudzi-Tonga, which is spoken in Mudzi district. The Tonga spoken in Mudzi is different from the Tonga that is spoken in other areas. As in the case of all minority languages, the accurate figure of people who speak the Tonga language in Zimbabwe is not known. These people are found in many areas in Zimbabwe. They are found in Gokwe district in the Midlands Province alongside the Shona. They are also found in Mashonaland West province in Chirundu and in Kariba district, particularly in Omay and Nyaminyami (Kadenge, 2010). Hwange and Victoria Falls districts in Matabeleland North are places where the Tonga people also reside. There are also a few Tonga people found in Mt Darwin, Mashonaland Central, together with the Korekore people. The majority of the Tonga are located in Binga. Some Tonga people can also speak Shona. In Kariba they live together with the Korekore while in Hwange and Victoria Falls they live alongside the Chewa, Nambya and Ndebele. In the colonial era Tonga was taught up to Standard Six in some schools in Hwange and Victoria Falls. The books and teachers were from Zambia and before the UDI in Rhodesia by the then Prime Minister Ian Smith, teachers from Zambia were not regarded as foreigners. At some

time in the colonial era Shona was the official indigenous language taught in schools. Later Ndebele became an official indigenous language and was taught in schools until 2001 when Tonga was taught up to Grade Three. In 2005 it was taught up to Grade Seven then O'Level in 2015. As in the case with Kalanga, Nambya and Shangani, Tonga has a vibrant association that has gone a long way in promoting the use of the language up to tertiary education. Nyika (2007) specifically studied how organisations are promoting language rights in Zimbabwe. He studied the efforts made by organisations like Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association, Tonga Language and Cultural Association or Tonga Language Committee (TOLAKO). Tonga has been advanced to the extent that it is now taught at Great Zimbabwe University.

Tswana

Tswana is one of the country's official languages, although it has only a few speakers. The Tswana people originated from Botswana and in Zimbabwe they are located in Bulilima and Mangwe together with the Sotho, Kalanga and Ndebele. The area is, however, predominantly occupied by the Kalanga people. Like other minority languages, the actual number of Tswana speakers is hard to establish. Tswana has not been taught in any schools in Zimbabwe but there is literature that was published in Botswana and South Africa. The Tswana people do not have an active organisation that lobbies for the promotion of their language and culture.

Venda

The Venda people came to Zimbabwe from South Africa. Venda is one of Zimbabwe's official languages and its speakers are found in Beitbridge district in Matabeleland South province. Other languages found in Beitbridge are Shangani, Sotho and Ndebele. A few Venda people were displaced by the white settlers and were moved to Gwanda, Mberengwa, Zvishavane, Mwenezi and Plumtree. Shona and Ndebele are the main indigenous languages spoken in Beitbridge where the majority of the Venda are located. Venda is one of Zimbabwe's official languages. As is the case of other minority languages, the available statistics on the Venda population are not reliable. Venda was taught in schools during colonial times, using material from South Africa. At independence the government of Zimbabwe stopped the teaching of Venda in schools. With the efforts from ZILPA, Venda was reintroduced in schools and it is sat for at Grade Seven in some schools in Beitbridge. A few secondary schools are also teaching Venda. Great Zimbabwe University has a contract with University of Venda (South Africa), where lecturers from Venda University teach the language at Great Zimbabwe

University. They also use material from Venda University as Zimbabwe is still in the process of developing learning and teaching material for the language. Venda speakers belong to ZILPA (See Kalanga section) which is an active organisation that participates in the upliftment of Venda, Sotho, Nambya, Shangani, Tonga and Kalanga. Venda was also part of the now defunct VETOKA, an association that fought for linguistic rights for Venda, Tonga and Kalanga people.

Xhosa (Fingo)

Xhosa is one of the officially recognised languages in Zimbabwe. The Xhosa people are also known as the Fingo or Amafengu and they were brought into Zimbabwe by Cecil John Rhodes as his workers. After requesting for land, Rhodes allocated them land at Embembesi, outside Bulawayo. They were later allocated more land in Fort Rixon, Goromonzi, Musengezi, Marirangwe, Masvingo and Gwatemba. The Xhosa people in Matabeleland also speak Ndebele and those who live among the Shona also speak Shona. Xhosa has never been taught in any schools in Zimbabwe mainly because of the small numbers. Like other small linguistic communities, the exact number of Xhosa speakers is not easy to establish. The Xhosa people do not have a vibrant organisation that fights for the promotion of their linguistic rights.

Yao

Yao is not an official language in Zimbabwe. It is broadcast on National FM. Yao is a Chewa dialect and its speakers are found among the Chewa people. In Zimbabwe, there is not much literature written about the Yao speakers. Yao has never been taught in any schools in Zimbabwe and because of the small numbers, there are no prospects of the language being taught in Zimbabwe. The Yao language speakers do not have an active organisation that lobbies for the promotion of Yao.

Small Linguistic Communities and Ethnicity in National Identity

As discoursed earlier, a nation is made up of different ethnic groups whether they are big or small (Smith, 2005; Harris, 2009) and small linguistic communities are found within these ethnic groups. Language is one of the main attributes that characterise ethnicity and for better comprehension of the place of small linguistic communities, ethnicity is going to be interrogated in relation to national identity. In everyday life, ethnicity still has “a ring of minority issues and race relations” while in “social anthropology it refers to aspects of relationships between groups which consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive” (Eriksen, 2005:139). The terms “minority”, “ethnic minorities” and “marginalised” are sometimes used to describe small ethnic groups and this thesis discusses ethnicity as a foundation on which small linguistic communities are based.

Issues to do with ethnicity have culminated into civil turmoil, especially in post-colonial Africa. For instance, Mhlanga (2003) comments, “In Zimbabwe, any attempt to discuss ethnicity risks being labelled as tribalism and therefore divisive to a supposedly ‘united nation’”. Many Zimbabwean scholars analysed the ethnic situation in Zimbabwe and concluded that the ethnic tensions in the country date back to pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Ndlovu (2013) argues that “Zimbabwe has always been a land of different communities with a variety of culture and histories.” When the Ndebele came into the country, the situation worsened and this has continued to present day Zimbabwe (Sithole, 1999; Muzondidya, 2004; Mhlanga, 2003, 2011; Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2009; Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Ndlovu, 2013; Mpofu, 2013). As said earlier, all these scholars agree that in Zimbabwe, Shona people have been dominating in Zimbabwean politics. They also argue that among the Shona themselves, there have always been tensions even within the national movements with Zezuru, Karanga and Manyika fighting for leadership within ZANU PF. The same predicament also prevailed within the PF ZAPU structures with the Kalanga and Ndebele contesting for senior positions (Sithole, 1999; GatsheniNdlovu, 2009). It appears that there are still intrinsic ethnic rigidities within the ruling party at the moment as some critics argue that ZANU PF is dominated by the Shona while the Ndebele are being sidelined.

According to Muzondidya and Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2008: 283), colonialism “promoted Ndebele and Shona alongside English, as official languages and introduced them in the curricula” while overlooking the need to promote other ethnic languages. Furthermore, these strains triumphed into independent Zimbabwe with Shona and Ndebele dominating other small linguistic domains. Ethnic identity, just like national identity, has been a contested terrain in the socio-political arena as discussed earlier and in the academia, Zimbabwean scholars have looked further to examine the issues of minority ethnic groups in the country. Just like education, the media act as a socialising agent and it is essential to interrogate their role in promoting ethnic identity. Studies have indicated that in Zimbabwe the media recognise the value of using indigenous languages in promoting ethnic identity with radio broadcasting and a few articles in Umthunywa. This study goes deeper into examining the production of content that is meant to promote ethnic identity for small linguistic communities who have been sidelined in the debates on ethnic identities in Zimbabwe.

It has to be noted that nations typically hypothesise national identities as they try to be unique from the rest. Seleti (1997) however, is of the view that this therefore does not mean that everyone must

look comparable within a nation. She says, “to talk about a national identity does not suggest that everyone in the country must look the same, think the same, dress the same”. This is undoubtedly verified by Hall (1991:49) in the famous quotation where he says, “the notion that identity has to do with people that look the same, feel the same, call themselves the same is nonsense.” Just like other identities, which are just imaginings, national identities are about how nations imagine themselves.

Hall (1993:14) further notes:

The idea that identity might be some vaporous thing that happens in our heads, that it doesn't have anything to do with how we imagine ourselves is just nonsense. The nation itself and most collectivities of that kind, depend on material conditions, personal and social relationships. But they also depend on how we imagine ourselves...

According to Seleti (1997), the media are essential on the construction of national identities since they serve as a conduit for the politicians' discourses on national identity. Moreover, the media, including radio, also participate in the struggle for the production of a national identity (Chiumbu, 2009; Zaffiro, 2010). Since identities have to do with inclusions and exclusions, this concept was used as a benchmark to see how different groups are being included in the Zimbabwean national identity project championed by the radio station's discourses.

Colonialism denied Africans their national identities and decided to view them as tribes and the issue of nation-building in most post-colonial African states was aimed at redressing the issue of national identity. However, the way in which most independent African states treated national and ethnic identity resulted in civil unrests. The Zimbabwean national identity has been a bone of contention from the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe (Muzondidya, 2004; Ndlovu Gatsheni, 2009; Mhlanga, 2013). These scholars strongly argue that a common national identity has never existed in the country's history up to the present day Zimbabwe due to ethnic tensions and differences principally driven by nationalism. Instead of “synthesising” a joint national identity, nationalism grimly failed and divided the nation. Feelings about marginalisation also remained strong among other small linguistic groups such as Shangani, Kalanga, Tonga and Venda who are located in the border areas where there was little economic development and physical infrastructure (Muzondidya, 2004; Nyika, 2007; Ndlovu, 2008; Magwa, 2008; Mhlanga, 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Ndlovu, 2013).

The phenomenon of ethnic identity in Africa is interlinked with nation-building which was undertaken by African states after the attainment of independence. According to Dersso (2008:6), there are two approaches to nation-building. The first one is grounded on the notion of the nation-state and the other

is what may be referred to as a multicultural model of nation-building and is more relevant to Africa and other developing states like India. The nation-state model is inclined to disregarding and even contesting expressions of ethnic identity with its robust assimilationist structures highlighting national unity. Dominant to the nation-state model is the notion “that there has to be coincidence between the nation as a culturally and linguistically homogenous entity and the state” (6). As such, the prevailing interpretation of a state in nation-building is that a state should have a standardised national identity. Mhlanga (2011:39) posits that in terms of nation building in early post-colonial Africa, the notion was “for the nation to live, the tribe must die”.

South Africa is unique with its “Rainbow Nation” where 11 official languages are treated equally in all spheres of life (Mhlanga, 2011). The recognition of ethnic identities is argued to have contributed in national unity as well as national identity. This research explores issues surrounding ethnic identity and how the national radio station under study, National FM, has managed to cater for all the ethnic groups.

With the influence of “nationalist and founding fathers of Africa”, many African states which followed the nation-state model criminalised ethnicity and it was labelled “backward and retrogressive” (Mhlanga, 2011:38). South Africa as a late decoloniser managed to learn from the errors that had happened in other post-colonies and followed the multi-ethnic approach. This approach is linked to the notion of South Africa being a rainbow nation. However, there are tribal disputes within that rainbow nation. In African countries, which do not recognise the multi-ethnic approach, there are ethnic tensions as well. It can then be concluded that both approaches lead to ethnic strains but the later approach has minimal predicaments. This study seeks to unravel whether there are any tensions within the different linguistic communities in Zimbabwe and whether these tensions affect production at National FM.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the different international provisions on language rights. The Zimbabwean constitution also has provisions that promote language rights inclusive of small linguistic communities. Unlike the old constitution, the new constitution has 13 official languages. Zimbabwe has more than 20 languages spoken by people who reside in the country although not all of them are official languages. Previous studies have indicated that minority languages have always been sidelined

in many aspects of life in the country. There have been strides in the education sector. In 2004, the government of Zimbabwe mandated National FM to broadcast in the languages of small linguistic communities. However, it still broadcasts more in Shona and Ndebele.

Chapter Four: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter reviews related scholarly literature in the fields of radio and the state of small phonological communities. The chapter first deals with literature related to radio production. Fields of specialisation have been in production, textual analysis and audience studies. The section also examines the state of radio in Africa with specific reference to issues to do with the concept of the public sphere and how radio mirrors the culture of a society. This section also examines issues surrounding public service broadcasting, radio production for minority and “aboriginal” people and other related issues. Research on the relationship between radio and language is also discussed in this section and many scholars are of the view that local language radio enhances development through communication. Studies have also indicated that ICTs have improved the use of radio as a public sphere where audiences can form listening clubs and share information through the radio using the internet and mobile phones. Radio has also managed to promote culture through broadcasting cultural issues in the languages of the listeners. The section also discusses how radio can be both constructive and destructive. It also reviews literature on public service broadcasting in Zimbabwe and Africa, where scholars agree that in almost all African countries governments and the ruling elite still control what is supposed to be public broadcasting. The chapter also reviews literature that is related to the programming for small linguistic communities. Scholars agree that radio programming for small linguistic communities should be done in their languages and they should also be involved in the production process.

The Eminence of Radio

The invention of radio was a turning point in the history of the media and communication field. Radio has unique characteristics that have enabled it to continue to survive competition from newer technologies like television, the computer, mobile phone and now the internet (Baran, 2000). There is a pool of research which proves that technological convergence has actually enhanced the status of radio as it has managed to be pooled with television, the mobile phone and the internet (Gripsrud, 2002; Myers, 2009). Gripsrud (2002) and Scannell (2001) discuss the Western scenario, where they examine the import of radio (together with other media) as a socialising agent which also helps in identity formation.

Many scholars agree that radio broadcasting is a very crucial constituent in human development as it can enhance the socio-economic welfare of a society (Clare, 2004; Snider, 2005, Scannell, 2007). Fundamentally, radio is used to inform, educate and entertain (Crissell, 1986; Baran, 2000; Williams, 2003). Chignell (2009:155) observes that, “There is plenty of evidence that radio can contribute to improving the health, education and general well-being of people in the poorest parts of the world.” Radio has many qualities which give it advantages over other media and these qualities should be utilised in development programmes. Radio is not only accessible to many people but more importantly it is a highly flexible and sustainable medium of communication (Clarke, 2006).

Sweetman (1997:29) adds another dimension on the benefits of radio to human society when observing that; “The media have the power to shape attitudes, and to instigate change.” This view is consistent with the point already raised that mass media information helps in building an informed citizenry and facilitates the formation of enlightened opinions. This makes radio a special gadget which offers an invaluable service within a community. However, some messages from radio can also be destructive as seen in the Rwandese genocide (Mamdani, 1996; des Forges, 1999; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Dersso, 2008; Kijana, 2012). While the above studies analyse both the positive and negative attributes of radio, this study goes further to interrogate how production is done at a radio station that is specifically mandated to broadcast for minority languages.

When radio was invented, it attracted a lot of attention from users and researchers. Early radio studies were mainly concerned with the effects of radio and not the programmes or their production. Paul Lazarsfeld and Theodor Ardono are the first researchers to analyse radio usage and they concluded that the media had effects on the consumers. These Frankfurt scholars assumed that radio, like all media, was very powerful. Through a series of studies like *‘Invasion from Mars’* (Scannell, 2007), they concluded that audiences believed everything they heard on radio. This is an indication that radio is a powerful medium and this warrants the need not only to study its audiences, but production as well as content itself.

Lazarsfeld’s work created the foundation to the formulation of an important theory in radio studies. Herta Herzog, who worked with Lazarsfeld in Vienna in the 1930s, carried out research on radio and established that women listened to different programmes to satisfy different needs (Scannell, 2007). While her findings lacked vivid empirical research, it became the base on which later gender and media

reception were based. She was the first scholar to research popular radio and its impact on uneducated female audiences. Her studies were informed by psychoanalysis which led her to believe that women resented some programmes because of an inability to interpret them due to lack of adequate education (Scannell, 2007). Moores (1993) investigated radio reception at the invention of radio in the 1920s and 1930s. He traced the reception of the gadget in the home using “oral history research’ and attempted to explore that process between broadcasting’s insertion into the private sphere as an ‘unruly guest’ and its establishment years later, symbolically at least as a good companion to the family members” (Moores, 1993:76). He did it through a series of interviews with old men and women who were active media users when radio first came into the world. Scannell (1996) in Gripsrud (2002: 3) reiterates, “... when radio was first introduced in the 1920s broadcasters thought of themselves precisely as uninvited guests in people’s homes and this had consequences on how programmes were made”. Lazarsfeld, Herzog and Moores (1993) belong to the Effects Tradition and all agree that at its invention radio automatically had effects on listeners. Lazarsfeld and Herzog carried out their studies in the 1930s, just after the invention of radio. While the above scholars concentrated on early radio and its effects, this study is located in the cultural studies paradigm. It investigates issues and activities involved in the production of radio content.

There is a wealth of literature indicating that radio has continued to be a dominant medium in many parts of the world and many studies have been carried out on radio. Myers (2009) deliberates on the African scenario where radio has continued to be the most widely used medium. In line with Myers view, Teer-Tomaseli (2018:138) comments, “Radio has been the primary medium in Africa both historically and in the contemporary period.” Other scholars have also established the eminence of radio in Africa. The studies include radio audiences, content and production (Myers, 2009; Berger, 2009; Bosch, 2011; Mano, 2004, 2005, 2011; Moyo, 2012, 2011; Chuma, 2013 etc.). Radio has continued to be pivotal in human development and it is crucial to interrogate its significance in the growth of small linguistic communities.

Convergence has boosted the attribute of radio as a ‘medium of information and discussion’ (Hendy, 2000:194), as citizens now vigorously contribute in the debates on issues that affect their lives. Myers (2009:6) argues, “...technology is changing fast but seems to be enhancing rather than replacing radio”. Convergence of radio with other technologies like the internet and mobile phones has boosted

the efficacy of radio in Africa. Online radio stations as a form of convergence act as a better platform for a public sphere. Teer-Tomaseli (2018) also talks of how the change in the technical sphere has transformed how the audiences use the media. For her the audience are now ‘prosumers’ as they do not only consume media content but also produce.

However, while convergence has uplifted the capacity of radio, it is pertinent to note that it can only be most effective in urban areas. While listening to radio through mobile phones does augment the public sphere as conceived by Jurgen Habermas, it still has some limitations as it only accommodates the wealthy who can afford mobile smartphones. Furthermore, online radio is not compatible with many parts of Africa where many people are illiterate, poor and live in rural areas, where there is poor connectivity (Mano, 2011; AMB, 2013). The studies by Moyo (2004, 2010, 2012), Mhiripiri (2011), Mabweazara (2011), and Chuma (2013) were done in urban areas where many people can afford sophisticated mobile phones and computers. In rural areas, the use of these gadgets is minimal due to poorly developed infrastructure and poverty (IMPI Report, 2014). All these studies have provided background information for this thesis. They also explain how radio has managed to survive competition and adapt to technological convergence. This study explores how radio as an indispensable medium is used as a communication tool for particular communities in Zimbabwe. Both Moyo (2012) and Chuma (2013) looked at the Zimbabwean situation where radio is commonly used in both urban and rural areas. They also debate on how radio has been converged with other media and how this has enhanced its capabilities.

The above discussion has highlighted the justification of having radio as a significant mass medium and it is therefore appropriate to carry out an institutional analysis of National FM as a radio station that specifically targets a particular group of audiences. It is also crucial to examine the content for some of the linguistic communities. This thesis also interrogates how convergence has affected the business of broadcasting at National FM.

The State of Radio in Africa

Many scholars agree that radio is the most widely used medium and it is the most prominent source of information in Africa (Mytton, 1999; Myers, 2009; Mudhai, 2011; Teer-Tomaseli, 2018). It has many

positive attributes that have made it survive (Hungbo, 2008; Mano, 2011; Hungbo, 2012). Kijana (2012:128) concurs when she says, “Radio has become such a vital and indispensable tool for governing in Africa that it is difficult to imagine how modern African societies could be run without the use of radio, it’s therefore considered the only true mass medium in Africa.” For Africa, that characteristic of adaptability is invaluable as most of the populace in Africa live in rural areas and radio can overcome poverty, illiteracy and linguistic diversity (Mano, 2011; Hungbo, 2012). As discussed earlier, radio has converged with other technologies including the mobile phone. This has increased its consumption as many people in Africa can afford handsets with FM radio. Several African media scholars agree that radio has several attributes that enable it to be used in Africa. Through radio, many Africans in the Diaspora have access to information about their home countries (Chibita, 2011; Tettey, 2011). Radio is also used in unifying the family, region and the nation in different ways. While all these studies acknowledge the contribution of radio in African mass communication, their limitation is that they do not go beyond that acknowledgement. While these scholars belong to the same period, each one was writing about particular issues in particular African countries.

In the struggle for independence in Africa, radio played a pivotal role in disseminating information to citizens as there were broadcasts from foreign countries (Mosia, et al, 1994; Davis, 2011 and Ndlovu, 2016, 2017). Mosia, et al, (1994), Moyo (2004) and Ndlovu (2016,) discuss how the Zimbabwean freedom fighters used these radio stations. Mosia et al (1994) and Davis (2011) also discusses ANC and Radio Freedom. Mosia et al (1994) go further to discuss how radio was used as a platform for a “war of words” by the West, even in the Second World War and the Cold War. Mosia et al (1994), Windrich (1981), Frederiske (1982), Moyo (2004), Davis (2011) and Ndlovu (2016) go on to discuss how radio broadcasting has been a contested terrain from the colonial period to post-independence Africa and Zimbabwe. The same radio stations that were used to stir revolt against colonialism were then used to fight the opposition. Where Mosia et al (1994) use the term “war of words” to describe the radio broadcasts from outside Africa in the colonial era, Ndlovu (2016) uses the term “battle of the minds” to describe radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe in the colonial and post-independence eras. Furthermore, Ndlovu (2017) gives an account of how Voice of the Revolution was used by ZAPU and ZIPRA to recruit freedom fighters in the armed struggle.

All the above scholars agree that radio has been used as a pivot for power struggles from colonial to post-independence Africa. Mosia et al (1994) do not discuss Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia only, but also debate on the involvement of early independent African states. They explore how the liberation movements used radio to disseminate anti-colonial and anti-apartheid information. For the rest of Africa, the countries that attained independence earlier than others (e.g. Ethiopia, Egypt, Ghana, and later Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia) played an important role in assisting fellow countries in many ways, including hosting radio stations and even broadcasting anti-colonial ideologies themselves (Mosia et al, 1994; Frederiske, 1982; Myers, 2009). These scholars also talk of how the rivalry in the West was used as a weapon to dislodge colonialism and apartheid. For instance, the BBC and the Nazi Radio Zeseen broadcast anti-apartheid programmes in Afrikaans way back in the 1930s. The airwaves became a battleground for the colonial powers and this continued into the Cold War and the Second World War. Like Mosia et al (1994), Davis (2011) discusses how Radio Freedom was used to fight apartheid. In the South African case, many scholars agree that the SABC served as a government mouth-piece in the apartheid era and it barred all opposition voices that sought to revolt against the system (Gunner, 2000; Bosch, 2006; Coplan, 2011; Davis, 2011 etc.). Davis (2011) only looks at ANC's Radio Freedom and further examines how in the 1960s the radio station struggled to find audiences in the face of competition from the state-owned SABC. Lekgoathi (2011) and Coplan (2011) discuss how the SABC radio announcers used subversive language to disseminate anti-apartheid messages in local languages. Like in most African states, radio was used as a weapon to win the minds of the natives. In order to achieve this, vernacular languages were used but these were closely monitored. As a way of monitoring these vernacular broadcasts, the apartheid government, like the Rhodesian one (Zafiro, 2002; Windrich, 2010) used fellow whites whom they thought were conversant in local languages. They were not however, successful as Lekgoathi (2011) posits that the announcers resorted to deep and subtle Northern Sotho dialect. While Coplan (2011) emphasises the post-colonial use of radio in the presentation and preservation of language and culture, Lekgoathi (2011) stresses the role of language in the creation of publics drawn from people from all walks of life.

In the Angolan case, all the liberation movements used their own radio stations operated from Tanzania, Congo (Brazzaville) and Egypt (Moorman, 2011). The colonial government used radio for propaganda purposes and the liberation movements also used radio to counter this. Moorman (2011) further says that the colonialists forced captured fighters to go in front of the microphone and warn

fellow Africans about the horrors of the war. Organisations that fought for the liberation of Angola are: Movimento Popular da Libertacao de Angola (MPLA), the Frente Nacional para a Libertacao de Angola (FNLA) and Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA). These organisations used radio to mobilise and encourage fellow Angolans to join and support the liberation war. UNITA used Radio Despertar (Radio Awakening), FNLA had Angola Live and MPLA used Angola Combatente. The Angolan case is slightly different from other African countries. Angola did not get complete peace at independence as civil war erupted between the MPLA government and UNITA. The UNITA Radio Despertar continued to broadcast information that portrayed the suffering of Angolans. The state radio dominated the airwaves and churned out government propaganda. In other African countries the clandestine radio stations stopped operating at independence. In some instances, like the Zimbabwean case, the radio station's employees were incorporated into the state media and used to disseminate government information (Moyo, 2010; Ndlovu, 2016).

The Zimbabwean and Namibian situations are similar (Mosia et al, 1994) as both countries used radio to fight opposition in colonial and post-colonial periods. Windrich (1981), Frederiske (1982) and Moyo (2004) agree that in colonial Zimbabwe radio was used as a propaganda tool to promote colonialism and fight against the revolution. While Mosia et al (1994) deliberate on the role of radio in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe, Ndlovu (2016) delves deeper to analyse how radio has been used by both the colonial and the independent Zimbabwean state. He goes further to discuss how ZANU PF destroyed all the broadcast information that related to PF ZAPU and was used by the Voice of the Revolution. Like Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009); Sithole (1999); Ndlovu (2009) and Mhlanga (2013), Ndlovu (2016) is of the view that the battle between the Ndebele and the Shona, which stretched from the pre-colonial era, continued into the colonial era. The battle also continued into post-independent Zimbabwe in the political arena as well as the broadcasting arena.

Ndlovu (2016) calls this "battle of the control of the minds". For Moyo (2004), the Zimbabwean and Rhodesian governments used radio in the same way; to spread their ideologies. In Rhodesia they used radio to disseminate information to oppose the struggle for liberation and in Zimbabwe, the government uses radio to thwart any opposition against the ruling party. Moyo, (2004) describes radio broadcasting transition "From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe" as "change without change".

Radio has always been important as a tool of communication in Africa (Hungbo, 2008; Myers, 2009; Mano, 2011, Teer-Tomaseli, 2018). Due to ownership and control patterns, most of the radio stations in Africa are controlled by the government (Zaffiro, 2002, 2010; Mbaine, 2003; Nyamnjoh, 2003, 2005; Ndlela, 2007; Chuma and Moyo, 2010, Ndlovu, 2016 etc.). Many African governments use radio to propagate their ideologies whether they are democratic or otherwise. Ownership of radio in most African countries is in the hands of the ruling elite. They own and control PSB, commercial and community radio stations. For instance, in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola and Mozambique the ruling party members and their families own radio stations (MISA, 2014; AMB, 2014). As a way of getting alternative voices African radio listeners have resorted to listening to foreign radio broadcasts. For instance, Moyo (2012) explores how clandestine radio stations used to contest “mainstream media power” in Zimbabwe.

Radio and the Public Sphere

As said earlier, radio has continued to develop together with technology and has managed to beat competition from the television and the computer. African media scholars have debated on how radio has assumed the role of the public sphere through convergence. The concept of the public sphere was propounded by German philosopher Jurgen Habermas in 1962 and the English version of this book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* was published in 1989. The concept initially related to the European Seventeenth and early Eighteenth century society where citizens would sit in public places like coffee shops and salons to discuss issues that concerned them. Expounding on the idea, Habermas further states that the public sphere can be considered as a realm where the public opinion can be created without people being forced to accept the dominant ideas. Generally, the idea of the public sphere pertains to a media structure that offers available space for the enunciation of lucid and critical debate and discussion by the community. Radio has proved to be a vital gadget in the enhancement of lively debates by the citizenry.

Scholars have debated how radio has turned into a ritual form of communication where audiences have ceased to be only receivers of information but also producers (Mytton, 1999; Hungbo, 2008; Myers, 2009). Hungbo (2008) examines the role of ‘clandestine’ radio in promoting the public sphere in Africa. He describes instances whereby ‘clandestine’ radio stations have been used as alternative voices for different groups of people who fight for emancipation. For Hungbo (2008), clandestine broadcasting can be in the form of an established global radio station that gives room to different

people to discuss issues that affect them. He gives an example of Voice of America (VOA) and British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) that have provisions for different countries to have domestic programmes in local languages. Clandestine radio can also be in the form of radio stations that would be broadcasting from outside the country and hosted by other countries. Hungbo (2008) gave examples of Cameroon, Ethiopia, Somalia, Nigeria, Angola, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia. In the case of the last three countries Hungbo (2008) criticises the involvement of BBC in spreading propaganda for the rebel forces. What is striking about this kind of public sphere platform is that it is a means through which opposition political debates are discussed. As discussed earlier these clandestine radio stations were used in the colonial era and they are serving the same purpose in the post-independence era giving voice to the opposition.

Tettey (2011) looks at the Ghanaian situation, Odhiambo (2011) looks at Kenya, Bosch (2011) examines South Africa while Moyo (2010); Moyo (2011); Moyo (2012) and Chuma (2013) research on Zimbabwe. In the Ghanaian case, Tettey (2011) discusses how talk radio has opened up genuine debate to the Ghanaian public. Ghanaians now have the chance to continue discussing topical issues beyond news bulletins. New media platforms like the internet and mobile phones allow even people in the diaspora to be involved in discussing issues that are being debated back home. In the past the government used to disseminate information to the citizenry - a top-down form of communication but now talk radio has allowed people to debate issues that affect them even at national level. Tettey (2011) however, laments issues of manipulation and promotion whereby radio can be used to fulfil political or commercial interests.

Odhiambo (2011) describes how radio stations give audiences in Kenya a chance to debate and comment on issues of national interest. Audiences discuss current affairs, governance issues and matters arising from news stories. Like the Ghanaian case where audiences go further to discuss issues that emanate from news bulletins and other chat rooms, talk radio in Kenya also allows audiences to discuss and comment on topical issues. Odhiambo (2011) discusses how three Kenya radio stations: *Kiss FM*, *Easy FM* and *Citizen FM* give radio listeners a chance to participate in radio programmes. Audiences call and air their sentiments in matters that affect them including issues of governance. With *Easy FM* the presenter actually goes into the street to talk to the people directly while at the same

time talking to the co-presenter in the studio. The audiences then vote in order to establish the people's opinions on controversial matters.

As in the Kenyan case, in Malawi, audiences are also active participants in radio production as established by Manda (2015). He discusses how Radio Listening Clubs (RLCs) have enhanced audience participation in developmental issues. These RLCs are also pivotal in the dissemination of information on agriculture in Malawi. In a similar case, Fortune and Chungong (2013) explore how Information Communication Technologies (especially mobile phones through smses) have engendered audiences' participation in community radio. In a related research, Farm Radio International (FRI) (2011) investigated how ICTs have enhanced the use of radio in economic development. The study established that ICTs have really improved radio communication and audience participation. They chose radio stations in Mali, Uganda, Tanzania and Ghana. Participation is done through messages or emails on mobile phones. This is done after listening to the radio programmes. Communication takes place among programme producers, agricultural extension workers, farmers themselves and specialists or suppliers of farming inputs. The farmers formed organisations called Active Listeners Clubs (ALCs) whose members are involved in the formulation of radio programmes. These radio programmes are based on the ALCs' farming patterns, radio listening habits and general life-styles. However, Musa (2018) talks of the existence of listening clubs being as old as radio itself. He argues that when radio was invented it was very expensive, not portable and there were transmission problems. Listeners would go to one place where they would listen together and debate about the topical issues and news in general. Ndlovu (2017) also describes how PF ZAPU supporters gathered in schools and prisons to listen to the Voice of the people. In this case, it was not only about scarcity of radio receivers, it was about the restrictive media landscape that would not allow the reception of unlicensed radio stations. These radio stations also disseminated revolutionary content that led to the uprising of the Africans. Unlike early listeners who took long to give feedback to radio through letters and telephone, contemporary listeners give feedback in real time through the internet

Talk shows on radio have revived the concept of the public sphere even in the African context (Hungbo, 2008; Bosch, 2011; Moyo, 2011; Chuma, 2013). These scholars agree that new media have allowed and given audiences more opportunities to discuss issues that affect their lives. Like Hungbo

(2008), Tettey (2011) and Odhiambo (2011), Bosch (2011) realises how radio has empowered audiences as they are now able to participate in radio production through talk shows.

For Bosch (2011:2003) listeners are indispensable in talk radio stations as, “The callers to the programmes are what define the character of the station.” She examines how the radio station, 567 MW in Cape Town, is promoting democracy and enhancing the public sphere through talk shows. Like Chibita (2011) in the Ugandan case, Bosch (2011) laments how language can be a hindrance in participation in the radio programmes. According to Kijana (2012), most of the radio stations in Kenya allot the majority of their air time to talk shows. Fortune, Chungong and Kessinger (2011) realised that in seven West African countries 83 percent of the community radio stations’ listeners use smses to participate in radio programmes. These countries are Benin, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Niger, Senegal and Mali. The study by Fortune, Chungong and Kessinger (2011) concluded that women do not have a lot of issues to contribute to the radio programmes. This is because most of the issues that are aired do not concern women; they are rather more inclined to men’s interests. The same conclusion was reached by Fortune and Chungong (2013) in a later research that concentrated on Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea.

The concept of the public sphere is not only promoted by the mobile phone but generally new media enhances democratic participation through radio. There has been research on the relationship between radio and new media or Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) (Mytton, 1999; Hungbo, 2008; Myers, 2009; Moyo, 2010; Moyo, 2012; Chuma, 2013). Hungbo (2008) however, criticises how the West used ICTs and radio in many civil wars in Africa. He gave examples of BBC and Voice of America which acted as clandestine radio stations. Moyo (2010) and (2012), and Chuma (2013) all discuss how new media have been used for public debate in Zimbabwe. It should also be noted that the scholars mentioned above agree that clandestine radio stations act as alternative radio in many African countries where governments directly and indirectly own and control radio stations (Mbaine, 2003; Myres, 2009).

Though numerous academics support that radio has been pivotal in the promotion of public debates, Mohammed, (2013) laments the Ethiopian situation where the publics are not involved in radio broadcasting. In Ethiopia there are only a few people who possess radio receivers and Mohammed

(2013) complains that these people do not participate in radio programming. The majority of radio broadcasting done in this country is linear and audiences just listen without contributing anything. Unlike many scholars who advocate for community radio broadcasting that uses one language (UNESCO, 2001; Myers, 2009; Manda, 2015) and the use of local languages (Prah, 2004; Bosch, 2011), Mohammed (2013) advocates for the use of one language that is understood by all Ethiopians. This is not possible as Mohammed (2013) agrees that there are more than 40 languages in Ethiopia and the country is also very poor besides having a low literacy rate. Mabika and Salawu (2014) concur with Mohammed (2013) when they argue that National FM and Radio Zimbabwe should also broadcast in English since they are national radio stations. However, this position can be contested since Zimbabwe has other radio stations that mainly broadcast in English.

The Ethiopian case is similar to what was happening to many African broadcasters before current advances in technology. Many radio audiences only listened to radio programmes and did not fully participate. Letters were used to respond or to participate in radio programmes (Mano, 2004) but they were slow and considering the economic status of many African countries, some people could not afford to communicate through the letters. The telephone was even more expensive and inaccessible. Technological development has introduced the mobile phone and the internet which have enhanced audience participation not only in phone-ins but in programme production itself. However, radio's ability to enhance the public sphere has been blamed for causing ethnic tensions in Kenya (Kijana, 2012). This is akin to how researchers have come to blame social media for the increase in the xenophobic attacks in South Africa and the world at large (Human Rights Council Report, 2014; Jubany and Roiha, 2016).

The Question of Language

Due to low illiteracy levels in Africa and the need to promote local languages, many radio stations broadcast in vernacular languages (Mytton, 1999; Myres, 2009; Chibita, 2011 etc.). For example, Okoth (2015) established that there is need to set up vernacular radio stations in Kenya's rural areas as 67 percent of the country lives in rural areas. The rural people are generally poor and cannot afford television sets or newspapers so they rely on radio. This situation is not peculiar to Kenya but many other African countries (AMB, 2014). This scenario, coupled with other factors has given rise to the emergence of community radio stations. However, not all vernacular language radio stations are owned

by the community. There are some that are commercially owned and they also have a large number of audiences (Okoth, 2015). With the exception of Zimbabwe, many African countries have licensed community radio stations. It is these radio stations that mainly broadcast in vernacular languages.

The issue of vernacular language broadcasting has been examined by many scholars. Chibita (2011) examines the possibility of having multiple publics and multiple languages in radio stations in Uganda. She realised that not all Ugandan languages are broadcast on radio stations in the country. She also states that by 2009 Uganda had 123 radio stations that were registered and broadcasting. There are 36 languages spoken in Uganda but only four main languages are predominantly used for broadcasting. These are English, Kiswahili, Luganda and the 4Rs - Runyoro, Rutoora, Runyankore and Rukiga. The other languages are only heard on radio for a few minutes per week. With so many languages, it then becomes difficult to cater for all the ethnic groups on the national radio stations as it is difficult to broadcast in languages that are spoken by all ethnic groups. Like Bosch (2011) and other scholars, whose work is going to be discussed below, Chibita (2011) is of the view that if radio stations do not cater for all languages, then they cease to act as public sphere platforms. The issue of language is also pivotal in these discussions and in the Ugandan case, vernacular languages are also used in the talk shows (Chibita, 2011).

Use of vernacular language on radio has improved audiences' participation on radio. Tettey (2011) describes how talk radio in Ghana has allowed the citizenry to use vernacular languages in programmes that are officially in English. This allows people to even initiate discussions on issues that are pertinent to their society. In the Kenyan case, Odhiambo (2011) describes how *Citizen FM*, which broadcasts in Kiswahili, accords citizens the opportunity to discuss issues that are directly related to governance. Odhiambo (2011:45) talks of "the people's parliament", where the "culture of silence" is "no more". The radio station (*Citizen FM*) is presumed to have allowed citizens to openly discuss political issues thereby enabling them to make informed choices on which party to vote for during election time.

Many scholars agree that the use of vernacular languages promotes audience participation in radio programmes (Musau, 1999; Prah, 2004; Myers, 2008; Bosch, 2011; Odhiambo, 2011; Chibita, 2011 etc.). In the Ugandan case, as discussed earlier, there is a challenge emanating from the multiplicity of languages spoken in that country. Many African countries have the same problems where different

indigenous languages are spoken (Hachipola, 1998; Musau, 1999; Batibo, 2005 etc.). On this matter, Musau (1999) discusses the question of language and nation building where he interrogates the choice of the language to be used in the case where there are many languages. On this note he agrees with Chibita (2011) in the Ugandan scenario. However, Musau (1999) argues that countries like Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania have no problem in selecting a local language as there is Swahili which is a common vernacular language in the whole country. For Kenya, Musau (1999) advocates for the use of Swahili in the media and that would promote nation building. He further suggests that Swahili be used as a regional language. Batibo (2005) examines the Botswana case where he realised that the Khoisan, who are a minority group (in terms of population), prefer to use Setswana, which is used by the majority, instead of their own Khoisan language.

In the Ethiopian case, Mohammed (2013) explores how radio has been used to communicate with rural people as they do not have access to other forms of the media like television and newspapers. The use of local languages in the few radio stations available in Ethiopia also contributes towards its popularity. Ethiopian policy makers have taken advantage of this and use radio to disseminate development programmes that assist in the alleviation of poverty in the country. Prah's (2004) extensive research on using African languages on radio in Ghana, Mali and Senegal indicates the importance of language in radio programming. He established that radio is more popular in these countries mainly because it uses local languages. One of his objectives was to find out audiences' programme preferences of selected radio stations in the three countries mentioned above. The majority of the listeners in all the three countries indicated that they select programmes that are broadcast in their languages.

The use of vernacular language radio was also explored in farming. The African Farm Radio Research Initiative (AFRRI) (2011) and the Farm Radio International (FRI) (2011) carried out studies to establish the relationship between radio and ICTs in farming. Mali, Tanzania, Uganda and Ghana were used as case studies. The organisations found out that ICTs enhance the use of radio in disseminating agricultural information. The studies further established that the use of local languages in these programmes increased farmer participation. The extension workers and the radio broadcasters used local languages in programmes that involved listeners who have formed ALCs. This case is similar to Manda (2015) who discovered that the use of local languages led to the increase in the membership of the RLCs for radio stations in Malawi. Zimbabwe's National FM has a listeners' club known as

National FM Listeners Club. The problem is that the club's active members are Shona speakers and the club was not formed to promote the use of minority languages.

Radio and Culture

Culture is a broad phenomenon that embodies different issues totalling a people's way of life (Haralambos 2008). In simple terms, Williams (1958) says culture is ordinary. Culture entails what people do in their everyday lives. This section examines how radio is a mirror of the African culture. It generalises how radio programmes reflect the culture of the Africans and uses examples of research that has been carried out in different parts of Africa. Radio is an audio media and whatever aspects of culture that are portrayed in programmes are revealed through words of the listeners, music and sound effects. Furthermore, radio has programmes that revive African traditional culture. Religion as part of culture is also going to be explored in this section.

Culture is dynamic and this has allowed its transformation, which makes it fit well into technology including radio technology. African media scholars have explored how radio has been used to promote culture. For example, Mano (2004) examined the role of radio in renegotiating the traditional African court on radio in Zimbabwe. In the study, Mano looked at how Radio Zimbabwe programmes *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* (Shona) and *Ihlupo Zanamuhla* (Ndebele) acted as a traditional court.

In these programmes there would be the host and other people who act as "judges". People with problems or disputes with family, friends or neighbours would write letters or call to ask for advice. Nowadays people also use mobile phones and social media to participate in the programmes. Mano's study shows how radio is just a reflection of culture where the society creates its own "court" for reprimanding and advising members who have problems or disputes. This is similar to the Ghanaian situation where Tettey (2011) realised that technology has enhanced communication, which is part of culture. On-line radio stations have enabled Ghanaians in the diaspora to communicate and participate in discussions about what happens in their country. It is part of culture for citizens to be actively involved in issues that affect them. Technology has allowed Ghanaians in the diaspora to be part of the debates that affect their country although they are thousands of kilometers away from home. In the same vein, Odhiambo (2011) explores how three radio programmes in Kenya have enhanced live debates as part of culture. In the study, Odhiambo (2011) analyses the role of three programmes in enabling citizens to be actively involved in matters that directly affect them. The programmes *The Big*

Issue of the Day on Kiss FM, *Breakfast Show* on Easy FM and *Jambo Kenya* on Citizen FM all discuss problems that affect the country and offer solutions. Odhiambo (2011) admits that some of the solutions arrived at in the programmes affect public opinion.

As said earlier, culture is a people's total way of life and the media including radio should thrive to reflect this. Research on radio has shown that radio programmes are a reflection of culture. For instance, Ligaga (2011) explores how radio drama managed to continue broadcasting during Arap Moi's regime. According to Ligaga (2011), the political situation in Kenya restricted media freedom to the extent that media practitioners themselves practiced self-censorship. Due to government censorship some media organisations ended up selecting what to present. Ligaga (2011) discusses how Radio Theatre in Kenya survived government censorship for more than three decades. The producers did this through presenting plays whose themes were not political but had moral lessons. The themes included HIV and AIDS, developmental issues, educational programmes through radio drama, marriage, love affairs and many other issues that did not directly oppose the government's ideologies. Ligaga (2011) gives examples of a radio drama that was presented from the 1970s. The moral lessons were also done through soap operas and comedy. The other way that the radio drama managed to survive was through the inclusion of "multiple meanings" in the oral plays (Ligaga, 2011: 156). This enabled the story to have different interpretations rendering producers safe from government scrutiny.

The Kenyan situation is similar to what was happening in South Africa in the apartheid era. Gunner (2011) explores how radio drama was used to portray IsiZulu culture in the colonial era. Just like the Kenyan case in the authoritarian regime, radio broadcasting was controlled by the state during apartheid. Drama was used to express the kind of life that the African people were living but like the Kenyan case the plays' story lines discussed moral issues. The play writers and actors avoided political stories for fear of victimisation. All the stories that were presented in the plays portrayed what was taking place in the country. For instance, the movement of Africans from urban to rural areas and vice versa and other themes included interpersonal relationships, family relationships, love affairs and issues to do with health, traditional healing methods and death.

Religion as part of culture is another aspect that has been broadcast on radio. Some religious groups own community radio stations while several commercial and public radio stations allocate time to

broadcast religious programmes. Radio is changing the shape of religion (Frahm-Arp, 2011) as some aspects of religion have now been transformed. For instance, some Islamic radio stations now have women presenters (Schulz, 2011). Schulz (2011) presented the linkages between radio and culture in Mali where she found out how the Islamic culture does not encourage women to be actively involved in politics. Religion as part of culture also raises concern in the Islamic tradition where women are not supposed to hold influential positions. Schulz (2011) relates how a woman goes on air only to teach about the role of the Islamic woman in society. The women who educate fellow women on Islamic teachings deny that they are teachers. The radio programmes do not delve into politics as this belongs to the realm of men. These radio programmes are a reflection of the Islamic culture where women are not expected to teach especially in public. Although these women deny that they are teachers, in reality they teach as they give lessons. This is mainly done through private radio stations.

Both Frahm-Arp (2011) and Schulz (2011) question whether radio can transform how religion is experienced. On one hand Schulz explores how radio has changed the role of women in religion. On the other hand, Frahm-Arp examines the authority of the new religious leaders who are emerging due to radio. Schulz specifically looks at Islam radio while Frahm-Arp analyses three radio stations that have broadcasts for different religions in South Africa. In the South African case, religious radio does not only discuss religious issues but it also broadcasts news, current affairs and many other issues pertaining to everyday activities. For instance, *Radio Islam* has health, cooking, gardening, childcare, finances and many other issues in addition to religious programmes. Radio has enhanced the promotion of Islam by infusing Islamic teachings with cultural programmes. *Radio Veritas*, a South African Catholic radio station, has also allowed the transformation of religion as it has both men and women presenting programmes (Frahm-Arp, 2011). This is in contrast to the Islamic religion where women are not allowed to teach even on radio. Unlike *Radio Islam* in South Africa and Islamic radio stations in Mali that foster the Islamic religion, and *Radio Veritas* which promotes Catholicism in South Africa, *Radio 702* has a programme (*Believe It Or Not*) that questions all religions. The commercial radio station acknowledges all religions and questions the relevance of each of the religions in a society that has many religious beliefs.

The 'Janus-Faced' Radio

Like all media, radio can be both constructive and destructive. This was also established by early radio researchers like Theodor Ardono who complained that Hitler used radio to cause panic among people

(Moore, 1993; Scannell, 2007). In Africa, radio has been used to exacerbate conflict and the critical and typical case is that of RTLM in Rwanda. The radio station was used as a communication tool by the perpetrators of the notorious Rwandan genocide (Des Forges, 1999; Carruthers, 2000; Moyo, 2004; Straus, 2011). In the Rwandese genocide RTLM and Radio Rwanda were used by the Hutu to give instructions on carrying out the killings. The information on how to go about killing Tutsis was explicitly announced (Des Forges, 1999). It is one of the objectives of this study to evaluate both the discourses that are prevalent on National FM and ascertain whether they are progressive or retrogressive in maintaining peace in Zimbabwe.

As discussed earlier, in many African countries radio is state-controlled and citizens are not at liberty to say out their views for fear of victimisation or even death. Moorman (2011) discusses how an Angolan radio journalist working for a UNITA radio station was murdered. This happened after he presented a programme that people thought marked the beginning of democracy and freedom of expression in Angola. The MPLA-led government uses radio to disseminate government ideas and at the same time despises UNITA and its insurgent activities. A similar situation prevailed in Nigeria, Somalia, Sierra Leone and Cameroon where on one hand, the state radio stations churned out government propaganda and derided the rebellious activities and perpetrators of the civil war. On the other hand, foreign radio stations like BBC and VOA were broadcasting for these insurrectionist groups (Hungbo, 2008). Like in the colonial era, radio became the battle ground for different warring groups (Mosia et al, 1999; Ndlovu, 2016).

Due to the uneven playground in most of African broadcasting arenas, civil societies and other organisations have devised the use of radio to air alternative voices. This is in the form of clandestine radio stations, community radio stations and on-line radio stations. However, the alternative voices should be very careful to avoid what happened in the Kenyan post-election violence where community radio stations were aligned to political parties and the discourses used influenced the death of over 1 000 people (Ngui, 2008). Ismail and Deane (2008), Ngui (2009) and Kijana (2012) researched on the involvement of community radio in the post-election violence in Kenya in 2008. These scholars agree that local language radio fanned ethnic hatred and fueled violence after the Kenya referendum of 2000 and the 2007 elections. They found that radio was instrumental in exacerbating the rift between the conflicting political parties. Hungbo (2008) also discusses how BBC and VOA have been broadcasting for the rebel movements in Nigeria, Somalia, Sierra Leone and Cameroon.

While most of the xenophobic attacks were said to be fueled through social media, conventional media including radio are also blamed for exacerbating xenophobia in South Africa. However, there is not much literature that particularly investigates the role of radio in fueling xenophobia. Scholars like McDonald and Jacobs (2005), Nyamnjoh (2010) are of the view that the media have perpetrated xenophobia in South Africa through the use of derogatory terms to describe immigrants. They are described as foreigners, aliens, thieves, illegals, job stealers and *makwerekwere* (Danso and McDonald, 2000). The media used the same language that the South African populace who were against immigrants used. Furthermore, the media in South Africa stereotype immigrants from African countries. For instance, the Nigerians and West Africans are associated with drug dealing, Zimbabweans are known for armed robbery and Mozambicans are associated with car theft (Schemer, 2012; Janis and Kroll, 2013). Hadland (2010) argues that the media should not be blamed in the case of South Africa as they were just reporting what was happening on the ground. He further expresses how media effects research has failed to clearly prove that there is a cause and effect relationship between exposure to violent media content and aggressive behaviour. This then indicates that radio could also have been instrumental in perpetrating xenophobia.

There is however, considerable research on how radio can be used to educate audiences on the evils of xenophobia (Muswede, 2015; Mkandawire, 2015). Scholars agree that radio can be used in conflict resolution and prevention. On one hand, Mkandawire (2015) examined how a Zambian radio station, QFM Radio, retaliated to xenophobia through prohibiting airplay of South African music. The radio station also developed an anti-xenophobia remonstrance emblem that contributed towards the termination of xenophobic assaults. On the other hand, Muswede (2015) takes a different approach where he investigated how community radio can be used as a medium to combat xenophobia. He discusses how community radio stations should broadcast content that deals with development and immigration issues. The community radio stations should have a participatory approach where there are talk shows that encourage people to stop violence and live in harmony with others. These two scholars use different approaches but they are both advocating for the use of radio in enhancing social harmony.

Since there is still state control of radio broadcasting in Africa (Ndlela, 2007; Chuma, 2010; Moyo, 2010) and radio is the most widely used medium, radio content can be used to “manipulate” audiences

in different ways for peace or for war. For instance, the polarisation of the media in Zimbabwe is also prevalent in the broadcast media where radio stations broadcasting from outside are believed to be anti-ZANU PF and those controlled by the state are aligned to ZANU PF. Moyo (2010) in Chuma and Moyo (2010) analyses how the Zambian and Zimbabwean governments have been talking about freeing the airwaves but do not take any action. They still cling to the public radio stations which they use as their mouth pieces.

Public Service Broadcasting in Africa

There is a huge body of literature on the state of PSB in Africa (Teer-Tomaseli, 2008; Myers, 2009). PSB in Africa is riddled with state and commercial interests. There is also lack of quality radio programming which is attributed to the governments' "inadequacies" in the provision of resources to the radio stations. Mbaine (2003) and Myers (2009) argue that this is attributed to poor working conditions (inadequate equipment and low salaries) in PSB radio stations and it results in radio personnel going to work for the better equipped and better broadcasting commercial entities. There is too much government interference in PSB broadcasters in Africa yet the government's role should just be limited to setting up the broadcasting policy framework. This is in line with the view of Hills (2003: 39) who argues, "It is the government's role to determine overall broadcasting policy and the structure of the domestic market. The government has to decide how many players there will be in which technologies, and where to be located." Matters to do with content should be dealt with by independent regulatory bodies. In Africa, this is not happening as governments are too involved in the operations of PSB radio stations (AMB, 2014; AMR, 2014; MISA, 2015).

Many African states have broadcasting systems which are owned, funded and regulated by the government and the ruling party (Hills, 2003; Mbaine, 2003; Nyamnjoh, 2003). Berger (2009:7) posits, "Much of Africa inherited the British model, where a state-owned broadcaster funded by public resources was supposed to produce public service broadcasting." However, most PSB stations in Africa have gone commercial due to lack of funding from government resources. Commercial radio stations do not have the interests of serving the general public. These organisations have the goal of attaining as much profit as possible so issues to do with universalism, diversity, independence and distinctiveness are not achievable. Commercialisation is associated with the selling of audiences to particular business entities while PSB is rather universal and targets all

citizens within the whole nation. Private radio stations only aim to get profit at the expense of quality. Barker (2001) agrees with the above and goes further to articulate that commercialisation has led to the decline in freedom of expression. Media content is determined by the economic base of the organisation in which they are produced. PSB radio broadcasting in Africa is affected by lack of government funding and this has led to its impurity. Bussiek (2013:1) calls them “state-controlled commercial broadcasters forced to survive in a competitive environment-for which they are ill-equipped in almost all respects.”

Africa’s colonial legacy is prevalent in all spheres of life including the media as at independence most countries in Africa inherited national broadcasting systems that were used as propaganda tools by the colonisers (Mosia et al., 1999; Myers, 2009; Moorman, 2011). However, African governments chose to retain government monopoly over the airwaves and over half a century into independence some African governments still control broadcasting. According to Berger (2009), in the colonial era “the ‘public’ part of ‘public service broadcasting’ meant a tiny minority” (7). In the post-colonial epoch, the powers still continued in the hands of the few-the government and the ruling party. These state owned organisations are termed PSBs yet in practice they are not at liberty to act independently and disseminate information that is plural, universal and diverse. Many media critics are of the view that government-controlled broadcasters have to be converted into visibly distinct public service entities that enjoy editorial and programming independence. They are also supposed to be administered by private organisations and answerable to all sectors of the public (Feltoe, 1993; Mytton, 1999; Mbaine, 2003; Moyo, 2010; Myers, 2009 etc.). Some African statesmen argue that due to the fragility of “young” independent African governments they have a stranglehold over broadcast media in order to prevent civil unrest (Mamdani, 1996; des Forges, 1999; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Dersso, 2008; Kijana, 2012). However, countries which do not have any histories of civil strife still cling to the control of broadcasting in the form of ownership and statutory regulation.

Public Service Broadcasting symbolises a public sphere for debate and the dissemination of information and ideas, indispensable for the appropriate operative of an autonomous society. It therefore means that “PSB is for the public, of the public and by the public” (Mendel, 2000:2). Mendel

(2002) goes on to say that there are three conditions that are essential for public service broadcasters to accomplish their obligation in the public interest and these are:

1. The independence of public service broadcasters must be guaranteed through appropriate structures such as pluralistic and independent governing boards.
2. Public Service Broadcasters must be guaranteed funding which is adequate to serve the needs and interests of the public, and to promote the free flow of information and ideas.
3. Public Service Broadcasters must be directly accountable to the public, especially as regard the discharge of their missions and the use of public resources. (2)

Barendt in Mendel (2000:7) notes six key features of public service broadcasting organisations:

1. General geographical availability;
2. Concern for national identity and culture;
3. Independence from both the State and commercial interests;
4. Impartiality of programmes;
5. Range and variety of programmes; and
6. Substantial financing by a general charge on users.

All these features are supposed to uphold the operations of public broadcasting as it is supposed to also act as a public sphere. However, two of the above features are difficult to abide by in many undemocratic and poor countries. Many PSB organisations lack independence from the state through regulation and funding and this results in radio stations acting as government mouthpieces (Mendel, 2000; Bussiek, 2013). Furthermore, Berger (2009) attributes this to inadequate funding from the state. It also leads to commercial funding which affects the type of programming as sponsors and advertisers determine the types of programmes to be aired. Commercialisation would then hinder impartial programming with content that is not in line with PSB expectations as sponsorship and advertising have made PSB stations look like commercial broadcasting (Gripsrud, 2002). Furthermore, Raboy (n.d) in Gripsrud (2002: 271) says PSB should provide the following services:

1. A common reference point for all members of the public.
2. A forum for public discussion.
3. Impartial news coverage.
4. Pluralistic, innovative and varied programming.
5. Programming that is both of wide public interest and attentive to the needs of minorities.
6. Reflect on the different ideas and beliefs in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies.
7. A diversity of national and cultural heritage.
8. Original productions by independent producers.
9. Extended viewer and listener choice by offering programmes not provided by the commercial sector.

A public service broadcaster should aspire to be a forum for public discussion and this entails that language plays a pivotal role. However, the African situation is fraught with irregularities as many states continued to use the language of the former colonisers even in radio broadcasting. Many Africans are dissuaded from public debates as “The post-colonial state continues to operate on the

basis of 'Eurocentric norms and values' perpetuating the denigration and marginalisation of indigenous languages, cultures, and norms with the consequence of furthering the alienation of the majority of Africans from the processes of the state" (Dersso, 2008:6). Moyo and Mutsvairo (2018: 37) also say, "While colonialism has ended, coloniality has continued to undermine knowledge production that is liberating to the subaltern." For instance, former British colonies like Zimbabwe and Zambia use English as official languages and some of their radio stations also mainly broadcast in English. Former Portuguese and French colonies also use their former colonisers' languages in broadcasting (AMB, 2014). It is mandatory for public radio stations to produce programmes that are diverse and include both local and international content but the issue of funding has resulted in the broadcasting of more international than local content. For instance, there is a trend towards playing popular foreign music and international sports news is also favourable.

Competition from private commercial radio has led to higher levels of foreign music and "high levels of foreign content also mean high usage of non-local languages" (Mbaine 2003:154). In Francophone and Lusophone countries there are programmes that broadcast from the former colonial powers on national radio (Karikari, 2005; AMB, 2013). While diversity is condoned in PSB programming, such programming of foreign content does not fit into PSB systems as lack of funding has culminated in the proliferation of foreign content which does not uphold local culture as promulgated in the PSB system.

In Africa the regulatory frame work compromises the viability of PSB institutions as the government itself regulates everything to do with all media (Seleti, 2000; Karikari, 2005; Banda, 2011; Zaffiro, 2011; Smith, 2011; Mohammed, 2013). In many African countries public broadcasters are located within government ministries and they act as a facility to supremacy and authoritarian regulation and not to citizens and autonomous living (Myers, 2009; Bussiek, 2013). The President and the Minister of Communications or Information are directly responsible for everything associated with broadcasting. While there are countries which purport to have private regulatory bodies, there are still debates regarding the independence of those bodies (Teer -Tomaseli, 2008; Duncan and Glenn, 2010). Most African countries have no clearly defined broadcasting policies and this has led to complications in the administration of broadcasting systems.

Most African countries which have liberalised the airwaves and licenced community radio stations have awarded these licences to religious groups which are not a threat to the ruling parties. PSBs themselves are still a preserve for the state either directly through ownership or indirectly through regulation (Barrat and Berger, 2005; Nyamnjoh, 2005; AMB, 2014). Due to lack of reliable funding PSB systems in Africa depend on sponsorship and advertising and this has an effect on the programming that is meant for public interest. The PSB radio stations end up broadcasting programmes that suit the interests of the sponsors at the expense of satisfying the general public. For South Africa and Zimbabwe PSB funding has been a combination of government grants, licencing fees and revenue from advertisers and sponsors (Teer-Tomaseli, 2008; Duncan and Glenn, 2010; Mhlanga, 2011.) In many Southern African countries “funding was phased out in favour of advertising-driven economics” (Berger, 2009).

The funding for public broadcasters by African governments has always been a prickly subject as the governments and ruling parties use the services of the broadcasters but investing very little or nothing in them (Berger, 2007; Myers; 2009, Banda, 2011). Many African public broadcasters do not have adequate equipment (cameras, editing suites, modern studios, telephone lines, fax machines, internet services, transport, etc.) for the smooth running of their organisations and this also affects the quality of radio programming (Mbaine, 2003; Myres, 2009; AMR, 2015; AMB, 2015). The quality of public radio content is also affected by lack of skilled personnel which comes as a result of the economic state of many African countries. Myres (2009) blames the lack of skilled radio technicians, administrators and journalists on the overall financing systems of the public broadcasters. She argues that due to technological advancement there is need to continuously perform staff development programmes that are aimed at training radio operators on the new trends in broadcasting. This underfunding has adversely affected the viability of PSB radio stations in many African countries. In Ghana and Zimbabwe for example, the situation has led to irregularities whereby some prominent people have to pay in order to be part of a news bulletin and some offer transport and other incentives to have coverage. This prevents the programming of impartial news presentation as propounded in the principles of PSB (AMB, 2013; MISA Zimbabwe, 2014). In some African countries like Chad the advertising revenue is so meagre that it cannot sustain the national broadcaster and this has led to the broadcaster to abandon all PSB tenets and go to purely commercial programming at the detriment of satisfying all citizens (AMB, 2014).

Inadequate funding also has negative implications on the principle of universality in Africa as there is insufficient equipment like transmitters. As a result, many border and remote areas in African countries do not receive radio signals as Myres (2009:14) contends, “In some countries, the state radio which is dubbed ‘public service’ may not actually reach the poor, because of weak transmitters and lack of capacity to cater for the local language groups”. This is in line with the IMPI Report (2014) which observed that in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya Tanzania and other Sub-Saharan countries there is lack of transmission in remote areas. PSB is supposed to cover the whole country in order to attain universal reach but this is not prevalent in most African countries. While this can be attributed to the economic status of African countries, the blame can also be put on the governments’ willingness to serve the citizenry. For Zimbabwe, the government has always sidelined people who reside in remote areas (Nyagumbo, 1997; Sithole, 1999; Muzondidya and Gatsheni- Ndlovu, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Ndlovu, 2013; Mhlanga, 2011, 2012).

In Southern Africa, there is a thin line between public broadcasting and state controlled broadcasting as the government is the owner, funder and regulator (Bussiek, 2013). In Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe the governments have liberalised the media and allowed other players in the broadcasting field (Mbaine, 2003; Moyo, 2010). However, the governments still control what in principle is termed publicly owned broadcasting when in practice it is state broadcasting (Moyo, 2010). In other Southern African countries like Malawi, Botswana, Mozambique Namibia and South Africa the government has taken considerable steps in eradicating government control of radio (Berger, 2009; Moyo, 2010; IMPI Report, 2014). However, in Mozambique the government uses other means like the police to thwart freedom of expression that is guaranteed in the constitution (Seleti, 2000). For instance, Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) operates under the Namibia Broadcasting Corporations (NBC) Act of 1991 which spells out the mandate of NBC as a public broadcaster (Mukundu, 2009; Smith, 2011). The government has sole control over the broadcaster and this compromises the running of the radio stations that are supposed to be public broadcasters. The AMB (2015) also posits that the NBC is funded by the government and it is answerable to both the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology and the Namibian Parliament.

Language use can hinder the use of radio as a public sphere (Bosch, 2011) and it is therefore pivotal for PSB radio stations to broadcast in the languages of all the people of a nation. Many African countries have had contestations on matters of national languages and some scholars established that many countries use languages of their former colonisers as one of their national languages. In Zambia they use English and other local languages on public radio but English is dominant (Banda, 2009; AMB, 2013; IMPI Report, 2014). In Tanzania and Kenya Swahili is more dominant in all sectors to the extent that they use it on national radio. These two countries have a vibrant broadcasting system with many of their radio stations broadcasting in local languages (Hungbo, 2008, AMB, 2014; IMPI Report, 2014). It can be concluded that it is the role of PSB to nurture African languages as a way of affirming and promoting national and ethnic identities. Radio programmes in African languages are also important since most people are competent in their vernacular languages.

In Southern Africa many PSB radio stations are state controlled and act as communication tools for the government (Ndlela, 2007; Myers, 2009; Moyo, 2010; Bussiek, 2013). Seleti (2000) and Bussiek (2013) agree that Mozambique's regulatory framework allows for the free flow of information in the country. The public radio stations broadcast in more than 20 languages and cover the greater part of the country. However, like most of the African countries the PSB radio stations are administered by the government and they are also used to propagate government ideologies. The Namibian radio stations operate in a restrictive legal environment. There is no truly public broadcaster in the country as Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) is owned and controlled by the government through the Minister of Information and Communication. This has resulted in the NBC broadcasting information that promotes state philosophies (Berger, 2009). Any dissenting voices are despised and censored. In Zambia the public broadcaster, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), was theoretically transformed into a public broadcaster in 2011. In practice this has not happened as the PSB radio stations are still controlled by the government. Moyo (2010) laments the situation in Zambia and Zimbabwe where the respective governments are reluctant to practically free the airwaves.

South Africa is leading in the attempt to liberalise broadcasting with the President and the minister having minimum control over broadcasting as the control is shared with a regulator (Duncan and Glenn, 2010; Mhlanga, 2011). South Africa and Zimbabwe decided to commercialise part of the PSB but it appears there is still some state control. In South Africa there is diversity and plurality with

minimal government control. There is also the three tier broadcasting system but it can also be argued that with some form of regulation from the state still in place, then there is no total independence. Definitely there is plurality but the matter of diversity is questionable. For example, SABC administers some community radio stations (Mhlanga, 2011). This shows that there is no diversity as these community radio stations act rather as an extension of SABC. The Zimbabwean case is even worse; although there is a private regulatory body, the BAZ, the President and the Minister of Media, Information and Broadcasting Services are still in charge.

The South African situation is important to note when discussing PSB broadcasting. There have been a lot of debates between 1990 and 1994, when South Africa held multi-party elections. During apartheid broadcasting was state-owned and was used as a propaganda tool for the ruling elite. In preparation for the transition from apartheid to multi-party democracy the then ruling National Party and the main opposition ANC held debates about the funding, administration, operations and programming of PSB (Mbaine ,2003; Nyamnjoh, 2003 Teer-Tomaseli, 2008; Duncan and Glenn, 2010). For them, PSB should have qualities that make it a public sphere and commercialisation and politics should not interfere with programme content. Teer-Tomaseli (2008) says that the transition period was marred with a lot of problems associated with funding mechanisms, “social and cultural adjustments” (89), structural issues, political interference and self-censorship among others. SABC is a PSB which is criticised for serving the interests of the elite, especially the dominant ruling party ANC. SABC is licenced by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) “to provide public service content in two categories of services: public service and public commercial service” (Duncan, 2009:43). While SABC might have some irregularities in some aspects of broadcasting, in Sub-Saharan Africa it is the one which has a PSB system which tries to be pluralistic, diverse and caters for all the languages of the Rainbow nation which has many official languages.

Maintaining public service broadcasting is problematic in most Sub-Saharan African countries because of the fragility of the post-colonial governments and other socio-economic factors (Zaffiro, 2002; Nyamnjoh, 2003). For instance, there have been civil unrests in many parts of West Africa and in countries like Nigeria announcements of coups were done through radio (Moyo, 2004). Radio can also play the watchdog role and this scares many governments whose human rights records are questionable. As said earlier, radio is a powerful medium in Africa due to its different qualities which

are compatible with the African populace (Mytton, 1999; Myers, 2009; Mano, 2010 etc.) As such most undemocratic governments in Africa control broadcasting to such an extent that in Africa PSB is just a theoretical phenomenon devoid of any practical foundation. In West Africa the Gambia, Cameroon, and Guinea are some of the countries where there is state controlled broadcasting via the Ministry of Communications (AMB, 2014). Besides regulating broadcast content, the minister also administers and regulates the law and also has absolute power over broadcast licences. In Ghana, for example, the decline of government subsidies caused the public broadcasters to rely on commercial revenue but this compromised the quality of PSB content (Mbaine, 2003). In Nigeria, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) took long to issue licences for community radio or television since its establishment in 1994 while the application for broadcast licences by religious organisations remains prohibited (Mbaine, 2003; Myres, 2009). Bussiek (2013:80) observed that just like other African states Benin's public broadcaster, the Office for Radio and Television Broadcasting, "has many characteristics of a government media". The public broadcaster is controlled and administered by the government through the minister of communication. The government also controls the budget and monitors the content that is broadcast and this has resulted in the PSB radio stations being unpopular with many listeners who do not subscribe to government's view points. Like in Benin, public broadcasting in Cameroon is controlled and managed by the government through the minister of communication and the Prime Minister. The public broadcaster, the Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV) radio channels are the most widely used communication media. As in the case with many African countries CRTV is used as a government information tool and anything that criticises the government is not broadcast on the public radio stations. CRTV journalists and employees are regarded as civil servants (Myers, 2009; Bussiek, 2013).

According to Bussiek (2013), Mali has for a long time been regarded as a model of freedom of expression in Africa. This changed in 2012 due to political unrest and public radio stations then became government communication tools. The Office de la Radiodiffusion Television du Mali (ORTM) is owned and controlled by the government, as is the case with many African countries. This has caused PSB radio stations to cease operating as public broadcasters. They no longer satisfy the interests of the majority but cater for the ruling elite.

In East Africa there is a milestone in media liberalisation with governments eradicating monopoly over broadcasting. For instance, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda licenced private broadcasters in 1992, 1996 and 1989 respectively (Mbaine, 2003; AMB, 2014; Africa Review, 2015). In Tanzania the government once transformed its state broadcaster into a complete public service broadcaster in 2007. However, this did not stay long as the President feared for his post after he narrowly won the 2010 elections (Smith, 2011). In the Kenyan case, Bussiek (2013) posits that Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) is controlled and administered by the government and it follows a civil service structure like many other African countries. However, unlike other PSB radio stations in Africa, KBC radio stations are the most popular as they broadcast information that represents government interest (Bussiek, 2013). KBC's credibility is also questioned as it uses Kenya News Agency (KNA) regional offices as its news sources without checking. Like many other African PSB stations, KBC is regarded as a government mouthpiece and this is debatable in terms of the norms that are expected for a public broadcaster. In Uganda PSB radio stations face a lot of competition from commercial broadcasters and this has affected service delivery (Bussiek, 2013). Like in many African countries, Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) is not a true public broadcaster and this is due to government and commercial interests.

In North Africa, there is partial liberalisation of broadcasting in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia where the governments do not own all radio stations but control them through legislation. In Libya, Liberia and Egypt the state controls all broadcasting media and while there are private radio stations, they are still under the control of the government (AMB, 2014). According to Mendel (2000) the broadcast media in Egypt is state controlled. This can be attributed to the prevailing political unrest but the situation prevailed even before the fall of Mubarak. The public broadcaster, the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU), is a very big organisation that consists of several television and radio stations. The organisation which was formed in 1971 is owned and controlled by the state and is answerable to the state. Dabbou (2014:12) concludes that ERTU is “an appendage of the government” and has always supported the government of the day. It is even criticised for failing to broadcast information that is in the interest of the public and even broadcasts “blunt propaganda in support of the military in the post-Brotherhood period” (Dabbou, 2014: 12).

Libyan public broadcasting is not working properly after the demise of strongman Muammar Qaddafi.

During Qaddafi's reign public broadcasting was in the hands of the president- Qaddafi himself. The public broadcasters were and are still regarded as government employees whose mandate is to disseminate state propaganda. PSB radio stations in Libya are not popular as they broadcast information that does not satisfy the public interest (Dabbou, 2014). They failed to broadcast what was taking place during the conflict and even the current situation. This is done by private broadcasters who are keen to gain profit through broadcasting information that interests the public (Dabbou, 2014). In theory, Morocco is regarded as a model of media freedom reform among Arab countries that are undergoing democratic and constitutional reform. This is not the practical situation on the ground as the state dominates the broadcasting sector. Morocco has set regulatory reforms that have led to the formulations of provisions that guarantee the creation and existence of public service broadcasting. Research carried out by Dabbou (2014) indicates that these regulations were not effected as the state still owns and controls public broadcasting.

Like Morocco, Tunisia also has enacted laws that enhance media freedom through facilitating public broadcasting but the government still owns and controls public broadcasting. These scholars also posit that the public broadcasters in Tunisia, like in many African countries, rather act as the government's mouthpieces. The Tunisian public broadcasting scenario is different from what happens in most African countries. The AMB (2014) and Dabbou (2014) agree that public broadcasting in Tunisia is in transition as the government is theoretically enacting laws that free the airwaves but in reality the enforcement of those laws is not effected. Dabbou (2014) posits that the public broadcasting sector in Tunisia is owned by the government but the content that it broadcasts is in favour of the opposition. This can be attributed to lack of clear editorial guidelines and different broadcasters take different editorial stances and the majority then favour the opposition. This shows that the government does not completely control PSB radio stations as it cannot censor the content that is broadcast. These scholars agree that the state of public broadcasting in Tunisia is affected by the political unrest that prevails in Arab countries where there have been coups and civil wars.

Public Service Broadcasting in Zimbabwe

Like in most Southern African countries, in Zimbabwe the state controls PSB radio stations (Mano, 2007; Myers, 2009; AMB, 2014). Most African countries inherited broadcasting systems that were used during the colonial era. As such, the broadcasting arenas in Zimbabwe and Rhodesia are very similar as in both regimes the government owned and controlled broadcasting. The Rhodesian government controlled and manipulated radio, which was in principle operating as a public service

broadcaster (Frederiske, 1982; Zaffiro, 2001; Windrich, 2010; Ndlovu, 2016). In practice, the government owned and controlled radio. The Zimbabwean government inherited radio and only altered the name from Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation to Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation but the system of ownership and control remained the same. A number of studies were carried out in relation to radio operations in Zimbabwe and the researchers concluded that the regulatory policies and state intervention are prohibiting the radio personnel from performing their basic role of mediation (Ndlela, 2007; Chiumbu, 2009; 2010; Moyo, 2010; Windrich, 2010). Like Rhodesia, Zimbabwe's PSB system is modelled along the lines of the BBC and it has been following similar structures since independence (Ndlela, 2007). After independence in 1980, the government of Zimbabwe increased the number of radio stations from two in Rhodesia to four as in the BBC style (Scannell, 2007).

Moyo (2004) traced the history of broadcasting in Zimbabwe from the colonial era up to 2003 and discovered that radio in Zimbabwe was not different from radio in Rhodesia. In relation to that Ndawana and Muromo (2012) took a step further by analysing the radio in Zimbabwe during the period of the Government of National Unity (GNU) of 2009 to 2013. Though the Government of National Unity comprised three political parties, ZANU PF still dominated radio broadcasting.

News, music and other programmes were all in praise of ZANU PF. During the Government of National Unity (GNU) ZBC was controlled by ZANU PF since the Minister responsible was a ZANU PF stalwart. Other parties were overshadowed through unbalanced regulation. Ndlovu (2016) also agrees with Moyo (2004) when he discusses how radio broadcasting has been contested during colonial Zimbabwe. He traces radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe up to 2015 and concludes that PSB radio stations have always been mouth-pieces of the ruling elite.

While studying the role of alternative media and how they affect the public sphere in Zimbabwe, Ndlela (2010) realised that Zimbabweans turn to clandestine radio due to the fact the PSB radio stations are used as the government mouth-piece. Like other research on radio, Ndlela (2010) and Moyo (2010) realised that radio is the most popular medium but governments hinder the penetration of alternative voices. The ruling party controls the airwaves and content as well but those who do not support ZANU PF want to have other sources of information. Audiences got tired of listening to ZANU PF propaganda (Ndlela, 2010; Moyo, 2010) and listened to VOA, Radio VOP and BBC. In an earlier

study Ndlela (2007) discovered that Zimbabwe, together with Zambia and South Africa, adopted broadcasting reforms to follow the BBC style of PSB. As said earlier on in this chapter, South Africa is said to be the best in the democratisation of broadcasting systems. However, for Zimbabwe and Zambia these reforms were not practically implemented. This was also discovered by Moyo (2010) when he examined the steps taken by Zimbabwe and Zambia in reforming the broadcast arena. Moyo's (2010) study established that these countries were reluctant to free the airwaves.

The inefficiency of public radio in Zimbabwe is also manifest in studies carried out by Mhiripiri (2011) and Moyo (2012). While Mhiripiri (2011) investigated how community based furtive radio stations based in Harare and Bulawayo are operating, Moyo (2012) studied the operations of an unlicensed radio station operating in Bulawayo. Mhiripiri (2011) studied Community Radio Harare (CORAH) and Radio Dialogue (Bulawayo) and Moyo (2012) also looked at Radio Dialogue. The two scholars acknowledge the fact that PSB radio stations are controlled by the ruling party. These two scholars also agree that the PSB radio stations operating in Zimbabwe are shunned by opposition party supporters who then opt for the pirate radio stations.

ZBC's radio operations cannot be categorised under public service broadcasting system as it also has some commercial traits. ZBC radio gets its funding from licences and from advertising. Zimbabwe was using the United States Dollars at the time of doing field work for this study.

The radio licence fees were as follows:

- Household radio- US\$20
 - Car radio - US\$30
 - Company car radio- US\$50
 - Business premises radio- US\$80
 - Household TV- US\$50
 - Business premises TV- US\$100
- (IMPI Report, 2014; ZBC, 2016)

Chiumbu (2009) says that many listeners cannot afford to pay the annual licence fees which are exorbitant. The excessive licence fees and the government's inability to fund the operations have led the ZBC to go the commercial way. For Zimbabwe, government funding dwindled to an extent that ZBC radio stations now rely on commercial funding through advertisements, donations, sponsorship

and the selling of air space to organisations that produce programmes for broadcasting (Chiumbu, 2009; MISA Zimbabwe, 2010).

Many scholars are of the view that PSB was modelled on the BBC (McQuail, 2010, Scannell, 2007; Keane, 1999; Gripsrud, 2002 etc.) In the early days of radio, British broadcasting was PSB while American was commercial (Crisell, 1986). Ownership, funding and regulation are crucial in radio production as these have a direct bearing on the kind of content that is disseminated. However, given that there are around 16 recognised “minority” languages in Zimbabwe, this study is an attempt to explore the feasibility of integrating and representing these minority “national” languages in one radio station.

Radio Programming for Minority⁷ Languages

Every media genre has its own conventions and minority radio everywhere has its own style of programming and content. In some instances, the language used is the only distinctive feature that differentiates minority language radio from any other radio station. Minority radio should also have programmes about the audiences and issues that affect them. Most minority language radio stations are community based. In the case of Zimbabwe, the only minority language radio station that is there is publicly owned. Human rights organisations advocating for minority language rights through United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2014) encourage radio programming that bears all the cultural attributes of a culture, including language. They also recommend the inclusion of content that satisfies the interests of the minority language audiences and minority radio should perform all the normative roles of the media. In most areas where small linguistic communities live, there is underdevelopment and health-related challenges, HIV/AIDS in particular, trafficking, farming education and culture. UNESCO (2014) emphasises the need for programmes that combat drug trafficking, human trafficking and promote self-prevention and community cohesion as strategies to strive and solve these problems. UNESCO (2008) says that programming for minority languages should be in the form of drama, soap opera, talk shows, music and news programmes should include stories about the community. There is supposed to be thorough research and surveillance to gather information for programming as well as feedback from the audiences. A UNESCO (2013)

⁷ While this study is aware of the connotations behind the use of the term ‘minority’, the word is used in some sections of the study. However, the words local/indigenous small linguistic communities are used in most parts of the thesis.

report indicates that many countries in the West and the East as well as some African countries have radio programmes that follow these conventions.

Many countries have radio stations that promote indigenous languages and most of these are community radio stations. UNESCO (2014) and The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (2009) have a guideline on minority language programming. These guidelines are implemented in in Asia, America, Europe and Australia. Most of the programmes advocate for the development of these small communities as most of them are marginalised. For instance, there are programmes on information on birth registration and other programmes that deal with their socioeconomic well-being. Fundamentally indigenous language radio programming is meant to protect these languages from extinction (Rubino, 2010).

There is a link between indigenous language programming and community radio programming. Small linguistic communities are by nature ethnic communities with only a few people who usually share the same language. These people have common interests and goals (Camaroff, 1997). The programming for such kind of radio stations has to be local and limited to that small group of people. There is a rich body of literature that discusses the import of indigenous radio in articulating developmental issues. In Western countries these radio stations mainly broadcast issues to do with health and other social issues especially matters pertaining to the well-being of the community. UNESCO, 2013 and Rubino (2010), when discussing indigenous radio in Czech Republic and Australia respectively, say that indigenous language radio should be anchored on community development and ensuring the survival of minority languages. This is also echoed by Sierp (2010) in an assessment of how indigenous language radio can be used to preserve minority languages in Italy. These scholars agree that programmes in minority languages should be participatory and should discuss issues that affect the audiences.

According to Chapman et al (2003), programmes should include locally recorded actualities to ensure authenticity. They discovered that indigenous language radio can be used in disseminating information in agriculture, including soil and water conservation. They used a Ghana radio station (Simili Radio) as a case study where they established that these radio stations encouraged audience participation due to the use of local languages. This radio station used local drama, local music, and talk shows at local level and locally produced tapes and compact discs. The programmes were scheduled following

farming seasons. For instance, programmes relating to land tillage would be broadcast when farmers are tilling the land. This would also apply to sowing seeds, watering, harvesting and other activities. Since Zimbabwe's National FM is a public service radio station, it is one of this study's concerns to examine how the station caters for different small linguistic communities it purports to serve.

In the study by Chapman et al (2003) the use of local languages allowed audiences to participate through asking questions and giving each other advice. This is similar to what the FRI (2011) discovered about how radio can be used to disseminate information on farming techniques. FRI (2011) used Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda and Sierra Leone as case studies. Although the research was mainly about the role of ICTs in enhancing the use of radio, it further went on to find out how the use of indigenous languages promotes sharing of ideas. The research also established that these programmes allowed farmers to participate among themselves and with extension workers through mobile phones and the internet. The listeners formed ALCs where they share ideas on the best farming and marketing practices. In a similar study, Manda (2015) explored how indigenous language can be used to broadcast developmental programmes in Malawi. Like in the FRI (2011) case, the farmers had RLCs. The club members worked together with radio personnel and extension workers. These studies indicate that indigenous language programmes have to involve the audiences themselves through participation in the formulation of programme ideas.

Research on minority radio programming indicates that there is imbalance in terms of the use of language itself and the type of programmes that are broadcast (Myers, 2009). In the Zimbabwean case, for instance, Ndawana and Muromo (2012) established that National FM gives very little airplay to programmes in minority languages. The other predicament on minority language programmes is the issue of airing programme content that does not directly affect listeners of minority languages. In relation to this Sierp (2010), also complains about minority languages being given little air play on radio programmes in Italy. Like in the African case, Myers (2009) and Sierp (2001) blame lack of funding in the radio broadcasting for minority languages. This also leads to commercialisation, where radio broadcasters satisfy the interests of the sponsors and funders.

Audiences are usually interested in consuming information that they relate to and this means indigenous language radio should thrive to disseminate programmes that appeal to the audiences.

Ligaga (2011) analyses how a Kenyan radio station broadcast drama episodes with themes that were social. The radio station avoided presenting political issues for fear of government censorship.

However, Odhiambo's (2011) study shows a different dimension from that of Ligaga (2011). The three talk shows analysed in Odhiambo's (2011) research included political issues. The study found out that what was discussed in the talk shows affected public opinion.

In many radio stations' programming, music constitutes 70 percent of the airplay (Scannell, 2001; Myers, 2009). Music by local artists should also be played and the inclusion of local content gives pride to listeners. Commenting on National FM programming, Gondo, (2009) says,

The people in the district proudly talk of the importance of Shangani programmes on radio and see those that have been behind it all, like Thomas Chauke as some kind of heroes. They believe this is a welcome effort to promote the language and its speakers. (Thomas Chauke is a Shangani musician).

According to Scannell (2001), local musicians complained that radio stations in Zimbabwe were mainly playing foreign music instead of local music. In relation to that Mano (2009) later discovered that most music played on Radio Zimbabwe was local. This could be attributed to the fact that the BSA (2001) stipulated that all radio stations should play 75 percent local music. However, Moyo (2004) and Moyo (2009) observed that during election time that local music content would be in the form of ZANU PF jingles and songs that praise the President and the ruling party. It is quite significant for this study to analyse the kind of music that is played on National FM- do they play local music in minority languages? Or they play Shona and Ndebele songs?

Programmes should be written in minority languages and translation should be discouraged (UNESCO, 2013). This involves the inclusion of minority language speakers in radio programming as in the case of Shangani, Kalanga and Tonga musicians. The presenters on National FM should also be speakers of these languages. Chapman, Blench, Kranj-Berisavljevik and Zakaria (2003) discuss how Radio Savanna, a minority language radio, is used in disseminating information on agriculture in Ghana. The programmes are in the form of drama, music, talk shows and guests who are extension workers also speak these languages. In Zimbabwe, National FM has many developmental programmes for small linguistic communities and this study investigates the processes involved in the production of these programmes.

Scholars agree that audiences are supposed to be active in the production of minority radio programmes (Camaroff, 1997; Chapman, Blench, Kranj-Berisavljevik and Zakaria 2003; McMonagle, 2003). As

discussed earlier, convergence has enhanced audience participation in radio production (Myers, 2009; Mhiripiri, 2011; Moyo, 2012; Chuma, 2013 etc.). Audiences used to write letters to radio in order to participate in different radio programmes. For instance, Mano (2004) discusses how a popular programme on Radio Zimbabwe started audience participation through the use of letters and telephone. The advent of the mobile phone then boosts audiences' active role in radio production. Audiences could now phone-in and send short messages. However, these were initially a bit expensive and only a few people would participate. Nowadays mobile phones are more affordable and internet accessibility has also increased. Airtime and internet bundles are now affordable. Ultimately, technological convergence brought considerable developments. Audiences can now use Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp and other social media platforms to participate in radio programmes. The issue of internet connectivity in some outlying areas can also inhibit audience participation especially in Africa (Myers, 2009). Smart phones can also be unaffordable for the majority when considering the continent's economic status (Mano, 2009; Hungbo, 2012; AMB, 2014).

Conclusion

From its invention, radio has always been a medium that has been utilised by many people due to its favourable attributes. However, like all media, radio can also be manipulated by the dominant elites through ownership and control. According to the African Charter on Broadcasting (2001), radio should function in three ways, which are public service, commercial and community. Many scholars have realised that there is state control in all the three systems especially in Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2003; Ndlela, 2007; Myers, 2009; Moyo, 2010). In Zimbabwe, there are no community radio stations, only commercial and PSB radio stations. Available literature has indicated that most African governments use PSB radio stations as their mouth-piece and civic society organisations have been clamouring for governments to free the airwaves. In some African states like Zimbabwe, governments claim to have independent regulatory frameworks but they still control the PSB systems. The literature also shows that radio programming for small linguistic communities should include developmental programmes which help in the upliftment of marginalised communities. Radio programmes that are broadcast in these languages would be valuable to the listeners as they understand the content better than in languages which are not their own. The listeners can also contribute to the programming since they are familiar with the languages.

Chapter Five: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Introduction

This chapter examines concepts that are related to the study. Production research on different media genres has been carried out and some conceptual frameworks have influenced these studies. Sociology of journalism and political economy of the media are discussed in relation to how they affect radio production at National FM. Both political economy of the media and sociology of journalism affect media production, including radio production as both concepts have a direct link on ownership and control as well as the funding of the production process. Studies in sociology of journalism have revealed that the human resource element is also pivotal in radio production. The chapter explores how power relations at the station influence production of content.

Sociology of Journalism

The nature of media products is influenced by many factors including the circumstances under which they are produced, and sociology of journalism plays a pivotal role in media production. Before discussing this concept at length the term “sociology” should be explained. Sociology simply means the study of history, development and societal activities and this entails that in sociological terms things are not taken for granted as there are reasons why certain things happen and happen in the way they do (Haralambos, 2008). Sociology of journalism is a discipline that examines the work of journalists in relation to the political, economic and social environment that they work in. It explores the larger context within which media organisations operate and the framework affecting the use of that content. Furthermore, it gives emphasis to the methodical activities, performances, interactions by which journalists uphold themselves as journalists. Sociology of journalism is about the activities involved in the production and consumption of journalistic texts. McNair (1998) describes sociology of journalism as the study of journalism and its relationship to the societies within which it is produced. It has its roots at the University of Chicago in the 1930s with Park and others looking at journalism as a target for humanistic sociology (Zelizer, 2004). This concept is grounded in the analysis of social relations in an organisation and how those relations affect business.

Early media sociologists looked at the effects of media products on consumers (Devereux, 2003; Gitlin, 2003; McNair, 1998, Dickinson, 2007). The effects paradigm emphasises what the media do to

the people and sociology of journalism goes further to study the interplay between production and reception. While the concept examines both production and reception, this study does not look at reception of radio content. The concept is, however relevant to this study as it interrogates the nature of the forces behind the production of radio content for small linguistic communities.

Sociology of journalism also examines the five traditions in search of audiences and the reception analysis, which “may be regarded as the most recent development in area of audience studies” (Jensen and Rosengren, 2005). This research is based on content analysis and institutional analysis of National FM and this encompasses the forces involved in the production of radio content that is targeted for ethnic minority groups.

Sociology of journalism does not look at the behaviour of audiences only but also studies the activities involved in the production of journalistic texts. Many media scholars including Bourdieu (1998), Herman and Chomsky (1988) and Tuchman (1978), have studied the activities that surround media institutions through ethnography and their findings reveal why certain media content is constructed the way it is. The relationship found among personnel at a media organisation affects how, what, when a media product is manufactured. In this study the social relations within ZBC as a media entity have a bearing on the programming. This encompasses how management relates with the production personnel and other members who are not directly involved in the production of radio content. At National FM the relationship between management and executive producers affects how certain programmes are broadcast in certain ways. The relationship that prevails among personnel who occupy the same status at an organisation also impacts on the running of the organisation. The connection between producers/presenters at the radio station also influences production. In the case of National FM, there are other factors that influence radio production besides the power relations within the organisation itself. National FM is located in the same building with a sister radio station, Radio Zimbabwe. Golding and Elliot (1979:300) also realised that “Studio facilities were also a subject of contention” at Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation TV. Sociology of journalism is still pertinent in this study as what prevailed earlier in the broadcasting industry still persists. The two organisations, National FM and Radio Zimbabwe, are ZBC subsidiaries and they have the same manager, same premises, same broadcasting equipment and same technicians and this affects their ability to effectively carry out their duties. For instance, most parts of the country do not receive the National FM signal but Radio Zimbabwe has a wider coverage in terms of transmission and reception. National

FM as a PSB radio station is governed by the government and production of content at the station is influenced by ZBC management.

Studies in media sociology have revealed that the journalistic text that audiences interact with would have gone through a lot of processes including gate-keeping and agenda-setting. Zelizer (2004) discusses the works of Tunstall (1971); Schlesinger (1978); Schudson (2002); Gans (1979); Bourdieu (1998); Herman and Chomsky (1988), and Tuchman (1978) as examples of ethnographies that demonstrate how media institutions play a part in the production of the text that media users receive. Sociology of journalism also interrogates issues to do with media regulation as well as the normative role of the media. Dickinson (2007) and Zelizer (2004) discuss the importance of regulation, especially self-regulation, and to them ethics is a very special field in journalism. The radio station under study, National FM, is a public service radio station which is regulated by the state. This confines journalists at the station to carry out their duties within the stipulated parameters. Dickinson (2007) is of the opinion that while statutory regulation is vital, the most appropriate form of regulation is self-regulation and there should be occupational socialisation and continuous training of journalists (including in-house training) as a crucial part of journalism. He goes on to say that journalists have always followed editorial policies of their organisations.

McNair (1998) posits that there are several factors that affect the quality of the journalistic text that is produced by any media institution. He talks of professional ethics, the political environment, political economy, technological developments, market forces, and the management of information by extra media social actors as forces that compete to influence journalistic discourse. Sources and techniques used in news gathering as well as public relations also have a bearing on the content. McNair is of the view that media products are shaped by the codes of conduct that the journalists follow. Zelizer (2004) also considers professional ethics to be the basis on which journalistic work is derived. In relation to regulation, this study analyses how journalists at National FM are affected by the regulatory framework in the country. ZBC is regulated by the government and there are also codes of conduct that ZBC personnel follow. Although all journalists in the country subscribe to the national ethics code of conduct (VMCZ), ZBC journalists are not members. They only follow their organisation's code of conduct.

McNair (1998) and Dickinson (2007) are of the view that the training of media personnel affects the production at media institutions. African media practitioners are said to be partially trained (Myers, 2009; AMB, 2014; IMPI Report, 2014 etc.) and this has resulted in them not performing to international standards. At National FM the initial batch of producers and presenters of minority language programmes in 2001 were not trained journalists. They were employed because they were conversant in the minority languages. However, they have since acquired qualifications in Mass Communication and Journalism and some have attained degrees. The issue of training is also related to technological developments where sociology of journalism concerns itself with how organisations equip their personnel with skills to work with new technology. It also examines how organisations adapt to new technology, like the use of computers and editing software. At National FM, some of the producers/presenters still need the assistance of technicians to edit their audio programmes. Some of the journalists at the radio station were not computer literate. They also had no Twitter or Facebook accounts. This meant that audiences who spoke their languages could not interact with them fully as they only used the WhatsApp platform with these producers/presenters. The station did not have enough computers and some producers actually used their own computers. This lack of adequate equipment sometimes resulted in poor programming in terms of quality audio output or repetition of programmes. The techniques and sources used in news gathering also affected the programmes. Journalists mainly used ‘officialdom’ reporting where they got news from officials and very little information from the grassroots. There was also the problem of resources and this resulted in the journalists doing telephone interviews with interviewees they could not meet physically. They also used almost the same sources, which resulted in lack of variety in the programming.

Sociology of journalism regards marketing forces as other elements that impact on media production. While most public service broadcasters thrive to rely on government funding, studies have indicated that this is not happening in most African countries (Ndelela, 2007; Myers, 2009; Teer-Tomaseli, 2008; Chiumbu, 2009; IMPI Report, 2009). Research in the PSB radio stations in Zimbabwe has established that the government has failed to fund ZBC and the money that is supposed to come from licences is not adequate as only a few subscribers are paying (AMB, 2014; IMPI Report, 2014). These problems that were found at National FM were also identified by early media researchers elsewhere. Golding and Elliot (1979) found out that there were lack of resources at NBC. For instance, The NBC film crew complained that there was one car, one camera and this made it difficult for them to do their

duties. National FM had a similar predicament; there was no car that was specifically for the station, no camera and had only three audio recorders. Due to lack of funding, National FM - just like other PSB radio stations in Zimbabwe and Africa has gone commercial. It got funding through advertisements and sponsorship and this determined the kind of programmes that were broadcast on the station.

The political environment is pivotal in media production and research on radio production in Zimbabwe has also revealed the same. This is portrayed in different studies that have been carried out (Coplan, 2011; Davies, 2011; Ligaga, 2011; Mhiripiri, 2011; Moyo, 2012). In the Zimbabwean context, media scholars established that during the colonial era radio was used to propagate the ideologies of the colonial masters and despised opposition parties and their supporters. When Zimbabwe gained independence the tables turned and the same radio stations became mouthpieces of the new ruling elite and also suppressed dissenting voices (Mosia et al, 1994; Zaffiro, 2002; Windridch, 2010; Moyo, 2004; Ndlovu, 2016 etc.). National FM as part of the public radio stations in Zimbabwe, is also supposed to be performing the normative role of disseminating information that satisfies the citizenry. Research in radio operations in Zimbabwe also indicates that the political environment impacts on the production of programmes. Like all PSB radio stations National FM only broadcasts information that supports the status quo. The restrictive media environment is also a sign of political instability and the populace are not at liberty to say out their views through public radio stations. This has resulted in the proliferation of clandestine radio stations where people get alternative voices and at the same time get a chance to air their views (Moyo, 2010; Mhiripiri, 2011; Moyo, 2012, Ndlovu, 2016).

Agenda-setting and gate-keeping are some of the elements that have an influence on media production. The agenda-setting perception was devised by McCombs and Shaw (1972) after they realised that the media did not so much define what publics were thinking but they had a definite impact on what they were thinking about. The political environment has a link on what is to be produced and what should not be published. The agenda-setting role entails that the mass media “exercise a highly important form of political power that politicians and certain pressure groups know how to take advantage of” (Gripsrud, 2002: 43). The political environment and other factors guide organisations on the prominent issues which need publishing or broadcasting. In this thesis it is apparent that the agenda-setting theory is pivotal as research has shown that public service radio stations are controlled by the ruling party. At

National FM current affairs programmes and the news bulletin stories are set by ZBC management, which means the agenda is set by the people who are not part of the small linguistic groups and it is set at national level. The news bulletins at National FM were just translations from national news in English and the current affairs issues that were covered were determined by the ZBC news department which was responsible for the current affairs programmes. This means that the interests of the small linguistic communities were not considered as they were just given what to think about.

The same applies to gatekeeping which is influenced by the context in which the media operates. The gatekeeping allegory was initially developed by Kurt Lewin in 1974 “to describe the decisions in a family household that determine what kinds of food end up on the dinner table” (Jensen, 2012: 88). In media production, a lot of forces are involved and there are also processes that take place. The journalists source for news stories and collect different news items and bring them to the attention of their editors. After that the editors would then select what they think is appropriate at that particular time. In this selection process, some gate-keeping takes place and only stories with the media house’s preferred news values are published. This also happens in broadcast media where the programmes have to undergo some selection. According to Jensen (2012:89) news value is determined by significance, intensity, topicality immediacy and closeness. Significance means that news items should report on happenings or matters worthy to numerous people or society at large. On intensity, news items should be based on conflicts and unanticipated incidences, giving precedence to actions and the reactions of the actors involved. Topicality means that news should report on contemporary events, that is, what has just transpired and what is probable to occur in the immediate future. Closeness refers to matters that are local to the audience. The question of immediacy may be geographical, cultural or psychological and should appeal to almost all the people who are targeted by the media institution in question. This study established that National FM is more concerned with remaining competitive than fulfilling its mandate. This was also realised by Dickinson (2007:7) when he says that organisations exert pressure “on their employees in order to improve managerial efficiency and increase competitiveness”.

In the case of National FM, it is quite significant for the station to ensure that the programmes that are of interest to the small linguistic communities in the whole country. This entails that national events are also pivotal in their programming. The question of language becomes significant then as sometimes the radio station broadcasts national events in English, Shona and Ndebele. The issues would then be

briefly covered in the news bulletins which are just five minutes long. As said earlier, National FM news bulletins were not produced by the radio station but by Newsnet, which is a subsidiary of ZBC. The radio station covered significant information but lacked in intensity as most of the news items in news bulletins were very brief and did not give adequate details. On topicality, National FM programming falls short in the sense that the news in minority languages are not broadcast throughout the day. The news bulletins for minority languages were only broadcast between 10am and 4pm. The other hourly news bulletins are in Shona and Ndebele and those who are not conversant in Shona and Ndebele would be left out until the following day. Gate-keeping also involves the issue of closeness in news values and due to the vastness of the geographical area that is covered by National FM, it is practically impossible for the station to broadcast programmes that are close to all the small linguistic communities. In terms of cultural and psychological attributes, the radio station is providing newsworthy programmes as it broadcasts in the languages of the target audiences and covers national issues that affect them. The only pitfall in this instance is that the coverage is minimal in terms of time and related content.

The agenda-setting and gate-keeping theories are both parts of sociology of journalism, where these agents play a significant role in the production process. Sociology of journalism, as said earlier also discusses the relationship between the text, reception and the users of the text. This thesis is concerned with the production of the text and the text itself. The forces behind media production are mainly informed by the political environment prevailing at a particular time and place. Sociology of journalism also encompasses political economy of the media and several media scholars have done ethnographies in media institutions to study production. In conclusion, one can say that news items are selected, rejected and re-edited on the basis of various criteria that are shared, at least in part, by professional journalists within and across specific contexts of country, medium and market (Jensen, 2012:91).

Sociology of journalism plays a pivotal role in radio production at National FM. In Chapter Eight this study shows that professionalism, technological advancement, market forces and many other political and socio-economic factors affect the product that is received by small linguistic communities. Technological advancement led to the relocation of National FM to Mbare Studios and that on its own was a setback. ZBC had started the digitalisation process so they needed more space at Pockets Hills. The producers/presenters started competing for resources with Radio Zimbabwe. The migration also

disturbed their broadcasting activities. It was at this time that this researcher embarked on field work for this study. The issue of professionalism also had a bearing on the station. When they moved to Mbare they were not given enough office space as well as studios for broadcasting and editing. There was also the issue of competition in terms of revenue. National FM had to produce programmes that were as marketable as those of Radio Zimbabwe. This meant broadcasting more in Shona and Ndebele, which resulted in them abandoning their mandate. Issues to do with agenda-setting and gate-keeping also prevailed, especially in news. The news that was broadcast was national news selected by news readers from Newsnet. News from the minority areas was not covered. The issue of translation also meant summarising and minority groups only got what the producers/presenters could talk about in the short time that was allocated. For example, there was a producer/presenter who was conversant in a number of minority languages. After interviewing sources in Shona or Ndebele he would then translate the information to other languages. Basically, the situation and activities that were prevalent at National FM did not allow for acceptable representation of indigenous small linguistic communities by National FM.

Political Economy of the Media

There is a plethora of attributes that affect media production and political economy is one of them. The section above discussed how sociology of journalism constitutes the media production process. It also pointed out that sociology of journalism encompasses political economy of the media. In simple terms, political economy relates to the interplay between ownership structures and how these affect both production and the product itself. Mosco (1996:6) defines political economy as “the study of social relations, particularly power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources including communication resources”. Political economy is mainly interested in how ownership, funding and control patterns have traceable consequences on the range of discourses and images that appear in the mass media.

McChesney and Schiller (2003) and Graham (2010) discuss the interplay between political economy and communication in general but this study is going to specifically interrogate the relationship between political economy and the media with particular reference to public service broadcasting. Political economy of the media is therefore an approach that critically focuses primarily on the relationship between the structures of the economy “and the dynamics of media industries and the ideological content of the media” (McQuail, 2010:82). In simple terms, political economy of the media

problematizes how ownership and control structures influence production and media output. Radio production is also grounded in political economy as all forms of radio ownership have a direct impact on the production and the nature of the product that audiences consume.

The concept of political economy of the media is largely attributed to Marxist theorists. Karl Marx, cited in Graham (2010), argues that those groups who own the means of production control the means of producing and circulating a society's ideas. Karl Marx defined the term "superstructure" which begrudged the dominion of cognisance. The realm of perception embodied how values, beliefs and ideas in a society were embedded in the social practices, its institutions and cultural products, which nowadays may include advertising as both an industry and texts as products for consumption. In essence, PSB is supposed to rely on government sponsorship and licence fees but research has shown that this is not being implemented. Public broadcasters are now funded through commercial means (Myers, 2009; Chiumbu, 2009 etc.). The products that are then broadcast are defined by those who finance the organisations and, in the case of Zimbabwe, there is statutory regulation and political control as well (Ndlela, 2010; Mhiripiri, 2011; Moyo, 2012).

According to Graham (2010), the term "political economy of communication" was coined by Harold Innis (1942, 1944, 1950, and 1951) who is said to have originated its study. Innis used this term to illustrate the situation that has been prevailing throughout history: certain privileged groups of people like the clergy, the monarch, the army, the intellectuals, the elite and others have always enjoyed a monopoly of access to some kinds of information. Political economy of communication can also be attributed to Harold Lasswell (1927) who examined how the media are employed as platforms to churn out propaganda by the privileged to the disadvantaged consumers. During Innis' period of study, the voices of disgruntled media analysts like Ardono and Hockheimer could be heard talking about how the media were used as tools to manipulate people. On one hand, Ardono (1948) particularly used radio as an example. On the other hand, Edward Bernays (1945) wrote about how the media can be used to sway public opinion in both business and political communication and Bernays is considered to be the father of modern day Public Relations (Graham, 2010). PSB radio stations are used as public relations agents by many ruling parties as they are used as government mouth-pieces (Moyo, 2012; Ndlovu, 2016).

Contemporary scholars now focus on the kind of interplay between media systems on one hand and the wider social systems of society on the other hand. Most of these scholars concentrate on how mass

media ownership and control patterns affect society. Major scholars include Garnam (1990); Mosco (1996); Schiller (1996); McChesney (2000), and McChesney and Schiller (2003). All these scholars valorise power relations in media production and how these affect media products and consumption. According to Allor (1988:543),

The main thrust of political economy analysis has been to shift attention away from the question of individual effects to the circulation of communications as commodities to the question of the market structure and state corporate relations.

The state of affairs in Zimbabwe's PSB arena has led to a situation where the government has failed to fund the broadcaster. This has caused National FM to produce advertiser-supported products that sell the audiences. National FM has to present programmes that appeal to as many audiences as possible. This has resulted in the radio station broadcasting more in Shona and Ndebele as well as airing more entertainment programmes than having programmes in the mandated languages. Scannell (2001) also discovered that radio programming has now been more aligned to entertainment. The political economy approach accentuates "the extent to which media production and media professionals are constrained by powerful political and economic forces" (Devereux, 2003:46). Furthermore, political economy scholars (Picard 1989; Mosco, 2008) have asserted that the media operate as business entities in a dual market where advertisers and audience's needs must be balanced.

The previous sections of this chapter highlighted that National FM is a PSB radio station in principle but in reality, it does not operate within the parameters prescribed in the PSB model of broadcasting. Political economy of the media is concerned with the power relations that affect media production. These include political control, ownership, regulation and funding. In terms of political control, radio studies have shown that public service radio in Zimbabwe is controlled by the ruling party. This started in the colonial era when the Rhodesian government was in control of all broadcasting systems including the programme content that was broadcast (Moyo, 2004; Ndlovu, 2016). Radio production at National FM is directly controlled by the ruling party and only information in line with the ruling class is broadcast. The interests of the small indigenous language speakers are not looked into. For instance, Ndawana and Muromo (2012) established that the radio station disseminates information that the producers think is relevant for the small linguistic communities. The producers/presenters at National FM are guided by the political forces and they only disseminate information that satisfies ZANU PF.

Political economy of the media examines the role of ownership in the production process. Public service broadcasting is “for the public, of the public and by the public” (Mendel, 2000:2). PSB radio stations are supposed to be owned by the public but due to regulation and funding done by the government they have now become state entities. Radio producers only broadcast information that they think supports the status quo. The issue of promoting local small linguistic communities becomes secondary. Producers would only concentrate on ensuring that the content is in line with the regulators. The media regulatory system in the country does not allow journalists to act independently as they have to abide by the laws. The major challenges that are faced by National FM journalists are related to the shortage of resources. This hinders them from going into the field to get information where their language speakers reside. They end up using secondary sources and translating to their own languages.

According to Devereux (2003:88), “Structures of ownership, whether non-profit, public or private, are seen to have a direct bearing upon media content.” As discussed earlier, this has resulted in PSB radio stations like National FM also going partially commercial. There is a “...redefinition of audiences as consumers rather than citizens” (ibid). National FM management is more interested in programmes that generate income. For instance, entertainment programmes in minority languages do not attract many audiences so they use the most popular vernacular languages. Furthermore, the majority of management personnel at ZBC do not belong to the ethnic communities and do not have a sense of belonging. This study found out that market forces and other factors have hindered National FM from following its editorial policies.

Journalists have always followed editorial policies of their organisations. However, the situation at National FM is rather contentious. On one hand, the station is delegated to broadcast in the languages of small linguistic communities yet on the other hand, ZBC management expects the station to be competitive and generate revenue. In a bid to create income, the radio station does not give adequate coverage to the ethnic minorities but rather concentrates on entertainment in Shona and Ndebele, languages which have more audiences. The socio-economic situation is also unstable and journalists toe the line in fear of losing their jobs. They have to follow what management has dictated to them and they forget about their personal interests as members of the small linguistic communities. Scholars agree that political economy of the media is part of sociology of communication and it directly affects media production and content. On social control in the newsroom, Breed (1955)

realised that there are many factors that affect media content production. Some of the factors are related to the political economy of organisations and can relate to the scenario at National FM. Breed researched newspapers but his findings can be applied to what is happening at National FM. One of the issues pertains to the question of abiding to the authority. As said earlier, National FM staff fear for their jobs and they have to follow directives from authorities. For example, they would suspend the schedule and cover a national event as instructed. The scarcity of jobs in the country would also force journalists to do as they are told without questioning. If they do not, they can be fired because the superiors have the authority to hire and fire. The journalists themselves might feel obliged to obey as a form of respect or admiration for the authorities that employed them. This was happening at National FM as programmes in minority languages are short and are sometimes cancelled and the producers do not complain to management.

Breed (1955) also goes on to talk about “mobility aspirations” where all journalists need promotion and going to work for bigger organisations where they earn higher salaries. Boyd-Barret (1995) posits that individual is determined by group behaviour. So individual producers/presenters at National FM would find it difficult to insist on full representation of their languages if all producers/presenters have different reasons to be mum about their situation. At National FM the producer is in charge of the language and the position is prestigious as they also earn more than news readers. This, combined with other political and socio-economic factors, might have resulted in the under-representation of these ethnic languages (Cottle, 2000; Mufenwa, 2006; Ndlovu, 2007).

Research in African radio programming has proved that PSB radio stations in Africa lack independence due to lack of funding (Myers, 2009). Government funding is not adequate for the radio stations’ operations. However, with the meagre funding they offer the governments still control PSB radio stations (African Media Barometer, 2014). National FM gets its funding from the government as well as from advertisers and sponsors. This has resulted in the decrease in the number of programmes for minority languages (Ndawana, 2012). The radio station has more programmes in Shona and Ndebele because of sponsorship and advertising. These sponsors believe that there are only a few listeners in minority languages so if they sponsor programmes in these languages they would not get any profit. Statistics show that more than 70 percent of the Zimbabwean population speaks Shona or Ndebele (Magwa, 2008). This shows that only a small fraction of the Zimbabwean population belongs to the small linguistic communities. Most of the minority language speakers live in the border

areas where there is no radio transmission (IMPI Report, 2014; MISA, 2015). It therefore entails that National FM listenership is minimal so advertisers would want the station to broadcast in Shona and Ndebele. In terms of revenue, the radio station competes with other stations so this would then hinder it from broadcasting information that is suitable for minority language speakers. The programming is done in such a way that it attracts audiences who can then be “sold” to advertisers.

Radio programming at National FM is directly affected by the ownership and control structures. National FM is a PSB radio station and like anywhere else in the world the PSB system has failed. Studies have shown that PSBs are now used to disseminate government propaganda and the ruling elite controls the running of the station. National FM is now not fully abiding by its mandate and under-representing the small linguistic communities. The funding mechanism as part of political economy has caused anomalies in radio production at National FM. The government no longer gives adequate grants to ZBC and audiences seldom pay licence fees. This has resulted in National FM going commercial and giving more airplay to entertainment and programmes that generate revenue. Due to the shortage of resources some producers/presenters were laid off. This caused some languages to go for a long time without programmes and news. Ethnic minorities’ programmes were not well catered for as their programmes are very short and some of them are broadcast late at night.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed how sociology of journalism and political economy affect radio production at National FM. Basically the socio-political scenario in the country had a direct bearing on the operations of radio producers at the station. The government and the ruling party interfered in the operations of radio production. This culminated in the producers/presenters being unable to broadcast content that benefited their fellow language speakers. The ownership, control and funding of the station also led to the inadequate representation of small linguistic communities. Like other PSB radio stations in Africa, National FM is owned, controlled by the government and the ruling party. It is funded by the corporate world and these forces have resulted in the station being unable to carry out its mandate but satisfying political and commercial interests.

Chapter Six: Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyses the methods used to draw information from National FM radio station. The chapter begins by discussing the philosophical foundations of the study. The context under which the ethnography was undertaken is then looked at. This section further explores the socioeconomic scenario at ZBC during the period of research. As a starting point the researcher put into perspective how the issues of restructuring of staff affected the workforce at National FM. Issues to do with entrance and access to the organisation are also discussed in this section. It is quite crucial to have an understanding of the organisation's mandate. A brief description of the quest to preserve minority languages is discussed in the first section of the chapter. This section also gives a brief explanation of the economic situation and the technological developments at ZBC and how these affected the operations at ZBC National FM. The situation that prevailed at the station during the restructuring and the digitalisation exercise is also briefly examined. This is where the participants and their involvement and attitudes are discussed.

The second part of the chapter explores ethnography as a method that can be used in media studies. It gives an overview of the approach and how it has been used in both production research and audience studies. The different data collection techniques that are employed in ethnography are briefly described. Institutional ethnography is an integral part of production research and the next section of the chapter describes how the study employs institutional ethnography. This part examines the different aspects of production research. It describes the objectives of production research, how it is done and the significance of using institutional ethnography in production research.

The next four sections describe the data collection methods that were employed. These are participant observation, semi-structured interviews, document analysis and content analysis. These sections give a vivid description of the relevance of the data collection methods in qualitative research. They also explore the different activities that were done in extracting data. Participant observation and semi-structured interviews are the main methods used to extract data from the participants. Document analysis is also used to complement the interviews and observation on radio production at the station. The study uses both qualitative and quantitative content analysis as methods of finding out how representative the station is in its endeavour to broadcast in more than 18 languages.

Following the data collection sections is the part that discusses the sampling technique that is used. For the ethnography, the researcher intended to observe and interview all the part-time, contract and full-time employees at the station. However, she only managed to get hold of contract and full-time producers/presenters. The study purposively sampled four languages which are underrepresented in almost all sectors of the socio-political environment of the country.

The next segment deals with an evaluation of the methodology used in the research. The research concludes that while the ethnography method might have some shortcomings, it is most suitable for this kind of study. It allows the researcher ample time to scrutinise phenomena. It also accords the researcher a chance to study media professionals as they work in their “natural environment”. Interviews give the researcher a chance to get clarifications on otherwise unclear issues.

The last three sections are on data analysis and presentation as well as the research ethics section. Data for this study is analysed and presented thematically. Quantitative analysis is applied in the analysis of data collected through quantitative content analysis. Most of the presentations of data are qualitative with some quantitative data that measure the variables which relate to how the station represents the small linguistic communities.

Philosophical Foundations

There are different philosophical pedestals that contribute towards the formulation of a research design. Creswell (2009:5) uses the term “philosophical worldviews” to describe the philosophical fundamentals on which research is based. Creswell (2009) identifies four of these worldviews. These are post-positivist, social constructivism, advocacy or participatory and pragmatism. This study is aligned to the social constructivism which is often combined with interpretivism.

Interpretivism is grounded on a “life-world ontology” that claims that all observation is mutually philosophical and value-laden. Furthermore, enquiry of the communal realm is not and cannot be the chase of an isolated impartial actuality (Ponelis, 2015). Epistemologically, the interpretivist paradigm is of the view that people’s understanding of authenticity is a societal creation of human performers. Interpretivist researchers believe that there are no correct or incorrect theories and this study accepts all the interpretations that came from the participants.

Constructivism “focuses primarily on identifying multiple values and perspectives through qualitative methods” (Merthens, 2015). This study uses the qualitative research design. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007) are also of the view that constructivism is connected to qualitative research. It is a case study of the forces and interactions that take place in production of radio content by a particular station. The case study is made up of 20 cases and National FM Mbare studios is the case site. Constructivist researchers basically use qualitative methods of data collection and interviews are part of the methods. Open-ended questions are mainly used in order to allow multiple meanings from participants. This method helped in strengthening this study as the participants in this study managed to give their views about their endeavour to broadcast in their respective languages.

Social constructivism is research philosophy that is based on an understanding of phenomena in the world they live and work. This study fits well into the social constructivism as it investigates how indigenous small linguistic radio presenters work and live. It assumes individuals have multiple and subjective meanings of their experiences. This was also seen in the study as different participants had different opinions on what was happening and how radio content should be produced. The researcher then analyses the “complexity of views rather than narrowing ideas in few categories or ideas” (Creswell, 2005:6). While the research used multiple ethnographic methods of data collection, the main method was interviews and with mainly open-ended questions. The aim of the study is to depend on the participants’ opinions on the scenario under study as much as possible. The questions are framed in such a way that they are wide-ranging and broad to enable participants to form the sense of a condition, usually copied in deliberations and dealings with other individuals. Frequently, these subjective meanings are generally discussed communally and traditionally through interface with others and over cultural and historical standards that function in people’s lives. The subjects for this study all belong to the ethnic minorities and share cultural and historical norms. These affected their individual perceptions as well as interpretations of their working and living conditions which in turn lead to subjective multiple interpretations. For instance, the Chewa, Tonga, Shangani Venda and Kalanga have better language rights and coverage on the radio station. This means that their interpretations of the operations are different from Barwe, Chikunda, Doma and Hwesa who have had been subjugated for a long time.

Constructivist investigators centre on the precise circumstances in which individual’s work and live. This thesis examines not only the working conditions of journalists but also their living state of affairs.

This is done through observing their behaviour as well as their physical outlook. Questions about their level of education, salaries, working conditions and other personal information were asked to determine their living conditions. Again, as postulated by the constructivist paradigm, the study shows that the participants acted as a team on a number of issues that were discussed. Researchers also look at the processes of collaboration among these individuals. The approach is subjective also because researchers' experiences form understanding of the situation.

Researchers also situate themselves in the study to recognise how their explanation drift from their personal, cultural and historical experiences. The researcher developed interest in the marginalised people after carrying out a gender-based study on how vernacular radio stations produce programmes that promote gender equality (Ndawana, 2012). After realising that Radio Zimbabwe and National FM do not promote gender equality, the researcher then went on to investigate how National FM democratically promote language rights for indigenous minorities (Ndawana and Muromo, 2012). The researcher then decided to go further to explore how the radio station is producing content for the minorities. The institutional ethnography and its "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) goes deeper in investigating the feasibility of having one radio station broadcasting in 18 languages. The researcher's previous inquiries were using interviews and content analysis only. This study might have some element of subjectivity on the part of the researcher since her previous studies in the same field show that National FM was not fully representing ethnic minorities. However, observation and content analysis assisted the researcher in trying to be flexible and objective. The constructivist paradigm leads to theory generation or pattern of meaning and this study has established that the radio station promotes those languages which have a higher number of speakers and those with fewer speakers continue to be dominated.

Research Context and Participants

This research is both an investigation of how radio content is produced and an analysis of the content that is produced. The study mainly examines the possibility of having a single radio station representing more than 15 languages and it is of paramount importance to study the institution. Through an ethnographic approach, the research then analyses how the radio station produces radio content. The participants for the study are drawn from ZBC Mbare Studios in Harare and Montrose

Studios in Bulawayo. Although there are producers/presenters from other ZBC radio stations, only National FM personnel and ZBC technicians and librarians are participants in this study.

Entry into the radio station was cumbersome as the bureaucracy and security at ZBC does not allow easy access to the premises. The researcher started inquiring about permission to study National FM at PhD level in 2012 when she was gathering information for a conference paper. That is when she became familiar with the then station manager. For her to get an official documented permission the researcher had to ask for assistance from the then Corporate Communications Manager who granted her permission in writing and asked the researcher to complete and sign the ZBC confidentiality form. However, the researcher encountered problems when she wanted to get a temporary identity card for daily access to the station. The ZBC training officer was responsible for the issuance of identity cards and thought that the researcher was a Midlands State University student on work related learning. He questioned why he did not know about the student as he was in charge of all training at the institution. The training officer was given a letter of confirmation from University of Cape Town and he then authorised the issuance of a temporary identity card. National FM moved to Mbare Studios on 27 June 2015 and it took the researcher six months to get settled at the station. This was because the personnel at National FM had also not settled in. They had no offices and adequate resources in general.

Human rights organisations are lobbying for freedom of expression, media freedom and the freedom for people to use their own languages. United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), through the UN Declaration of Minorities advocates for the use of local languages globally. In Africa, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1991), through the Cultural Charter for Africa, promotes calls for the use of indigenous languages. In Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZIPLA), which comprises organisations like Tonga Language and Cultural Organisation (TOLACO), is very active in the promotion of the use of indigenous languages. In many countries the media are promoting the use of indigenous languages. Both locally and globally, the issue of language rights is being deliberated on a plethora of fora (Nyika, 2007). The Zimbabwean situation seems unique as the International Mother Language Day (21 February) goes unnoticed by the majority and is not celebrated on the exact date. Even the radio stations that mainly broadcast in indigenous languages seem to give little prominence to the day. Globally, local language activists are carrying out activities that are aimed at promoting the use of

indigenous languages (UNESCO, 1992; Comark, 2003; Batibo, 2005; Rubino, 2010; McMonagle, 2012). These activities include the formation of organisations that lobby for the use and preservation of indigenous languages in education, health, and the media, the political and economic fora. Locally, many organisations are lobbying for the preservation of indigenous languages (Nyika, 2007; Ndlovu, 2009, Magwa, 2008). Internationally indigenous language radio is commonly catered for by community radio stations. In Zimbabwe, only one radio station is broadcasting for more than 15 indigenous languages.

The economic context of the country also affected the research field work. Production of media content is influenced by many factors which range from formation of ideas to the application of technologies (Jensen, 2012). The situation at the radio station was very tense as most of the research subjects were uncertain about their jobs. Furthermore, the researcher encountered problems in listening to the radio station's programmes due to transmission problems. It was the intention of the researcher to continuously listen to the radio station for a period of at least one year. This was made impossible by the disruptions in transmission which were caused by the process of migration from analogue to digital technology which was going on at ZBC. Listening to the radio station was then done periodically only when there was transmission. Longer listening sessions were only achieved when the researcher was at the broadcasting premises.

Except Radio Zimbabwe, all radio stations, ZBC management and the two ZTV television stations were originally based at Pockets Hill. The restructuring process, negatively affected the data collection process as the personnel had not settled in. The participants were not very cooperative in the first days and it took time for the researcher to start having interviews. Devereux (2003:120) argues, "Depending on the research question, media professionals and media organisations can sometimes be reticent in allowing themselves to be observed or questioned by academic researchers." This could have been because the participants suspected that the research might influence the restructuring exercise or maybe they did not trust the researcher.

The primary methodology for this research was participant observation and interviews. The chief producer, the librarian, technicians, producers and presenters were all interviewed. The majority of participants were full-time producer/ presenters, part time presenters and those who were on contract. At the radio station the producers have a dual capacity as they present the programmes that they would

have produced. They also work as duty announcers and the tense work schedule which was caused by the restructuring exercise led to unforeseeable challenges in the field work such as access to records, failure to get adequate time for interviews and sometimes rescheduling appointments for meetings with participants. These producers/presenters were also observed as they performed their different duties. When the researcher started her field work most of the participants were very co-operative and willing to assist. The scenario changed when the restructuring⁸ exercise at the public broadcaster commenced as most of them were unsure of their fate at their workplace. Most of the participants became unwilling to be observed and some said they were afraid that the research findings would lead to their dismissal.

The Case Study Strategy

This research is a case study that focuses on one particular radio station. Robson (2002:178) defines a case study as “a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence”. The case study strategy mainly uses qualitative means of data collection and ethnography was used to collect data for this study. National FM was selected as it is the only one that broadcasts in minority languages. The study explores the activities involved in the production of radio content for small linguistic communities.

Ethnography

The study is largely positioned in the qualitative research paradigm and ethnography is appropriate for data collection in this kind of research. This is supported by Marshall and Rossman (1995), Silverman (2000) and Robson (2002) who posit that the choice of different research methods should be dependent on what one is trying to find out. Ethnography is a “term that has lost much of the precision it may once have had” (Deacon et al, 1999). The term is frequently used as a prolix depiction of any qualitative inquiry concerning prolonged observation and interviewing over a period of time (Silverman, 1985; Marcus and Fisher, 1986; Deacon et al; Stokes, 2000). Luker (2008) uses the terms ethnography and participant observation interchangeably and for her it also encompasses the use of

⁸ In January 2014 the Auditor General appointed KPMG to do a forensic audit of ZBC and give advice on the station should be run to make profit. The results which were obtained in November 2014 proved that ZBC had a staff turn out which was higher than it required and ZBC was advised to restructure its staff compliment. Laying off some of the employees was one of the recommendations.

interviews. On one hand, Bryman (2001) contends that the word “ethnography” emanated from “participant observation” in the early 1970s, nonetheless, the two terms have repeatedly been used interchangeably with an increasing prominence on “ethnography” as the more all-encompassing term. On the other hand, Murphy and Kraidy (2003: 305) contend, that media ethnographic studies have not validated an obligation to immersion or long-term observation, instead relying on in-depth interviews and discussion groups and, in general, a “mostly textual and rhetorical handling of ethnography”. It is an approach that is widely spreading in social research (Agar, 1986; Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000, Gripsrud, 2002).

Ethnography has its genesis in anthropology and has evolved for a long time now to be used even in media production research. While anthropology relies on longer periods of observation, ethnography can be shorter or periodic episodes that can stretch to prolonged observation. The ethnographic paradigm emphasises “making the familiar strange rather than the strange familiar” (Van Maanen, 1995: 20). It has been used in media research from the 1930s (Bosch, 2003). Media production scholars have also used this method in studying the production of news (Tuchman, 1978; Scheissenger, 1978; Schudson, 1978; Gans, 1979; Golding and Elliot, 1979; Hjarvard, 2012). Ethnography has also been used in broadcast and film studies (Tunstall, 1971; Scannell and Cardiff, 1991; Bosch, 2003; Mano, 2007).

Ethnography uses observation, interviews, and analyses records as its data collection methods (Silverman, 1985; Marcus and Fisher, 1986; Gunter, 1999; Berger, 2002; O’Leary, 2000; Luker, 2008). This research employs all the three approaches but goes further to use content analysis to complement the shortcomings of ethnography. The ethnographic approach has become popular among media studies research scholars as it is flexible, immediate, allows the researcher to be able to see the unseen and the ability to observe in full actuality (Deacon et al, 1999; Stokes, 2000). Ethnography uses participant observation and this study employs this in observing the different activities undertaken in the production and broadcasting of content for small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe. Semistructured interviews are pivotal in ethnography as they give an in-depth understanding of how, why, in what ways some activities are being done in the organisation (Devereux, 2003; Luker, 2008; Jensen, 2012). Document analysis is also instrumental in this research as documents are part and parcel of the running of any institution (Charter, 2004; Schultz, 2005; Lotz and Newcomb, 2012).

Institutional Ethnography in Production Research

The main thrust of this study is to analyse the production process at National FM and to effectively carry out this investigation, institutional ethnography is the most appropriate. When studying the culture of an organisation, it is of paramount importance for one to immerse oneself into the organisation. One needs to be directly involved in the activities of the participants (Dickinson, 2007; Stokes, 2000). In order to uncover the processes underlying the production of content for small linguistic communities, this study employed institutional ethnography as the main research method. As discussed earlier, ethnography is a qualitative research approach that encompasses the use of techniques like participant observation and interviews (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). This method was also complemented by document analysis of the records and the different documents used in the broadcasting activities at the station.

Institutional ethnography looks at how ordinary people actually work within institutions. This form of investigation starts by analysing where the organisation really stands and addresses the issue of how this relates to the everyday operations of the organisation (Devereux, 2003). Using interviews and direct observations, it looks for the problematic in the everyday world and does not test hypothesis. This thesis focuses on production and this entails that the research is a production research whose methodology is grounded in ethnography. Production research can be used on its own or together with other disciplines like media production, content, reception, effects and other areas (Chater, 2004; Devereux, 2003). Production research employs qualitative research methodologies like ethnography, observation, interviews, case studies, archival research and document analysis (Devereux, 2003). Production research is influenced by political economy, critical theory, feminism and liberal pluralism (Devereux, 2003). This study is influenced by the political economy of the media and only analyses National FM as it has more bearing on radio production than the other three. There are two traditions in production research: 1) media professionals' constraints, professional ideologies and work practice 2) "textual orientation which attempts to combine an understanding of the former concerns with an indepth analysis of a specific media text or texts" (Devereux, 2003:102). This thesis is more aligned to the former tradition as it investigates the activities involved in the broadcasting of radio content at National FM. However, the case study approach is also employed as a way of analysing some of the content that is produced. Only four out of the 15 languages were selected for comprehensive content analysis. Specifically, the research concentrated on Chikunda, Doma, Barwe and Hwesa. These languages were purposively selected because not much has been written about them. Except for Barwe

which has a limited number of publications, there are no publications for the other selected languages (Ndlovu, 2007). Chikunda is also of importance in this research as it is also one of the minority languages without a single publication (Hachipola, 1998 and Ndlovu, 2009).

The production research approach is concerned with how professionals are influenced by the structure of an organisation and outside agencies or external factors. It also attempts to uncover the relationships attached to the professionals and the ownership structure, editorial line, culture or ethos of a particular organisation. External factors like laws and regulation, the economic power of advertisers and sponsors, political or economic situation and audiences' perceptions all affect media production (Chater, 2004; Devereux, 2003; Schultz, 2005). Production research endeavours to appreciate the relationship between the media professional and his or her text. According to Boyd-Barrett (2003:275) production researchers have moved "away from the application of formal or abstract frameworks towards greater emphasis, through ethnographic methods, on the perceptions of the participants themselves". All the ethnographic techniques employed in this study attempted to analyse the relationship between the professionals at National FM and the texts that they produce. Interviews, observation and perusal of records are employed as they are best suited for this type of research (Lotz and Newcomb, 2012).

Participant Observation

As discussed earlier, production research uses observation as one of its data collection methods (Gripsrud, 2002; Devereux, 2003; Chater, 2004; Schultz, 2005). O'Leary (2004:170) defines observation as "a system of data collection that relies on a researcher's ability to gather data through his or her senses". There are several categories of observation but this study employed participant observation as it "involves direct observation of on-going behaviour. The researcher witness's events first hand and does not have to rely on a secondary account of behavior" (Gunter, 2000:50). For a clearer understanding of the production process, the researcher directly observed the varying activities that are involved in radio production such as sourcing for programme content, recording and presentation. It is of paramount importance to study the organisation that produces content as media content is not basically dependent on the rapport between the proprietor and workforce but numerous elements (Schudson, 1978; Mosco, 2008; Hjavard, 2012). Some of these are "organisational and occupational factors, from the individual prejudices of media workers to the rules, routines and values of media organisations, and their relations with other social institutions" (Williams, 2003:96).

Furthermore, production of media content is influenced by many factors ranging from policy formation to the application of new technologies (Lotz and Newcomb, 2012). It is also one of the intentions of the thesis to explore how the transition from analogue to digital media affected radio broadcasting for small linguistic communities. In the first week of field work the researcher spent at least six hours a day at the station. During this week the researcher directly observed what happened in the different offices, studios, libraries and the premises in general. Du Plooy (2001:151) says that observation emphasises the need to understand “the behaviour of subjects in their natural settings”. During that week the researcher did not carry out any interviews. As time went on, the researcher then carried on intense observation where she would go into the studios, the libraries, offices of the different executive producers and systematically analysed what took place.

Radio production is not an event but rather a complex process that starts with the pre-preparation stage (Tenenbaum, 2013). The researcher attended and observed the proceedings of diary meetings for the different departments/desks-current affairs desk and the sports and entertainment desk, listening and recording the proceedings. This was mainly done to find out how radio content for minority languages is planned and how the producers arrive at the selection of sources. From the pre-preparation stage the researcher went on to observe the preparation stage where she would observe the producers as they recorded programmes including the recording studios. This was done for pre-recorded programmes. For live programmes, the researcher had to go into the studio and observe the presentations. At times she would listen to these live broadcasts. She observed the producers as they carried out interviews either in the recording studios or when they went out to different places. This gave the researcher a thorough understanding of the processes involved in the production of pre-recorded programmes as they were the ones that were mainly broadcast for current affairs programmes. For a thorough grasp of the role of both the producer and the source in the broadcast content, the researcher had to attend some of the interviews.

The editing stage as part of the production process also needed to be directly observed. The researcher attended editing proceedings in the editing studios where technicians assisted producers/presenters. This activity was very important as it enabled the researcher to uncover the proceedings involved in the production of content that finally goes to the listener. The researcher would also find out the role of the technical staff in the production process. Some producers/ presenters edited their own recordings using their personal computers. The researcher observed this so as to find out how technological

advancement has affected radio production. This was also done to investigate the level of appropriation of new technology by the personnel at National FM.

The presentation stage is the final stage in the radio production process and it was also fundamental for the researcher. She observed different presenters as they performed live in the studio. The researcher managed to attend one roadshow that was held in one of the high density suburbs of Harare. The observation of presentations assisted the researcher in finding out how the presenters interacted with listeners in their respective languages. Even broadcast media could have a different shape, as suggested by Brecht (1930) over 80 years ago:

Radio should be converted from a distribution system to a communication system. Radio could be the most wonderful public communication system imaginable, a gigantic system of channels could be, that is, if it were capable not only of transmitting but of receiving, or making the listener not only hear but also speak, not of isolating him, but of connecting him. This means that radio would have to give up being a purveyor and organise the listener as purveyor.

Both direct interactive and indirect interactive shows were observed. The researcher would sit in the studio observing the routine activities of duty announcers or presenters. The researcher also observed and analysed the different notices that were displayed in the recording studios, editing booth and in the libraries. The music library and the research libraries were also “observed” to establish how they function as well as the availability of resources to cater for the production of programmes for small linguistic communities. The Facilities Office is another site that was observed and the researcher used participant observation as she assisted in carrying out duties of the Facilities Clerk for National FM. This office was manned by a clerk whose duty was to take recorded programmes to the broadcasting studios before presentations and then taking them for filing. The clerk also arranged and filed different documents that were used in radio production and these included programme scripts, synopses and compilation sheets.

Semi-structured Interviews

In ethnography, “the interview is one of the main data collection tools” (Punch, 2005:168) and it can be used together with participant observation (Berger, 2000; Gunter, 2000; O’Leary, 2004). Just like observation, interviews formed an integral part of this study. Both formal and informal interviews were employed. Semi-structured interviews were mainly used as these allowed flexibility (O’Leary, 2004; Punch, 2005; Jensen, 2012). Yin (2011) uses the term “qualitative interview” to refer to semistructured interviews.

Due to the restructuring exercise at ZBC, National FM had no station manager and the one who was in charge of the station had the title of chief producer. The station manager was in charge of both Radio Zimbabwe and National FM. However, when the researcher started field work there was a station manager and below that position there was a chief producer. The chief producer's position was followed by that of executive producers. The four executive producers were interviewed as well as producers/presenters. A total of 20 people were interviewed using semi structured questions.

The first person to be interviewed was the chief producer at the radio station as he was in charge of all production (Chater, 2004; Schultz, 2005). This was done to lay a foundation for the interviews with the rest of the staff. The in-depth interview was done also to draw information on policy and lay the ground work on how the radio station operated. Since the main thrust of this study is to investigate the feasibility of having one radio station broadcasting for more than 15 languages, the researcher intended to begin by interviewing the person who was directly in charge of managing the station. This was also done to establish how the management supervised and monitored activities at the organisation. The interview questions for the chief producer sought to draw out information on the objectives of the station, the meaning of its motto, its successes, challenges and what he thought should be done to improve the achievement of the station's objectives. The chief producer was also asked questions relating to his job description and remuneration. Personal information on his mother tongue and both academic and professional qualifications were solicited through the in-depth interviews. This was done in order to find out if there is any link between these personal attributes and the production of radio content at the station.

The next to be interviewed were the executive producers. These people were pivotal in radio production as they contributed to the production of content (Schultz, 2005; Eastman and Ferguson, 2009). Semi-structured interviews were also employed as these allowed the researcher to make followups from the responses (Gunter, 2000; Stokes, 2000; Du Plooy, 2001; Devereux, 2003; Yin, 2011; Jensen, 2012). Like the chief producer, the executive producers were asked questions about their responsibilities at the radio station. The in-depth interviews also intended to draw information about the station's objectives, strengths, challenges and what they think should be done to improve service delivery at the radio station. Since this group was also involved in production, information on their sources as well as their roles in the production process was sought. Information on radio content for small linguistic communities was also obtained from these interviews. The executive producers'

opinions on how the station was performing were also acquired through these semi-structured interviews. Since radio broadcasting involves a lot of training and professionalism, the executive producers' academic and professional qualifications were asked about. The interview with executive producers also solicited information about their mother tongues. As they were in management, the executive producers were asked about any other formally marginalised languages they are familiar with. Questions about language policy and adherence to the programme schedule at the station were also asked.

The four executive producers were asked questions that specifically dealt with their respective responsibilities. They were also asked about their academic and professional qualifications as well as language proficiency. The EP in charge of current affairs was asked questions about how producers/presenters were selected to cover different events when they were not conversant in all the languages that are broadcast on the station. The question of national events and language was also posed. Issues to do with the participation of audiences in the production of current affairs programmes were also asked. Due to the restructuring exercise the Facilities Clerk for National FM was laid off just after the researcher had started field work so the EP Current Affairs took over the duties of the Facilities Clerk. The researcher asked about the contribution of the facilities office in the production of radio content. Information on the requisite qualifications for the post was also sought and this was intended to find out if the office required a specially trained staffer.

The researcher asked the EP Sports and Entertainment questions relating to language policy in terms of both production and presentation of programmes on sport and entertainment. He was also asked about the selection of producers/presenters to cover sporting and entertainment events, especially national ones which attracted a large audience. The question of music policy was also tackled in the interviews. Furthermore, the researcher asked if the radio station had a specific policy on playing music that is produced by artists from the small linguistic communities. The EP was also asked about how the station ensured that all languages are given opportunities to have sports presentations and commentaries. This was done in order to find out if there was a relationship between qualifications and the ability to produce for small linguistic communities as the EP was also a producer/presenter for his mother language.

The EP Continuity was also interviewed in order to obtain information on how different programmes for particular languages are scheduled. The question of time allocation and scheduling period also needed to be clarified and EP Continuity is the one who is supposed to have all the answers. Information on strict adherence to the programme schedule was obtained from the EP Continuity.

The EP for Montrose Studios was interviewed to obtain information on how they produce radio content from there. Information on why there were three producers/presenters in Bulawayo was also obtained through the in-depth interviews. Like the chief producer, the EP Montrose was also asked about the contribution of the studios in fulfilling the radio station's mandate.

Producers/presenters form the bulk of the personnel at the radio station and the researcher also used formal, informal and semi-structured interviews. These professionals played a substantial role in radio production as "journalists are the professional story tellers of our age" (Bell, 1991:147). The interview guide for this group contained the most number of questions as these people formed the basis of the production team. Information on the steps involved in the production process as well as choice of sources was obtained through interviewing these people. The question regarding the contribution of the station in the upliftment of formally marginalised communities was also posed to this group as well the EPs and chief producer. Opinions on the general performance of the station were asked. Like EPs and the chief producer, producers/presenters were also asked to comment on the feasibility of having one radio station broadcasting in more than 15 languages. The question of ways that can help improve the operations of the station was asked through these semi-structured interviews. Personal information on languages they were conversant in together with details of academic and professional qualifications was also obtained through these interviews. The question of remuneration and general working conditions was posed to all the interviewees. This was done to ascertain the relationship between working conditions and producing for one's particular people as what happens in community radio broadcasting where most of the broadcasters are volunteers.

Technicians are central in the production of radio content and it was crucial in this research to interview some of them. For this study these technicians were not interviewed but the researcher only observed them in the editing booths. The librarian is the technical person who was interviewed. The researcher also used semi-structured questions in these interviews. Issues to do with music were pivotal in the interview with the librarian. Since music constitutes 70 percent of radio content (Scannell, 2001;

Mano, 2009) it was crucial to determine how the public broadcaster viewed the selection of music in minority languages. The librarian was also asked about the sourcing of music in minority languages. The music library is pivotal in providing music to play in different programmes or for real music programmes. The researcher found it necessary to interview the librarian on the availability of music in minority languages. There was only one librarian at Mbare Studios manning both the music library and research library. The researcher intended to establish if the library had enough and latest resources for research by presenters. Questions on the prospects of the refurbishment of the library to cater for small linguistic communities were also asked. The librarian was also asked about the languages that he is conversant in.

Document Analysis

Documents are pivotal in the running of an organisation (Deacon et al, 1999; Stokes, 2000; Punch, 2005). In simple terms, documents are secondary sources of data and these range from personal and private letters, minutes of meetings and diaries to public documents like company policies and government publications (Deacon et al, 1999; Gunter, 2000). Jensen (2012:274) is of the view that in document analysis “the data are found rather than made”. When using this method, the researcher’s part is restricted to collecting, appraising and probing germane documents. This underscores the importance of the inclusion of document analysis in institutional ethnography. Furthermore, “as complex organisations, media unceasingly generate documents that prepare and feed into content” (Jensen (2012:274).

Document analysis is “a collection, review, interrogation, and analysis of various forms of texts as a primary source of research data” (O’Leary, 2004:177). Punch (2005) argues that in sociology, research can be entirely based on documents. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:137) further state:

For ethnographers, documentary products provide a rich source of analytic topics, which include: how are documents written? How are they read? Who writes them? Who reads them? For what purposes? On what occasions? With what outcomes? What is recorded? What is omitted? What does the writer seem to take for granted about the reader(s)? What do readers need to know in order to make sense of them?

However, many scholars agree that collecting documents for analysis is complimentary to other methods, (Berger, 2002; Stokes, 2000; Du Plooy, 2001; Yin, 2011). Document analysis supplements interviews and observation as Deacon et al (1999:15) argue:

As well as talking to journalists and executives working for the company, sitting in an editorial meeting and observing how reporters go about their work, we might learn a lot more from taking a close look at internal

documentation, from the minutes of board meetings and internal memos to promotional materials and advertising campaigns.

The researcher perused a lot of documents that were used at the radio station. This process proved very valuable as it allowed the researcher to get information that she would have missed due to lack of transmission. Document analysis also supplemented the information obtained through content analysis of radio programmes and interviews. The documents perused were written in English so they also helped the researcher to have a better comprehension of what would have been presented in the languages that the researcher is not conversant in.

The researcher managed to analyse the following documents:

- ❖ Minutes of meetings
- ❖ Compilation Sheet/Programme Sheet
- ❖ Transmission Sheet/Report
- ❖ Complaints Register
- ❖ Daily Reports
- ❖ Weekly Reports
- ❖ Monthly Reports
- ❖ Quarterly Reports
- ❖ Yearly Reports
- ❖ Programme Schedule/Continuity Sheet
- ❖ Duty Roaster
- ❖ Programme Synopsis
- ❖ Programme Script
- ❖ Attendance Register/Log Book
- ❖ Merit Rating Form
- ❖ Rate Card (for advertisements)
- ❖ Spot Log (time to air advertisements)
- ❖ Transport/Fuel Requisition Form
- ❖ Claim Form
- ❖ Remittance to BAZ and ZIMURA
- ❖ Calendar of National Events
- ❖ Programme Plans for National Events

These documents are very valuable for this study as they contain information about how production takes place at the station.

Content Analysis

Content analysis was employed to complement ethnography which is the main data collection method for this study. Devereux (2003:192) views content analysis (whether quantitative or qualitative) as “best employed as a research method in conjunction with other methodologies that focus on media producers who create content”. This method was selected in order to get a deeper understanding of the kind of content that the station is broadcasting. Content analysis is best suited for the analysis of data that is written, verbal or visual communication messages (Cole, 1988).

Neuendorf (2002:9) describes content analysis as “the primary message centred methodology” and quotes scholars such as Riffe and Freitag (1997) who “reported that in the field of mass communication research, content analysis has been the fastest-growing technique over the past 20 years or so” (Neuendorf, 2002:1). It is also a well-known method of analysing documents. Content analysis was then used for analysing radio content and analysing the documents that were used in running the radio station. Both qualitative and quantitative content analysis were used. Content analysis as a research method is an organised and objective means of relating and quantifying phenomena (Krippendorff, 1980). Statistical analysis of the radio content was used to measure how representative the radio station is.

In media studies content analysis has its genesis in the studies of Harold Lasswell in the 1920s and 1930s when it was introduced as a systematic method to study mass media content, specifically propaganda (Macnamara, 2005). The focus of this technique was quantitative as many scholars defined it as an objective, systematic and quantitative description of mass media content (Berelson, 1952; Krippendorff, 1980; Berger, 1998; Holtsi, 1969; Neuman, 1997; Neuendorf, 2002). For these scholars, content analysis is primarily concerned with statistical measurements of media content and not the qualitative aspects. For Stokes (2000:57), content analysis is appropriate for “studies of how much of a given phenomenon there is in a chosen set of texts”. Williams (2003:158) simply describes it as “essentially a counting exercise”. They all agree that these media texts can be films, newspaper articles, radio content and others.

For Neuendorf (2002:5-7), the “qualitative analysis of texts is more appropriately described and categorised as rhetorical analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, structuralist or semiotic analysis, interpretative analysis or critical analysis”. She however agrees that “with minor adjustments” these techniques can be used together with content analysis (41). Like previous scholars, Neuendorf (2002) upholds a narrow definition of content analysis that does not comprise the qualitative traits of exploration. In line with this description, this study adopts a definition of content analysis that would also have to quantify the content that is broadcast for the selected languages.

However, there are some prominent media studies content analysis scholars who do not subscribe to

Neuendorf (2002)'s view point (Shoemaker and Reese (1996)). For them, content analysis is not strictly quantitative but they have categorised it into binaries which are behaviouristic and humanistic. The behaviourist style to content analysis is principally concerned with the effects that content leads and this method is the one followed by social scientists. While the behaviourist methodology analyses media content in order to detect forthcoming effects, the humanist approach looks in retrospect from media content and attempts to ascertain what it articulates about the social order and the culture that produces it. Humanist scholars are aligned to psychoanalysis and cultural anthropology in analysing how media content like film and television drama expose "truths" around a society as Shoemaker and Reese term "the media's symbolic environment" (31–32). According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), many social scientists who adopt a behaviourist approach to content analysis mostly depend on quantitative content analysis. Humanist methodologies to media content incline towards qualitative analysis. They also note that social scientists may use both types of research as done in this study.

Qualitative content analysis has not been fully and precisely defined (McKee, 2004). However, there have been some guidelines and procedures on how to carry out qualitative content or textual analysis (Patton, 2002; Robson, 1993; Silverman, 2000; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Hijams, 1996). Qualitative message analysis methods applicable to analysis of media content include text analysis, narrative analysis, rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, interpretative analysis and semiotic analysis, as well as some of the techniques used in literary studies such as critical analysis, (Hijams, 1996). This study used both qualitative and quantitative content analysis to explore the kind of information that is broadcast as well the amount of content that is produced in the indigenous languages. Content analysis was only applied to the four selected languages, namely, Barwe, Chikunda, Doma and Hwesa.

Purposive Sampling

National FM broadcasts in 18 languages including English, Shona and Ndebele. The researcher purposively sampled four of the languages and these are Hwesa, Chikunda, Barwe and Doma. This research used purposive sampling since it is the most suitable technique for qualitative research (Punch, 2005). In this technique "respondents are selected according to a specific criterion" (Jensen, 2012:245) and in this study radio personnel who are involved in the production and presentation of the selected languages were chosen. The researcher listened to and recorded four programmes which were common per each language for a period of three months as programme schedules are run quarterly. During these three months the researcher also did an institutional analysis using document analysis,

participant observation and interviews with personnel at the radio station. As said earlier, these languages were purposively selected because not much has been written about them. Except for Barwe which has a limited number of publications, there are no publications for the other selected languages (Ndlovu, 2009). Chikunda is also of importance in this research as it is also one of the minority languages without a single publication (Hachipola, 1998 and Ndlovu, 2009).

Methods of Data Analysis and Presentation

The data collected for this study is more qualitative than quantitative, which entails that qualitative methods of analysis and presentation were used. The information that was gathered through content analysis and document analysis was analysed through discourse analysis (DA). Interviews were carried out in both Shona and English and these were audio-recorded. DA was used in analysing these recordings, the scripts and the programmes synopsis. In addition to the audio recordings, the researcher also wrote field notes and used discourse analysis in examining the notes.

Basically, discourse refers to language in use and discourse analysis means "...the study of language in use above and below the sentence" (Schiffrin, 1994:170). Generally discourse analysis is an examination of language in context. This study applied the aspect as it enables the researcher to interpret the interviews and the written texts from their communicative contexts. For example jokes, stories, meetings, conversations, location of day and many others (Drid, 2010). Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton (2001:1) conclude that while there are many definitions of DA, all of them agree that discourse analysis fall into three categories which are: "1. anything beyond the sentence, 2. language use, 3. a broader range of social practice that include non linguistic and nonspecific instances of language." The researcher used this technique to study the different uses of language beyond the sentence. She also analysed the radio content that she listened to. These include music, news and general content where she concluded that the presenters were interested in promoting their respective languages.

Research Ethics

The research is qualitative in nature and the issue of reflexivity is an ethical concern as the researcher is a Zimbabwean who also has an interest in radio studies. It is important as well to consider the ethical worthiness of the research and the researcher has realised that the study is not only worthy in the academia but its findings can also be valuable in radio production in the country. Furthermore, the subjects and their interests should also be considered, that is, how they would benefit, together with

basic ethics such as privacy, confidentiality, anonymity, informed consent, honesty and trust. The researcher also avoided plagiarism, harm and risk to the subjects. She also ensured that she did not manipulate the findings for the research to be credible.

Some of the information was provided under strict confidence and the respondents asked the researcher not to attribute this material to them. This include information to do with entry qualifications when they got employed, salaries, lack of transparency in the allocation of resources and the problems encountered by employees at the station. Although the researcher had difficulties in being granted permission to do field work at the station, she did not do any interviews before being granted the authorisation. Another ethical consideration that this researcher employed is beneficence that is letting the information giver that the research will not do any harm to their person after voluntarily giving information to this researcher but it is meant to benefit people (Denzin, and Lincoln, 1994).

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research methodology employed in the thesis. The thesis investigates how radio production for minority languages takes place. Field work at the station was affected by the economic and technical factors that affected the country and the organisation. There was a staff restructuring exercise which led to retrenchment and modification of official positions. It also led to shortage of staff at the station. Most of the employees were on contract at the time of the research and some of the languages did not have presenters. Technological changes at ZBC also led to relocation of the station from Pockets Hill to Mbare Studios and this led to some problems in data collection. Institutional ethnography is the main method of data collection used and it was complemented by content analysis. The data for this study is analysed and presented thematically. The chapter also discussed research ethics associated with the study.

Chapter Seven: National FM- The Organisation and its Production Units

Introduction

Production of radio content is a complex process involving a lot of people and resources. Cottle (2003:16) comments

...if we want to better understand the forces that contribute to the under-representation of ethnic minorities within the media workforce, as well as their misrepresentation in terms of media portrayal, we have to grapple with all the complexities at work.

This chapter presents and scrutinises the procedures involved in radio production at National FM. It analyses the different units convoluted in preparation, gathering, editing and presentation of the programmes. The information obtained from participant observation, in-depth interviews and document analysis is presented and analysed in order to ascertain how the different offices at the station work.

The first part of the chapter deliberates on the roles and responsibilities of different production units. The second section discusses the processes involved in the production of radio content. It looks at what happens before the gathering of content for the programmes, the gathering, editing and broadcasting process. The processes involved in the production of radio content have a direct bearing on the kind of content that is produced. Most of the programmes did not have audience participation and were not interactive. The second section also analyses the preparations involved in the different stages of production. Documents that are used at the station are also discussed in relation to their contribution to the production process.

National FM Studios

At the time of doing field work for this study National FM had been moved from Pockets Hills to Mbare. The relocation to Mbare coincided with the restructuring exercise at ZBC. The broadcasting organisation was advised to downsize the work force following the KPMG report which showed that ZBC's expenditure was more than its revenue. At National FM and all ZBC radio stations, the producers were also responsible for presentation of programmes. It is unlike international radio stations like BBC or commercial stations elsewhere in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular where there are producers who work alongside presenters (Scannell and Cardiff, 1991; Schultz, 2005; Chignell, 2009). Star FM and ZI FM, the two national commercial radio stations, have producers who work under presenters.

As stated above, National FM shares premises and equipment with Radio Zimbabwe. National FM used two adjacent studios. One studio was used for continuity by Duty Announcers and the other was used for news reading. The set-up of the two studios allowed the Duty Announcer to communicate with News Readers non-verbally during news reading time. The radio station also shared the recording and editing studios with Radio Zimbabwe. The engineering and technical departments were responsible for the running of the Mbare Studios and not for a particular radio station. This means that National FM management had no control over transmission problems that affected most parts of the country. The transmission and technical facilities were operated by Transmedia. The lack of independence by National FM also shows how the radio station lacked control over both production and transmission. There were only a few areas which received the radio station's signals (IMPI, Report, 2014).

The Production Units

Station Manager

Different organisations use different titles for the Head of radio stations (Chater, 2002; Schultz, 2003; Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea 2010). These titles include "Managing Editor", "Programmes Manager" or "Head of Programmes" (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010). Some radio stations prefer the term "Production Manager". According to Chater (2002: 12), "Job titles differ according to the type of production and the company." The Station Manager was the Chief Operating Officer at National FM and he/she was not so much concerned with production of content but was responsible for administration of everything including recruitment (Gibson et al, 2009; Joseph, 2010; Meyer, 2011). At National FM, this office is responsible for the overall administration including production, programming, staffing, scheduling and everything else that pertained to the running of the station.

For economic reasons at ZBC, National FM and Radio Zimbabwe had one manager. The manager chaired meetings, monitored the scheduling of programmes and content broadcast on the station as well as supervising the overall broadcasting at the station. The Station Manager was also responsible for appraising the performance of the Chief Producer and all Executive Producers. There was a standard form that was used for assessment and the completed forms were confidential with only management having access to the information. The Station Manager was also responsible for sourcing funding for the station. He was basically in charge of marketing the radio station. Negotiations for advertisement rates and sponsored programmes for the station were the Manager's responsibility but

he did this in consultation with the Chief Producer and the marketing department. This shows that the manager's role was more aligned to funding and not programming. Many radio stations have mainly three broad departments, which are: production, engineering and administration (Scannell, 2003; Williams, 2005; Lister, Mitchelle and O'Shea, 2010). In the production section, the Manager was responsible for the formulation of programme ideas and the supervision of both production and presentation of programmes. It was also one of the duties of the Manager to ensure that the programme schedules were adhered to. For effective production and presentation of programming, radio stations have guidelines that they follow (Chater, 2004; Schultz, 2005). At National FM, producers used scripts and synopses for programmes they produced. These were assessed and verified by the Executive Producers, Chief Producer and finally the Station Manager.

Administrative work at National FM also involved procurement and monitoring of inventory. In traditional radio, the production department did not have a lot of equipment that was used (Chignell, 2009). Since National FM and all other ZBC radio stations were still using the analogue system, the radio station did not have a lot of equipment and thus it was not difficult for the Manager to maintain a record of the station's inventory.

Chief Producer

Directly below the Manager's position was the Chief Producer, Clifford Baloyi, a Shangani producer/presenter. He was also conversant in Chewa, Kalanga and Venda. This office directly managed all the activities that were involved in the production of radio content. He sometimes chaired National FM meetings that directly affected the production of content in minority languages. He also chaired meetings in the absence of the Station Manager. The Chief Producer planned and managed all the aspects of the production process. He supervised the pre-production, production and postproduction stages. He supervised and communicated with both internal and external publics. With the help of Executive Producers, the Chief Producer was also in charge of identifying potential cases that might cause litigation in terms of copyright. He did this through checking the music compilation sheets and the programme synopsis before signing and forwarding them to the station manager.

For the station to satisfy listeners' interests, the producers also relied on feedback they got from listeners through comments and messages that were sent to the station through phone calls, messages,

social media and roadshows. In consultation with the Manager and Producers, the Chief Producer also allocated slots and duration of programmes that were aired on the station. The Chief Producer compiled daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly and annual reports that he submitted to the Station Manager. These reports emanated from the information and records obtained from producers'/presenters' activities and daily proceedings at the station. The chief producer also worked as a duty announcer. The office was also responsible for supervising and safe-keeping of all the documents and equipment used at the station. He also checked if the synopses and compilation sheets and any other documents were written and he signed to acknowledge that he had checked them.

Executive Producers (EPs)

The administrative and production structure at National FM also consisted of Executive Producers whose positions fell below that of the Chief Producer. There were four EPs: EP responsible for Continuity, Current Affairs, Sport and Entertainment and Montrose Studios in Bulawayo. These EPs had different administrative roles that directly affect the production of content at National FM. According to Marjoribanks (2003:50), "No two radio stations need to be structured in exactly the same way" and National FM executive producers had roles that suited its mandate of producing radio content for small linguistic communities. In the absence of the Chief Producer, one of the EPs acted as the chief producer and carried out all the roles of the Chief Producer.

Management of radio is changing (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010) and this has resulted in radio personnel having to perform many duties. The EPs also worked as Producers/Presenters for their specific languages and they also worked as duty announcers. The EPs compiled daily reports relating to what would have transpired in their respective areas. They also compiled weekly, monthly, quarterly and yearly reports, which they submitted to the station manager through the chief producer's office. The EPs also chaired meetings in their respective areas or even meetings for the radio station when assigned to do so or in the absence of the chief producer or Station Manager.

The station took Journalism and Media Studies interns from universities and colleges around the country. All the Harare-based EPs were involved in the nurturing and assessment of students. While the other two EPs monitored content production and presentation of programmes by the students, the EP continuity supervised attendance, punctuality and the writing of reports after every shift that the students would have done. The EPs are also responsible for planning and organising training workshops for the personnel at the radio station. All EPs were responsible for the transmission in one

way or the other. They all checked on success and failures and were always ready to react and make arrangements where necessary. All the EPs were in charge of planning and organising the coverage of events that took place outside the studio. These involved the use of the outside broadcast (OB) van and just cars or any form of transport to the venue. The kind of programme to be covered determined which of the EPs would organise.

Executive Producer – Continuity

The EP Continuity was in charge of formulating the duty roster for duty announcers. According to Schlesinger (1974), the continuity department is also called the presentation department. In broadcasting, “continuity” simply means uninterrupted connection and this office ensures that there is continuous airplay in the studios. The EP worked with the Station Manager, the Chief Producer and the other producers to formulate a duty roster for duty announcers, who also produced and presented entertainment and current affairs programmes. The EP continuity also monitored all the activities and attendance of presenters in the studios. He also checked punctuality and adherence of presenters to the scheduled programmes. He was responsible for rescheduling of programmes or duty announcers if need arose. The duty announcers did not swap shifts without authorisation from the EP Continuity. Andrew Mupembe, a Hwesa Producer/Presenter, was the EP Continuity at the time of doing field work for this study. He also ensured that all programmes that were scheduled had been presented on time. This was done in collaboration with other EPs. For instance, he checked with the EP Current Affairs if the programmes for the next day were ready and with the EP Montrose Studio checked if all the presenters had reported for duty.

The EP Continuity compiled reports at the end of each day. For daily reports, he wrote about the daily challenges and progress. Daily reports included transmission, advertisements, transport and logistics to and from the venue of the event and daily transport to and from the work place. Although news at ZBC was managed and presented by Newsnet, the EP Continuity had to check and record the news reading. He checked if all scheduled news bulletins had been presented on time. This is because the news programmes are also part of the radio station as the news was also read in minority languages. However, this study and other research (Ndawana, 2012; Ndawana and Muromo, 2012; Mabika and Salawu, 2014) have shown that Shona and Ndebele news dominated news reading at National FM. The EP Continuity also recorded every detail of what would have transpired in the transmission. He checked if all scheduled programmes had been presented.

Executive Producer - Current Affairs

Like the other ZBC radio stations, National FM did not have a news desk. The news bulletins at the radio station comprised of translations that were done by news readers for different languages. News that was produced directly and broadcast at National FM was in the form of current affairs programmes. This EP reported directly to the Chief Producer but was also answerable to the station manager as “the station manager is responsible for the efficiency and morale of the whole team for the development of an overall vision, brand values and corporate culture” (Lister, Mitchell and O’Shea, 2010:49). Esinath Matsilele, a Shangani Producer/Presenter, was the EP Current Affairs at the time of the field work for this study. She was the only female Executive Producer at the station and this is not only peculiar to National FM as there were only a few women who hold management positions in Zimbabwean media organisations (Nare, 2009; Genderlinks, 2013).

This EP appointed producers to cover different events. The number of journalists who covered events was determined by the availability of human and material resources. The EP ensured that a reporter went to cover national and international events. She planned and organised the coverage these events. She booked the OB Van and TelOne telephone lines to be used during outside broadcasting. All these preparations were done two days prior to the event. Since National FM did not cover hard news stories, they planned all their programmes in advance. This shows that there were a lot of processes involved in radio broadcasting.

This EP facilitated the accreditation of the Current Affairs team that would cover particular events. She also arranged transport and all requirements for the coverage of any event whether it was in urban or rural areas. The EP was also responsible for assessing all producers/presenters in terms of how they performed their current affairs programmes. These assessments are done quarterly or when management deemed it necessary. At the time of fieldwork for this study, this EP was also doing the duties of the facilities clerk. She was assisted by the EP (Continuity), as they were both directly involved in the administration of the producers/presenters. Details of the work of the facilities clerk will be discussed later in this chapter.

Executive Producer - Sports, Arts and Entertainment

Many radio programmes have an inclination towards entertainment (Scannell, 2001; Scannell and Cardiff, 2003; Mano, 2007; Myers, 2009). The sports and entertainment section plays an important part in the provision of revenue for National FM. The position of EP (Sports, Arts and Entertainment)

was held by Kanyemba Bhonzo, a Doma Producer/Presenter. The Sports and Entertainment EP worked with the Chief Producer and Station Manager in allocating time slots for the duty announcers. He also worked directly with the EP (Continuity) and EP (Current Affairs) in allocating time slots and in re-assigning duties in case of unplanned national events. They worked together with ZBC's marketing team to ensure that they allocated time to popular presenters at a time when many people are listening.

This office is in charge of organising promotional campaigns for the station. The EP planned organised and executed promotional campaigns such as road shows and exhibitions. He assigned duties to producer/presenters on sporting and entertainment activities done in the country. The office was also in charge of organising national entertainment events like Independence Day, Heroes Day, and Unity Day galas.

Besides entertainment, the EP planned and organised programmes that were meant to bring revenue to the station. With the input of the Chief Producer and station manager the EP planned and organised activities to be done during social occasions like Valentines' Day, Easter, Christmas and other commemorations and celebrations that are done throughout the year. These included World Radio Day, Mothers' Day, Fathers' Day, Boxing Day and others. This office also organised yearly events like the 21st February Movement, Easter, Independence, Heroes Day, Christmas and other seasonal celebrations. He also took charge of the sporting desk where there were producers /presenters in charge of the sports commentary. This office ensured that the team covered the sporting events. Since sport is a major area of radio presentation (Huggins, 2007; Haynes, 2009), all the producers/presenters were supposed to have some knowledge about the sports trends and talk about them in their shifts. The EP also monitored sporting activities that were presented from Montrose Studios together with the EP responsible for Montrose studios.

Executive Producer - Montrose Studios

ZBC has studios in Bulawayo where ZTV, Radio Zimbabwe and National FM had studios as well. Both Radio Zimbabwe and National FM had producers/presenters who were under the Mbare Studios management. In line with this, National FM had an Executive Producer who was responsible for the Montrose Studios. Lawrence Mukombwe, a Tonga Producer/Presenter was the EP Montrose studios and he worked very closely with the other EPs. He reported directly to the Chief Producer but also

took orders from the station manager. He also reported to the manager at Montrose Studios in Bulawayo. He supervised all the broadcasting activities of the station in Bulawayo. He also checked on attendance of other presenters and availability of resources for the station at Montrose.

Producers/Presenters

Radio producers generate content and manage the entire radio production for both live and pre-recorded programmes (McLeash, 2004). Radio presenters are responsible for broadcasting the content to the audiences (Chignell, 2009). They create and present the image of the station to the public. As a way of cutting costs and following current trends, ZBC radio stations' producers have dual positions of being both producers and presenters. Skillset (2007) is of the view that multitasking is one of the attributes that make up a good media practitioner and organisations prefer personnel who are involved in a wide range of activities.

Producers at National FM also worked as journalists and reporters. There were 18 producers/presenters, including the Chief Producer. These were permanent, contract and part-time employees. It was difficult to establish who and how many were employed on permanent and contract basis as the producers were not willing to disclose their employment status. The Chief Producer and Executive Producers were also not at liberty to discuss this. They said that this was confidential information. There were two part-time presenters who did not present current affair programmes but worked as duty announcers. One of them used to be a Ndaou producer/presenter before the downsizing exercise. At the time of fieldwork for this study Ndaou, Khoisan and Tswana had no programmes.

Duties

Basically, the producers/presenters "make" the radio station (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010). Schultz (2005:1) says, "A producer does anything and everything to get a newscast on the air." Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010:42) go further to say, "It is no longer the case that someone is solely a radio presenter, reporter or producer: new entrants to radio are becoming aware of a range of skills that are needed to be a multi-skilled employee and aspirant radio manager." Producers at National FM went out to look for news stories. Unlike news stations where journalists and editors had a diary session at the beginning of the day (Schultz, 2004), National FM had weekly diaries and sometimes held diaries when need arose. For instance, the burial of heroes or a visit by a foreign diplomat or a celebrity and when there were press conferences and any unplanned events.

They were also duty announcers where they would be in charge of transmission in the four-hour long shifts that were allocated. One had to be thoroughly prepared for this responsibility as it was the obligation of the duty announcer to ensure that the audiences were educated, informed and entertained. Before going for transmission, the duty announcer compiled songs that he or she would play on air. They used compilation sheets which were supposed to be completed in duplicate. One was submitted to the BAZ and the other to Zimbabwe Music Rights Association (ZIMURA). The sheet had information such as the name of the artist/s, the group and the production company. The compilation sheets were supposed to be submitted to the EP Continuity for verification at least 24 hours before the producer went on air. During the shift, the presenter recorded all the activities and commented on the presentation on each of the programmes, including advertisements and news. For advertisements, the presenters used a document called “spot log” and this indicated which advert to play in which programme as well as the length of the advert. These advertisements were not only commercials; they could be social responsibility messages that informed audiences about the weather or outbreak of diseases.

After the four-hour presentation the producers/presenters then completed the programme sheets, which were also known as the transmission sheets. The presenters wrote comments after the presentation of each programme to ensure that there was accurate information. The remarks pertained to the failure or success of each programme. If there were problems during transmission the presenter indicated how the problems were solved.

They also sourced for information, especially from expert people for different programmes (McLeash, 2004). The interviews were done over the phone and face-to-face. They could go and interview the source somewhere or at the source’s premises or in the studio. It was the responsibility of the producer/presenter to invite and arrange studio bookings. For pre-recorded programmes, the producer interviewed the sources and recorded the interviews. The producers/presenters booked the recording and editing studios 24 hours before going into the studio. The problem of shortage of equipment at ZBC also hindered performance as recording studios were always busy. The producers/presenters had too many responsibilities and this affected the quality of the programmes.

Producers/presenters were responsible for current affairs programmes. This was done through attending national, regional and international events and then produce programmes. There were also live coverages of these events where the presenters had “live” interviews with participants. Producers also edited and packaged programmes with the assistance of the technical team. They mainly used reel tapes to package the programmes. Some producers edited the programmes using personal computers. They packaged their programmes on CDs as the studio had facilities for the use of computers, cassette players and a tape machine where they played the reel tapes. They also attended meetings and participated in workshops at the studios or outside the studios. National FM had no secretary and producers/presenters took turns to write minutes in meetings. This means that the producers/presenters had many roles as advocated by Skillset (2007) who emphasises the need for radio personnel to have multi-tasking skills.

Another duty was to “scout” for funding from sponsors and advertisers. The marketing of the radio station was the responsibility of all personnel at the station. The producers/presenters said that it was also part of their jobs to look for sponsorship for their respective programmes. They said that they did this through phone calls, e-mails or visiting prospective sponsors. Sponsorship was in the form of financing personnel at the station to go and source for information. The issue of lack of funding affected production of quality radio programmes as the producers spent some time sourcing funding instead of looking for information to broadcast.

Outside broadcasting was one of the major duties undertaken by the radio personnel. The broadcasters planned, organised and implemented outside broadcasting events. On 17 October 2015 National FM staff held one road show in Mabvuku, which is a high-density suburb in Harare. Exhibition is one of the vibrant promotional strategies that are used in marketing (Koekemoer, 2004; Pickton and Broderick, 2005; Kotler, 2012). National FM producers/presenters took turns to go and market the station at road shows and exhibition parks.

There were also presenters who did sports reporting and these ensured that they prepared in time and submitted travel and subsistence allowance forms in advance if they were going to do it outside the studio. Soccer commentaries were sometimes live broadcasts for local matches. For some international soccer matches, the radio station used television where the commentator and match analyst would be watching the match on television. They would be commentating and analysing the match as they watched it on TV.

Sources

As discussed earlier, radio production is a phenomenon that needs thorough research in order to produce content that satisfies listeners (Siegel, 2003; McLeash, 2004; Schultz, 2005). Just like academic research, gathering data for radio production is based on two types of sources: primary and secondary sources. The producers/presenters at National FM used both primary and secondary sources of data. They used different methods of collecting data for their programmes. Secondary sources of data refer to information that is already processed and stored somewhere (Gripsrud, 2002; Jensen, 2012). Producers at National FM said that they relied more on secondary than primary sources due to lack of resources. They used books in the library but they complained that the library had limited resources and outdated books.

The library consisted of both old and current book editions. Some of the secondary sources they used were newspapers and magazines. Other forms of secondary sources were posters, booklets, leaflets, pamphlets and fliers and other small media sources. These could be obtained from government ministries and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). For instance, the producers got information on the use of certain pesticides from posters or fliers from manufacturers or from online sources. This information could be used to present a programme on *Farmers' Update*.

Most of the producers said that they used the internet as a secondary source of information. However, the Chief Producer and EP (Current Affairs) disapproved the use of the internet mainly because some of the information was not reliable. All the producers agreed with management that the internet was not a credible source and the producers were supposed to use reliable sources like books and primary sources.

Primary sources refer to original data sources that have not been recorded before (Stokes, 2000; Yin, 2011). As said earlier, primary sources were difficult to find due to shortage of financial resources. The producers ended up using the same sources for several programmes. They also relied on speakers from the respective speech and language communities who lived in Harare and Bulawayo. The main primary sources of data were government officials, politicians, and experts in agriculture, health, artists and any other popular figures in society. Producers complained that lack of resources forced them to have interviews over the phone and using the same sources time and again. For instance, the Xhosa language producer said that he uses the same Xhosa nurses in Gweru and Chinhoyi as resource people. In the past, when resources were available, ZBC would organise outreach programmes where

producers would go out of Harare to gather information for programmes. These officials could be visited in their premises or they could be invited to the studio for interviews.

The type of sources was determined by the kind of programme and the topic. In *Farmers' Update* the producers would talk to experts in Agriculture. These are:

- Agricultural Extension workers
- Personnel from the Ministry of Agriculture
- Environmental Management Authority officials
- Seed companies' officials
- Chemical manufacturing companies' personnel
- Fertiliser companies' officials
- Grain Millers companies' officials
- Food Processing companies' officials
- Cotton companies' personnel ➤ Tobacco companies' officials
- Dairy Companies personnel
- Clothing and Textiles companies' officials
- Land and Water Resources officials
- Agricultural Training institutions officials ➤ Farmers and farmers' association officials ➤ Meteorological experts

In health programmes the following are the resource people:

- Ministry of Health personnel
- Dieticians
- Nutritionists
- Medical Doctors
- Nursing staff
- Pharmacists
- Local government authorities
- Academics
- Sports personnel

Sources for youth, culture and civic education programmes were not easy to define as the content for these programmes was very diverse. The word "youth" is also difficult to define as it has different meanings in different circles. There has not been a consensus on the definition of youth as many organisations have different demarcations between young people and adults. In Zimbabwe, the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, the Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council, Central Statistics Office and the National Population Policy all describe the youth as those whose ages range from 10 to 24. According to the Zimbabwe Youth Policy, "the youth" are people who are between 15 and 35 irrespective of their, gender, race, colour, religion, political affiliation, and marital status, physical or mental disability. The Zimbabwean Constitution and the African Youth Charter define "youths" as those persons in ages ranging from 15 and 35 years.

However, some non-governmental organisations and religious groups have their own categorisations and some say the youth's age limit can go up to 40 since the young person would be in the transitional stage between 35 and 40 years. This means that the programme content for these people was also diverse. The producers decided on the source using the type of content that they would be broadcasting. Information gathered from interviews and programme synopsis reveals that the sources for youth programmes came from politics, social and religious sectors, economic sector, sports, academics and any other people from the socio-economic sphere.

Civic education programmes sources were also difficult to define as the programme content was very broad. However, the Chief Producer said that audiences' feedback through phone calls also determined what type of education listeners needed to hear. Some producers said that the small linguistic communities consisted of people who were marginalised and lacked information on basic human rights and the civic education programmes should aim to educate them on their rights as citizens of Zimbabwe. In this instance, the producers said that their sources were officials from government ministries. The registry officials were the most valuable sources of information for the programmes in terms of birth and death registration, voting, immigration and property rights.

Primary sources for national programmes were mainly politicians from the ruling party. For instance, February civic education programmes were centered on the life of the president and what he has done for the people. Officials from the ruling party and members of his family were the sources for these programmes. This shows that ZBC had politicised the public service broadcaster as the ruling party was the only party that had the opportunity to "educate" citizens. This is in line with Mbaine (2003), Myers (2009) and Moyo (2010) who argue that PSB radio stations in Africa act as ruling party and government mouthpieces. The politicians were the sources for civic education programmes throughout the year as national events were many. The death and burials of heroes were also national events and in Zimbabwe only ZANU PF members were considered heroes. This means that whenever there was a funeral of a hero, civic education programmes would talk about the hero's contribution to the development of the country.

Another aspect on the current affairs programmes is culture. This phenomenon is very broad and encompasses a variety of issues. In simple terms, culture means a people's total way of life and this means everything about a group of people. Raymond Williams (1958) says "culture is ordinary". Culture is dynamic (Haralambos, 2008), so it is critical to analyse what is meant by culture at National

FM. Observation has, however shown that National FM programmes on culture mainly focused on the small linguistic communities' traditional culture. These cultural practices include marriage practices, burials, farming methods, music and dance, governance, food preparation and preservation and many other customs. Primary sources for these programmes were the elderly, traditional and community leaders that is headmen and chiefs. Academic researchers were also part of primary sources for the culture programmes.

Information gathered through interviews with the personnel at Mbare indicates that the producers/presenters at Montrose did a lot of research for the programmes in their respective languages. This pertains to languages whose speakers are found in Matabeleland and areas around Bulawayo. The Bulawayo EP planned and organised the gathering of information and packaging of some programmes in Tonga, Kalanga, Nambya, Tswana, Xhosa and Sotho. These programmes were sent to Harare through a messenger who was responsible for taking consignments between Harare and Bulawayo as well as Pockets Hill and Mbare Studios. The EP in charge of Montrose studio worked in collaboration with the Mbare EPs but he went further to do the duties of the EP continuity and EP current affairs. However, the work load was minimal since there were only two other producers/presenters who worked for National FM in Bulawayo. There were only a few programmes that were broadcast from Bulawayo.

Training and Qualifications

Information gathered through interviews with the producers/presenters indicate that they were educated and most of them were trained journalists. When the 2016 restructuring and downsizing exercise was done at ZBC, one television producer who was dismissed complained that ZBC was firing educated people like him instead of laying off uneducated people at National FM. The researcher got this information in a casual conversation with the producer when she was at Pockets Hill seeking permission to do her field work at the station. The researcher was also informed through the interviews with producers that there was a myth that for one to be employed at National FM one was only supposed to be a speaker of any of the minority languages. However, for one to be employed at National FM, competence in any of the languages was a pre-requisite and the candidate was also supposed to have five O'Level subjects, including English Language.

It was said that some of the producers/presenters at National FM did not have Grade Seven passes let alone O' Level. This study has proved this to be false. All the producers/presenters at National FM passed O' Level and the majority had a tertiary qualification in Communication Studies. Some had A' Level passes and Honours degrees and others were about to complete their Masters' degrees. Previous research (Mytton, 1998; Myers, 2009; AMB, 2013) has shown that most of the radio producers and presenters in Africa do not have professional qualifications. The radio stations used to do in-house training for their presenters and only a few radio journalists in Africa, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, were trained journalists (Myers, 2009). ZBC no longer does in-house training but journalists at the station go to polytechnic colleges and universities for training. Civic organisations and ZBC itself offer workshops and training on ICTs, ethics and other related courses.

All the 16 producers/presenters who were interviewed have five O' Level passes. Four of them have A' Level passes and three have Honors degrees in Media Studies from Zimbabwe Open University (ZOU) and Lupane State University (LSU), while two have Masters Degrees. One producer has a Master's degree in International Relations and the other in Strategic Management. Fourteen of the producers have diplomas in Journalism and Communication from Harare Polytechnic College, Christian College of Southern Africa (CCOSA) and Certified Commerce and Industry Personnel. There were two producers who had diplomas in Public Relations and, of the two, one was about to complete an Honors Degree in Media Studies with Zimbabwe Open University. Most of the journalism degree holders have honors degrees in Sociology, International Relations, Political Science and Marketing.

The producers had also done some in-house courses on radio programme production, interview techniques and script writing. They had also been trained in digital audio editing using modern software packages. Whenever a new gadget like a recorder or a computer was purchased, the organisation facilitated training in the use of those machines. The station also organised workshops where producers met their counterparts from other radio stations to deliberate on the new trends in radio journalism. Although the producers got in-house training on the use of ICTs, it was difficult for them to apply this knowledge due to lack of resources. At the time of fieldwork for this study, National FM had two computers: one for use in the studio and the other in the Chief Producer's office. This is also echoed by Chiumbu's (2009) study, which showed that ZBC's radio stations lacked resources. Myers (2009) also observed that African radio stations were ill-equipped due to lack of resources.

National FM producers do not have facilities for communicating through modern technology like *Skype* or teleconferencing.

Remuneration and Working Conditions

Generally, the media industry workers in Zimbabwe are also not happy with their remuneration (AMB, 2014; IMPI Report, 2014). Earlier on Myers (2009) had established that most African journalists are lowly paid. Many media houses are downsizing due to lack of revenue (MISA, 2015). ZBC also laid off a lot of personnel in 2015. National FM was not spared in the restructuring exercise and information gathered from an interview with the EPs indicate that six producers/presenters were laid off and the facilities department was closed.

The subjects for this study were also reluctant to talk about their salaries. The majority complained about the meagre salaries but did not disclose the exact figures. For instance, the chief producer eluded the question and only talked about how his salary was reduced by 60 percent. A producer alluded that the Chief Producer was paid around US\$800.00 per month. Two producers said that all producers got an average of \$400.00 per month. They said that the EPs got \$50 more than ordinary producers. The EPs themselves would not disclose their salaries but just said that it was reduced and it was around \$500.00 per month. This study could not establish the exact monthly salaries for National FM employees. What could be discerned is that the highest paid gets \$800.00 and the least got \$400.00 per month.

The government subsidised medical aid subscriptions for the producers. However, the producers/presenters complained that the Premier Services Medical Aid Scheme Main Plan that they were affiliated to had no significant benefits. It did not cover all medical bills and the clinics and hospitals that accepted their medical aid facility were always over-crowded. The producers/presenters complained that sometimes they did not go to the hospitals and clinics when they were ill. This is because they would take a very long time there and this would affect continuity at the station. There were some languages which only had one producer/presenter and for live programmes the presenters had to be there. Languages like Xhosa, Doma, Chikunda, Barwe and Venda had only one producer/presenter at the time of field work for this study. For instance, a Xhosa presenter went on sick leave for three weeks and in those three weeks there were no live Xhosa programmes. The station repeatedly aired pre-recorded Xhosa current affairs programmes.

In terms of transport to work at night shifts, the producers said that they were satisfied with the arrangements as they got transport to and from work. For night shifts, they were ferried to and from their residents. However, during the day they had transport problems as Mbare Studio did not have the same provisions for transport as Pockets Hill. At Pockets Hill, ZBC had a bus that ferried its employees who did not have personal cars from the city at seven o'clock in the morning. They used public transport to go back home.

Between eight o'clock in the morning and three o'clock in the afternoon ZBC employees at Pockets Hill used small pick-up trucks to transport employees to and from Pockets Hill. One of the trucks was burnt by protesters in the July 2016 political disturbances that took place in the capital. In July 2016, again there was a mass stay away that affected the producers/presenters at National FM and other employees in Harare. There was no public transport to and from the city and those who had no personal transport had problems getting to work and this affected continuity at the station. Producers also grumbled about the meagre salaries which deterred them from buying personal vehicles.

Producers also complained about transport provision when going for assignments. The process of requesting for transport around Harare was very cumbersome and going to places outside Harare was more involving as it required ZBC management to authorise. This bureaucratic form of administration compromised the quality of radio programming at National FM. The producers ended up using the same sources who were found in Harare and those outside Harare could be interviewed through the phone. At the time of field work for this study, ZBC management was organising to buy more vehicles so that employees with drivers' licences would use company vehicles for assignments.

The subsistence allowances were also very low as they were said to be below government rates. While government rates were US\$30.00 for breakfast, lunch and dinner, ZBC paid US\$5 per meal. Meals at the staff canteen at Mbare Studios used to be subsidised but due to the economic hardships the canteen had then been privatised. The producers/presenters complained that the food was no longer affordable. Others said that the quality of food had deteriorated so they ended up going to the nearby food court or from the police canteen nearby. The producers/presenters said that this would affect the execution of their duties. Furthermore, the organisation did not offer any monetary incentives to its employees.

Facilities Office

Prior to the restructuring exercise, there was a facilities office at National FM. According to The Business Dictionary (2010), the facilities office or department is responsible for the maintenance and repair of buildings, furniture and all the organisation's assets. The department was manned by a manager, some officers and clerks. At the beginning of field work for this study there was a clerk who worked in that office and she was responsible for organising and arranging all the material that was used in the studio.

When National FM was at Pockets Hill, the facilities clerk had a room where she would do her work from. At Mbare, she shared an office with the EP (Current Affairs) before the office was disbanded. The work of the facilities clerk was then being done by the EP (Current Affairs). Most of the current affairs programmes on minority languages were pre-recorded on reel tapes and some producers used CDs. These were stored on portable racks called bins. The facilities clerk arranged the reel tapes and CDs for the different shifts and ensured that the correct bins were placed in the studio at least 8 hours before the beginning of each shift. The EP Current Affairs and EP Continuity were responsible for supervising the facilities clerk and at the time of fieldwork for this study these two EPs manned the facilities office.

As said earlier, the packaged programmes and the programme synopses were supposed to be submitted to the EP current affairs at least 24 hours before the programme is aired. The facilities clerk stored the tapes and disks in the bins and these were arranged according to shifts in chronological order. The facilities clerk would take the bins to and from the transmission studio. This officer also organised and arranged programme sheets and compilation sheets. The facilities clerk also checked the music compilation sheets before submitting them to ZIMURA and BAZ.

For ZIMURA, the compilation sheets were used in the administration of musicians' royalties for the playing of their songs on radio. BAZ would want to ensure that the radio presenters followed the BSA (2001) on issues to do with the playing of music on radio. The act stipulates that radio stations should play 75 percent local music, 15 percent regional and 10 percent international. The facilities clerk would check on all compilation sheets and if the presenters were not abiding by the BSA stipulations, the clerk would write a letter to the EP continuity. The EP continuity would then take up the matter with

the concerned presenters. The clerk also submitted the compilation sheets to ZIMURA and BAZ. This office was indispensable in the administration of production at the radio station.

Technical Department

Most radio stations have departments that are responsible for technical aspects of the station (Schultz, 2005; Chignell, 2009). Sadly, National FM did not have its own technical team as they shared the premises with Radio Zimbabwe. There were engineers who worked on transmission and these were always on standby in case there was a problem that needed their immediate attention. There was a supervisor and three engineers working under her. The EP Continuity, the Chief Producer and the Station Manager monitored the technical aspects of transmission. If there were any problems, the duty announcer quickly alerted the EP Continuity through the studio land line or his/her mobile phone. From the observations made during fieldwork, the research established that the engineering department at ZBC was always alert and quick to react to any mishap in the studios. The EP Continuity would only see the report on the programme sheet after a technical fault had been dealt with by the engineers.

The control room played a pivotal role in radio broadcasting. It was located at the premises where the studios were. Everything from the studios was captured in the control room before it moved for transmission. The technicians also processed and monitored the content that came from the broadcasting studios into the control room. They immediately sent the audio output to the transmitters through the waves. The transmitters were located outside the broadcasting studios. As said earlier, National FM did not control this department although the department was indispensable in radio broadcasting. The radio station only liaised with the technical team for the smooth running of the station. `

There were also technicians in charge of the recording and editing studios. The studio was not well equipped as it had outdated equipment and there was shortage of staff. The chief producer complained that there used to be four technicians in the studio but after the restructuring exercise only two were working for the two radio stations. One of the two technicians was the supervisor. They were also in charge of editing the raw recordings gathered from interviews. The technical department also took an active role in the packaging of programmes. In editing and packaging the programmes, the department used computers, mixers, turntables, cassette tape recorders, compact disks as well as other equipment used in recording, editing and packaging programmes.

Most of the producers at National FM had personal audio recorders and only a few had laptops. They said that they carried their recorders everywhere so that if they found anything newsworthy they would record. Some producers also used their laptops for editing and packaging programmes. The technicians assisted the producers through installing the required software on their laptops as well as training in the use of the software. Servicing and maintenance of the machines was also done by the technicians.

While National FM personnel had adapted to the use of ICTs, it was still lagging behind in some areas like live streaming. This problem affected many African broadcasters (Myers, 2009; IMPI Report, 2014; AMB, 2015). The radio station had managed to communicate through social media like *Twitter*, *Instagram* and *WhatsApp* platforms. Live streaming was still a problem as it was difficult to access the station online. The technical department blamed Transmedia, which was still working on the migration from analogue to digital.

Library Department

ZBC Mbare Studio had a record library and the ordinary library for reading material. The music library contained music recordings and the ordinary library had books, computers and other reading material. At the time of fieldwork for this study, there was only one librarian who worked in the two libraries. The librarian said that there used to be two librarians and an assistant. The librarian said that a student on work-related learning was going to come and assist him.

The conventional library was stocked with books on all subjects but most of them were old editions. There were also magazines and newspapers, dating back to Rhodesia. The library was very valuable in terms of reading material that is related to the news archives. Reference books in the library were few and they were limited to history yet radio production includes all subjects. It was also difficult to access books from the library as there was only one librarian for both libraries. The library also had computers that were supposed to be used by producers for research but there was shortage of resources for the computers to be connected to the internet. The library was underutilised due to shortage of manpower as well as internet connectivity. The producers said that the internet was their main source of secondary research material. Due to lack of internet facilities they then resorted to the use of personal computers and laptops as well as mobile phones. ZBC Mbare Studio had wireless internet connections and these enabled personnel to go on-line as much as they could.

Many scholars agree that 70 percent of FM radio stations (except FM talk radio) is comprised of music (Scannell, 2001; Mano, 2009; Myers, 2009). The librarian was also responsible for the music library where all the music for the two radio stations was supposed to be stored and retrieved for use in the studios. The librarian compiled music for the presenters who would have requested the songs for airplay. For musical request shows, the presenters took the letters to the music librarian and he selected the songs and compiled the list of songs in the order in which they would be played. He also arranged the music sources in that order. The music could be on CDs or flash disc or memory card.

National FM presenters rarely used music from the library as each one of the presenters had his or her own mini music library in the form of CDs and flash disks. In order to promote their music, contemporary musicians gave CDs to all presenters for free. When National FM moved to Mbare Studios they brought some of their movable equipment like computers. Their transmission studio had a Mac computer where they stored music to play. That was where music by artists who are no longer performing and music by foreign artists was stored. Presenters also had music that was stored on flash disks and they just prepared the songs using the compilation sheets before the beginning of their programmes.

The music library consisted of all sorts of music genres and these dated back to the time Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation started broadcasting. The music was recorded on turntables, reel tape cassettes, CDs and flash disks. At the time of collecting data for this study the librarian was busy copying the music from turntables to CDs and to the computer. The library was also used by National FM producers/presenters as a source of music that was played before 2000 and other “old school songs”. Basically, National FM personnel did not often use the library but relied on personal resources.

The Production Process

Due to its background of being an educational radio station, most of the programmes on National FM were rather transmissional not ritual. Most of the programmes were meant to educate the audiences. The programmes were packaged in such a way that the listeners were “blank” and only waited for radio to give them information that they accepted without question. One can conclude that there was a re-conceptualisation of the magic bullet theory. One producer, who had just completed an Honours degree in Media Studies, complained that National FM’s style of programming was outdated. There were only a few programmes where listeners were given a platform to air their views on radio. For small linguistic communities, these programmes discussed leisure and social issues.

Radio production is a complicated process which involves a lot of activities. According to Skillset (2007), there are three stages in radio production. These are the pre-production stage, the production stage and the post-production stage. Information gathered from observation and interviews with producers at National FM shows that radio production at National FM also followed these stages. Programmes at National FM were in two categories: live programmes and pre-recorded programmes that were packaged on reel tapes or CDs. Pre-recorded programmes could also be stored on flash disks and computers. While all the three stages are important and need thorough preparation, the preproduction stage is the most important (Albarran, 2010). This is because this stage lays the foundation for the programme as it is the planning stage.

Live Programmes

Although live programmes were not pre-recorded, the presenters planned what to do and what to talk about. At National FM most of the live programmes were presented during the four-hour shifts. Current affairs programmes were also presented live where the presenter would be in the studio discussing issues related to the programme. For the shift, the presenter had to follow the programme schedule and where he or she was supposed to play music he or she should compile the music sheet 24 hours before broadcast time. The process of presenting programmes during the four-hour shift was guided by the programme schedule and at ZBC the programme schedule was not strictly followed. This is because sometimes national events or any other unplanned programmes would be imposed by ZBC management.

In the pre-production stage for live programmes, the producer ensured that all the materials needed were available. These included tapes or disks to be played. In the interviews, the producers reiterated that if there was to be a guest the producer/presenter should ensure that the guest would be in the studio at least 15 minutes before the beginning of the programme. In live productions, producers did not have a lot to do in the production stage.

The process in phone-in programmes also involved preparation as the producer had to decide what he or she intends to talk about. However, there were phone-in programmes whose content was already scheduled. These include greetings and congratulatory messages. For greetings in different indigenous languages, the presenter had to talk to the caller off air first and find out if the caller was a speaker of the language and also knew what the programme was about. If the caller was not the expected participant, the presenter would politely inform the caller to leave the programme. After verification,

the call would then be aired. This was done as a way of giving a chance to the language speakers of the scheduled programme. However, due to lack of transmission some greetings programmes in languages like Venda, Nambya, Kalanga, Tonga and Shangani did not get many callers. The presenters had to be innovative in cases like these. They would have music in those languages on standby which they would play to fill the time. They would also prepare stories on anything interesting about the particular language group or the society at large. These would be broadcast in that particular language so as to promote the use of the respective languages on the radio station. Chewa speakers were the most active participants in the greetings programmes. The presenter was inundated with calls throughout the time slot of the programme to the extent that they would hardly get a chance to play music. This is because Chewa is widely spoken in urban areas and mining towns (Hachipola, 1998; Magwa, 2008) where radio reception is not a problem.

Pre-recorded Programmes

There are many activities that are undertaken in the production of pre-recorded programmes. At National FM programmes had different categories and those that were presented in minority languages were classified under current affairs. In these programmes the producers conceptualised programme ideas although the genre would have been defined already. Programme ideas were sometimes affected by what would be happening on the ground. The next stage would then be to plan on which sources to use. The producer would research on the information desired. The producers agreed that on health matters they preferred to use primary sources as these had more accurate information (O'Leary, 2004; Punch, 2005; Yin, 2011). Depending on the time allocation for the programme, the producer could use primary or secondary sources, or both.

In the use of secondary sources, the producer read the articles on a chosen topic and wrote notes. As most of the secondary sources were written in English, the producer then translated the material into his or her own language. The producer compiled the script and programme synopsis in English. He or she then recorded the programme, that is, recorded him or herself speaking. The recording could be done in the recording studio using studio equipment and the assistance of the technician. The producer could also record themselves using an audio recorder before taking the recording to the technicians for editing and packaging.

The programme script was used for editing as it indicated where to put the signature tune, the introduction, music and the audio recording itself. The UNESCO (2012) guidelines for indigenous

radio production stipulate that the scripts and synopses for the indigenous language programmes should be written in the language which is used in the presentation. The reason for using such languages is that translation dilutes or causes the information to be misconstrued. In the case of National FM, it was not feasible for each producer to write the scripts and the synopses in the target languages for two reasons. The technicians who assisted in the editing also used the script as a guideline in editing and packaging programmes. These did not understand any of the languages so English would then be the suitable language. The second reason is that National FM broadcasts in 16 indigenous languages including Shona and Ndebele. Each language has one or two presenters. The majority, including the EPs and Chief Producer, did not understand the other languages. This entails that the language that was commonly understood by everyone is English.

As it was difficult to find officials who speak respective marginalised indigenous languages, producers would conduct the interviews in the language that both the interviewer and interviewee understood. The producer would then translate to his or her language. However, this was discouraged by language activists (Mazrui, 2002; Sierp, 2010; UNESCO, 2013), who believe that translation leads to distortion of meaning.

The production stage started with recording, followed by editing and packaging. As said earlier, there were some producers who recorded, edited and packaged their programmes without using the studio and without the assistance of technicians. Four producers were observed using Adobe CS5 and CS6 for editing their programmes. They were using their personal laptops and they all argued that the editing software produced programmes of better quality than the Adobe CS3 that was used in the editing studios. Packaging programmes means uploading the recorded material on a reel tape, CD or flash disk. The inability to use good quality software by the technicians was attributed to lack of resources at the studios. The machines that were used were not compatible with the new software.

After packaging the programme, the synopsis, script (optional) and the packaged programme were taken to the EP current affairs office at least 24 hours before broadcast time. The post-production stage involved letting audiences know about the programme content and the time it would be broadcast. According to Albarran (2010), this is done through advertising the programme through the radio station itself, newspapers and the television. After listening to the radio station, this researcher noted that National FM advertised its programmes through airing the advertisements during broadcasting

slots for other programmes. The station also did this when they advertised their presenters, where they also informed listeners on the programmes that particular announcers presented.

National FM also used the programme trail that was broadcast on the station during the day shifts. The station also made use of other mass media like television and newspapers. In the newspapers, the weekly programme line-up was published in *The Sunday Mail*. The newspaper adverts used to be published daily but lack of resources resulted in the station only having the programme line-up being published once a week. These advertisements were paid for by ZBC and the programme line-up would be for all the radio stations and ZTV. Sometimes the weekly advertisements were not published due to lack of funding. They also used the local television (ZTV) to advertise the presenters and the shifts that they would be taking. While these advertisements were mainly meant for entertainment, they also gave small linguistic communities a chance to find out about the time slots their respective language presenters would be on air. For instance, Hwesa listeners would know that the Hwesa presenter would be on air on Saturdays from 9 am to 12 noon.

There were also pre-recorded programmes where producers used primary sources. The producers went out to the sources or invited them to the studio. The producer prepared the interview questions in advance but these acted as a guide because in an oral interview the way the previous question was answered determined the question that followed (O'Leary, 2004). Some interviewees preferred to have the questions sent in advance and it was the duty of the interviewer to ensure that the interviewee got the questions in time.

The producers said that they used email or *WhatsApp* to send the questions but that depended on the office and personality of the interviewee. They gave examples of government ministers who did not want questions to be sent through the *WhatsApp* platform but through email. They also had telephone interviews or used their mobile phones to do the interviews. One producer commented that telephone interviews were not recommended because they lacked that personal touch. This is also echoed by Yin (2005) when commenting on the strength of face to face interviews. As in live programmes, the producer had to book for the interview. If the producer had to go out, he or she had to complete the Travel and Subsistence (T&S) forms 48 hours before the appointment date. The T& S forms were processed through the EP Current Affairs. In cases of emergence, the producer went on to do the assignment and would be reimbursed. However, the producers complained that the organisation usually took time to reimburse them. The organisation sometimes provided transport to and from the

venue of the interview. For this, the producer had to complete a transport requisition form which went through the EP Current Affairs.

If the interviewee was invited to the studio, the producer sought security clearance first and this was done 24 hours in advance. ZBC premises are classified under protected areas, which is why they are manned by both the police and the army. The interviews were recorded and this is part of the preproduction stage. The production stage involved the editing and packaging of the programmes and these have been discussed in detail in the paragraphs above. More information about these programmes is presented in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the structure of National FM and the composition and function of each of the production units. All the different divisions played a significant role in the broadcasting of programmes for small linguistic communities. The study established that National FM, as one of ZBC's radio stations, shared broadcasting premises, libraries and equipment with Radio Zimbabwe.

The technical aspects involved in broadcasting at National FM are managed by the ZBC's engineering department, which also worked on the other radio stations. Since National FM was administered by ZBC, decisions relating to finances and other major issues and resolutions were made at Pockets Hill. Different offices at National FM had different responsibilities and each of these played a crucial role in the production and broadcasting of programmes. The Station Manager did administrative work and he was the only one who did not present any programmes. There were a lot of processes involved in the production of programmes. Like all ZBC radio stations, the announcers had multiple roles as they worked as journalists, producers and presenters of their own programmes in their respective languages.

Chapter Eight: The Radio Station's 'National Content'

Introduction

This chapter discusses the major forces behind content production at National FM and its major concern is analysing the content that was broadcast. It examines the types and significance of each programme in terms of how and whether the content benefits the small linguistic communities. The content is thematically presented with each type of content presented under one section. The first part of the chapter discusses forces behind the production and it concludes that commercialisation hinders the station from performing its mandated duties. The other sections discuss programmes that are broadcast in minority languages. The last section examines the general programming meant for small linguistic communities at National FM.

Forces behind the Production of Content at National FM

The previous chapter has deliberated on the structure of the station and how it affects radio programming for indigenous small linguistic communities. Scholars agree that there are several internal and external factors that affect radio content production (Scannell and Cardiff, 1991; Cottle, 2003; Scannell, 2003; Schultz, 2005). Media production for ethnic minorities is also riddled with forces that need analysis as Cottle (2003: 17) observes, "...media production is shaped by the prevailing state policies and socio-cultural responses to ethnic minorities, as comparative studies of different multicultural nations demonstrate". Basically, regulation and funding are major influences in radio production.

Regulation

Radio operations at National FM are governed by the BSA, (2001), Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (2001) (AIPPA), Censorship and Entertainment Control Act (1981) among others. National FM and its three sister stations are supposed to be PSB radio stations but, as has been previously established in this thesis and other studies (Moyo, 2012; Moyo, 2013; Mudavanhu, 2014; Ndlovu, 2016), they are owned and controlled by the government. The BSA stipulates that PSB radio stations should broadcast sufficient coverage of national events. Observation showed that National FM programmes did not fully perform this duty. It covered national events that occurred in the capital cities and involved the ruling party. All languages were not represented as only a few National FM producers/presenters would go to cover the events. Observation indicated that the same

producers/presenters would go to cover these events and this means the same languages would benefit from the live coverage. The marginalised languages continued to receive programmes that were translated by the producers. The Current Affairs team that covered national events consisted of the Shangani, Tonga, Nambya, Kalanga and Chewa producers/presenters. The EP Current Affairs said that these languages were the most widely spoken languages in the country and there was need for their live coverage at all costs. The presenters for the languages which did not have live coverage showed disgruntlement saying that this was tantamount to “exclusion by inclusion”. One of the producers/presenters complained:

We are just here for the government to boast and say it caters for all the languages in the country, but when it comes to real representation we are left out. Why don't we all go to cover national events? It's because we are marginalised in this country.

While all the producers/presenters at National FM complained about lack of adequate representation on the radio station, there are other languages that are more marginalised than others. This corresponds with Batibo's (2005:1) observation that, “In recent years the degree of endangerment has accelerated due to the increased prestige and dominance of the indigenous languages of wider communication which have been accorded the status of national or official languages.” This is the case with Hwesa, Barwe, Chikunda and Doma in Zimbabwe in general and specifically on National FM. They are dominated by Shona and Ndebele as well as other languages and this makes them vulnerable to extinction.

The political economy of broadcast media in Zimbabwe impacts negatively on how National FM operates. This has resulted in the radio station failing to fully represent the indigenous small linguistic communities. The government dictates what is supposed to be broadcast at the station. This is also echoed by Teer-Tomaseli (2018:139) when she talks of African governments being involved in the day to day activities as well as the content and the programmes. There are more Shona and Ndebele programmes. For instance, Shona and Ndebele farming programmes are 15 minutes long while those for small linguistic communities are only five minutes long. This might be because the Shona and the Ndebele constitute more people than the minority language speakers (Hachipola, 1998; Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009). Sport, music religion and news are given more time in Shona and Ndebele. This contradicts the African Charter on Broadcasting (2001) which emphasises the need to extend broadcasting to minority communities.

There is also the issue of politics where those in power want to promote the main languages so that they can get a chance to be heard. For instance, the producers complained that if there were national events their programmes were not broadcast. They would be asked to broadcast these national events and were not given any time to compensate for the lost time. Imbalance is not only prevalent in the economic and social sectors as there is very little political representation among the ethnic groups in the country. Nyika (2007:6) also realised that "...most of the African languages would be designated as minority languages in view of their relative demographic, political and socioeconomic inferiority". Some producers lamented the fact that their councilors and MPs did not speak their languages and were not part of their ethnic groups. Dzingirai (1996:19) also observed that "small ethnic groups failed to secure political representation since independence". The Hwesa, Xhosa, Barwe, Chikunda and Doma producers/presenters grieved about their political representation as their political leaders neither belonged to their ethnic groups nor spoke their languages. This means they had to interview them in Shona or Ndebele then translated to their languages. The listeners did not get the actual messages but mediated messages from the presenter.

Censorship at all levels

Journalists at National FM followed both editorial policy and natural instinct when selecting sources. ZBC as a "PSB" radio station is supposed to disseminate development information but this is relative. There was censorship imposed by the organisation as well as self-censorship. The producers/presenters admitted that they knew who to interview and if an official was not "politically correct" they would not interview that official. This included the coverage of events and only ruling party events were covered. The Hwesa presenter also lamented the fact that he could not broadcast some of the programmes he recorded when he went home. These programmes contained information about how border areas are not developed and how the government is thwarting the use of small indigenous languages. There was no written document to explain and demarcate on who or what to broadcast about. The producers knew what was expected of them.

The sources for Sports, Arts and Entertainment programmes were also politically oriented. For instance, when there were youth games, the journalists who covered the event had to interview MPs and Provincial Resident Ministers from the ruling party. There were rare cases where MPs from the opposition were interviewed. The producers at National FM admitted that self-censorship played a

pivotal role in the selection of sources. One producer commented that the management at ZBC felt that comments from the opposition MPs were retrogressive and they should not be broadcast. It was best for the journalists not to give audience to opposition MPs as they would not be allowed to air the programmes. Observation and analysis of radio content also indicate how ZANU PF stalwarts were given the platform to discuss what was regarded as civic education for minority languages. During the data collection period, there were a lot of politicians who visited the studio to be interviewed for different programmes.

The issue of censorship did not only affect the political and social scenes, it also affected religion. There were church services that were broadcast. The preachers were not invited but they asked for permission to go and preach live on radio. It was not automatic that all the preachers were given chances. Only those aligned to the ruling party were given the chance. They would undergo some vetting and at the end the preachers would know what to talk about. There also was self-censorship on the part of the sources as they would know that what they would have said would determine their fate in their line of business and their relationship with the station.

There were also programmes on musicians and novelists. The producers also admitted that self censorship affected the choice of sources. Musicians and writers who were invited to the studio or whose requests to be interviewed were accepted were only those who were not affiliated to the opposition. Musicians like Hosea Chipanga and Thomas Mapfumo, whose music was deemed to be anti-government, were not used as sources. The producers invited musicians whose music has social themes and those that praise the ruling party. In the programme that discusses the life of late musicians, only the lives of those who were not against the ruling party would be part of the programmes. One producer admitted that he went on to bar Hosea Chipanga's phone number so that he would stop calling him to arrange about the musician's visit to the studio.

The producers agreed that sources for writers' programmes were also supposed to be those who were presumed to be supporters of the ruling party. Poets and novelists who write about the liberation movement and ZANU PF's contribution to the emancipation of Zimbabweans were the ones who are used as sources in the *Writers' Programme* (*Zvevanyori* in Shona, *Abalobi* in Ndebele). One of the producers said that even when he was still alive, Chenjerai Hove, a self exiled writer, would never have been a guest in that programme. Poets who praised the president and the ruling party were the major sources in the writers' programme. The presenters admitted that they had to assess the works of

the artists first before allowing them to come for interviews or live broadcasts. The presenters said that it was also one of the reasons why most of the programmes were pre-recorded. They feared that the guests might end up saying something that would lead them into trouble.

Funding

Both political economy of the media and sociology of journalism played a pivotal role at the station. The power relations at ZBC strongly affected content production. Management was pushing for the station to broadcast in the languages that are spoken by the majority of the people in the country. This was due to commercial forces. In relation to this, Cottle 2003:17) remarks,

Changing media structures and processes ... shape the production contexts and frame the operations, budgets and goals of media institutions, and these are condensed within senior decision-making and must be professionally negotiated by media professionals and producers in their daily practices.

Funding could only be obtained through sponsorship and advertising. The chief producer admitted that it was their duty to market the station and no sponsors or advertisers would want to pay for programmes whose listenership was questionable. The Chief Producer admitted that National FM was competing with Radio Zimbabwe so there was need to have programmes which would attract many audiences. For instance, the morning music shows and drive time music shows were presented mainly in Shona and Ndebele. The chief producer said:

In this competitive broadcasting scenario, we can only survive if we serve the interests of the business world. Broadcasting only in the 'languages' (minority languages) leads us to lose listeners as well as revenue as marketers would go to do business with Radio Zimbabwe which also broadcasts in Shona and Ndebele. We need to satisfy the interests of those who pay for the station's upkeep.

Previous research also indicates that radio Zimbabwe is the most popular radio station in the country (Mano, 2009; Mudavanhu, 2014; ZAMPS, 2016). The findings of this research corroborate how Shona and Ndebele have dominated in all spheres of life to the extent that they have also influenced radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe. Due to the high number of Shona and Ndebele speakers in Zimbabwe (Hachipola, 1998; Ndlovu, 2009), the majority of business people in Zimbabwe also speak these two languages. They then want to fund Shona and Ndebele programmes as they have the highest listenership. However, some producers/presenters argued that the popularity of Shona and Ndebele on National FM is not only influenced by funding as there are a lot of prominent business people from the indigenous small linguistic communities. Political factors also affect this as the producers lamented

that the indigenous small linguistic communities have been side-lined in all spheres of life. One producer/presenter said:

Our politicians themselves, including MPs, belong to the 'languages' but they don't want to be associated with us. There are also some well educated people-even university lecturers and college principals but they want to speak Shona, instead of Shangani, Hwesa or Barwe. They want to be Ndebele not Kalanga, Tonga, Nambya or Venda.

Supremacy of Shona and Ndebele over other indigenous languages has been prevalent in Zimbabwe even during the armed struggle. Sithole (1999), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009), and Ndlovu (2016) discuss how members of the small linguistic communities would rather be called Shona or Ndebele. Shona people also dominate the Ndebele and one producer/presenter said that it has always been the case that Zimbabwe is for the Shona people. She said that it was easy to get information if you were Shona. She lamented the fact although there are some officials who speak their languages, National FM producers/presenters got interviews after the Shona presenters. They only got interviews first if they used Shona or Ndebele. Ndlovu (2016) goes further to discuss how Shona has been dominating radio broadcasting from the colonial era to the present. This is an indication that the small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe are still marginalised. However, there was no consensus on the issue of marginalisation among the producers at the station. Three producers said that they were "formerly" marginalised as they now use their languages and have representation in many spheres of life. These reiterated that they were no longer marginalised. Some said that they were partially marginalised as they were not fully represented. They bemoaned the fact that the radio station itself did not give them adequate air play. Others lamented that they were still marginalised as the station mainly broadcast in Shona and Ndebele; the current affairs programmes and the commercials were mainly broadcast in the main vernacular languages.

The influence of funding on media production is also discussed by political economists like Mosco (2008), McQuail (2010) and Graham (2010) who all agree that funding and control patterns have substantial consequences on the range of discourses and images that appear in the mass media. These scholars are of the view that the media themselves do not have unconstrained mechanism over representation, as mass media products need to conform to the requirements of advertisers, policy makers and the audience. The researcher observed that most of the commercial programmes and advertisements on the radio station were broadcast in Shona and Ndebele.

In order to attract maximum attention from the business world National FM used their most popular presenters as these time slots were known to have more listeners than during the day (ZAMPS, 2015). The station's spot log also indicated that during these shifts advertising rates were at the highest (Diamond - US\$207 per minute). The station concentrated on raising funds instead of promoting the use of small indigenous languages. One producer blamed the government for its lack of initiative in ensuring that the radio station is fully funded. He said:

The minority people have no place in this country. Sei government ichitadza kufanda the only station that broadcasts for malanguages? Vanoziva kuti vanhu vacho havavhoti. It goes back to the issue yemarginalisation. Vanhu vazhinji vekumaborder uku havana zvitupa ende futi havana sense of belonging to the country. (Why is the government failing to fund the only station that broadcasts in minority languages? It goes back to the issue of marginalisation. Many people who live in these boarder areas have no identity cards and they have no sense of belonging).

He went further to talk about how the people in the border areas feel that they belong to the neighbouring countries as they also have their kinsmen in these countries. Nyika (2008) also established that the Kalanga, Shangani, Sotho, Tonga and Venda felt that they also belonged to Zambia, Botswana and South Africa where their kinsmen resided.

Although the station carries out commercial programmes, it still lacked resources as these were not sufficient to sustain the station. The producers acknowledged that they were inferior to Radio Zimbabwe and it was difficult for them to get sponsorship from the corporate world. They confessed that they used all means available to lure the commercial sector but the response was minimal. They also grieved over the fact that some prominent politicians and businessmen who belonged to their ethnic groups preferred to be associated with the Shona and the Ndebele. Even ordinary citizens also liked to be linked to the Shona and Ndebele (Hachipola, 1998; Nyika, 2007; Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009).

The station relied on government funding but this was not adequate. This is not peculiar to Zimbabwe as Myres (2009) discovered that most African PSB radio stations were underfunded by their governments and licence fees were also not adequate. Lack of resources then led the station to be unable to fully perform its duties. The producers complained that the shortage of human resources in some languages was a setback. Shangani was the only language which had three producers/presenters. Nambya, Kalanga, Tonga, Sotho and Chewa had two each while Barwe, Chikunda, Doma, Hwesa,

Venda and Xhosa had only one each. At the time of field work for this thesis Ndau and Khoisan had no producers/presenters. This prevented the coverage of important events for all languages. Some of the languages did not have news readings and “greetings” and this on its own is an indication that the situation at the station is prohibiting the success of the station.

Producers/presenters also bemoaned the fact that lack of resources did not allow them to go and get information from the grassroots. The organisation did not have adequate transport, facilities, stationary, computers, audio recorders and financial resources. The producers/presenters ended up having more telephone interviews than face to face interviews. At Mbare Studios, the producers shared recording and editing studios with Radio Zimbabwe and this affected their work as they had to book for these studios. This disturbed them as they would not be able to do other work outside the studios. The library also lacked resources as it had one computer and outdated books. Furthermore, there was also one librarian who worked in both libraries. The producers confessed that they resorted to using the internet through their mobile phones. This was a sign of innovativeness on the part of the producers/presenters. Some of the producers/presenters admitted that they were not happy with the working conditions as they were lowly paid and were not happy with the general conditions of service. This is not peculiar to Zimbabwe as many radio journalists in Africa had low salaries (Myres, 2009; AMB, 2015; MSI, 2016).

Commercialisation

Just like all ZBC radio stations and ZTV, National FM got some of its funding from commercials (Chiumbu, 2009; Moyo, 2010; Ndlovu, 2016 etc.) and it also followed the spot rate from ZBC. The *Morning Show* was one of the sessions that brought in revenue to the station. The *Morning Show* had a variety of information and it was the most popular session on National FM and other radio stations (ZAMPS, 2015). The *Morning Show* stretched from 0500 to 0900 hours and it was mostly done by the most vibrant presenters. Information gathered from interviews with the Chief Producer and EPs indicate that this was the most popular programme on the station. While the presenters played a lot of music during the slot, there were a lot of announcements as well. These included news headlines, local and international weather report, showbiz, sports, fashion and other social news. For these announcements to be informative the presenters had to do thorough research. They read newspapers and surfed the internet in order to keep updated on the current trends. Philip Makazhu one of the presenters said:

“Ndinoverenga newspaper na5 kuseni ndisati ndatanga basa. Ko maresults ebhora ndinomawanepi ndikasaona Supersport nekuverenga mapepa?” (I read the newspaper at 5am before I start work. Where do I get soccer results if I don’t watch Supersport and read newspapers?).

Soneni Sibanda, Mercy Ndlovu and Ezra Kaunda also acknowledged that they read newspapers and visited many internet sites to get information on fashion trends, sports, showbiz news, musicians’ lives, interesting and bizarre social issues. While there were news bulletins on the station, the presenters also gave listeners bits and pieces of what would be taking place in the world around them. These news items were aired in between songs and they were presented in different languages depending on the presenters’ languages.

The chief producer reiterated that presenters for the morning show were selected after analysing the results on the station’s listenership patterns. This led to the selection of presenters who were popular with listeners. The most popular presenters were then allocated this period after research proved that many audiences would be listening to radio between 0500 and 0900 hours (ZAMPS, 2015). From a commercial perspective, that is also the time when many advertisements are aired and the commercial rates are also high. The chief producer actually acknowledged in a meeting with all the producers/presenters:

Zvinhu zvaoma varume. Kana uri pashift vona kuti wafadza vateereri, but don’t forget our mandate as a station-kutaura nevanhu vemalanguages. (Things have become difficult gentlemen. If you are on duty, you should ensure that you make the listeners happy, but don’t forget our mandate as a station-talk to indigenous language listeners).

The chief producer’s statement is rather controversial as the producers/presenters complained that it was very difficult to try and satisfy the advertisers as well as their fellow language speakers. They went on to say that advertisements were in English, Shona and Ndebele.

The Spot rates for advertising at ZBC had four categories which were platinum, gold, diamond and silver. Platinum, which was the most expensive, costs US\$240-00 per minute while gold is US\$210-00 per minute. Diamond and silver were US\$180-00 and US\$162-00 per minute respectively. Advertising rates at National FM were only in two categories, that is diamond and silver. At National FM advertisements that were aired between 0600 and 0900 hours were charged at the diamond rate, which was the highest at the station. The chief producer said that their station did not charge the platinum and gold categories because the country’s radio listenership ratings showed that the station

was not very popular (ZAMPS, 2015) and it should not have very high rates. These lower rates could also attract advertisers thereby increasing revenue for the station. The diamond advertising rates were also charged between 1600 and 0000 hours. The silver rates were charged between 0900 and 1600 hours and also between 00.00 and 06.00 hours. Below is a table showing National FM spot rates charged for advertisements. This is an indication that while the presenters had to abide by the PSB regulations of ensuring that they cater for people in all geographical and cultural backgrounds (McQuial, 2010), they should also respond to market forces. They should balance between commercialisation and public service duties (Barrat and Berger, 2007). Below is the spot rate for National FM advertisements.

SEGMENT	TIME BAND	DURATION	COSTS (US\$) incl. Vat
DIAMOND	06:00-09:00	20 Seconds	US\$69-00
	16:00-00:00	30 Seconds	US\$103-00
		40 Seconds	US\$138-00
		60 Seconds	US\$207-00
SILVER	09:00- 16:00	20 Seconds	US\$62-00
	00:00-06:00	30 Seconds	US\$93-15
		40 Seconds	US\$124-20
		60 Seconds	US\$186-30

Table: National FM Spot Rates

The issue of commercialisation hindered the station from performing its role as a public service broadcaster. As has been said earlier, National FM competes for audiences with Radio Zimbabwe and, in a bid to survive the competition, it also sometimes uses the same languages as Radio Zimbabwe. This also happens in many African countries as was observed by Hills, (2003:38) when she says, “Commercialisation exacerbates the trend towards uniformity...” Commercialisation has caused National FM to fail to fully broadcast in the languages of the minorities. Due to this commercialisation, it also does not fully broadcast programmes that cater for the interests of the small linguistic communities. Chitagu (2018:26) also says, “One explanation for the media propensity towards the majority perspective is the commercial imperatives underpinning the media operations.”

News in all languages

At National FM news was broadcast in Shona, Ndebele and other minority languages. National FM journalists did not gather hard news stories that were broadcast on the news bulletin. There were people who were only employed to read news. The producers/presenters did not go into the field to gather news; neither did they write nor read the news. News at all ZBC radio stations was obtained from Newsnet, a subsidiary of ZBC that was responsible for news reporting and writing for both television and radio. In all the languages, national news items were presented on the radio station. The news bulletins were controlled from outside the station. The news bulletins for Shona and Ndebele were the same for both National FM and Radio Zimbabwe and were prepared and read at Pockets Hill. The news readers presented news items that would be broadcast on the two radio stations simultaneously. During weekends and public holidays news at National FM was only broadcast in Shona and Ndebele. This means that small linguistic communities only got news in their languages during the week. Due to this one can conclude that National FM did not fully represent small linguistic communities. The producers/presenters also complained that their people's interests were not catered for as the news were about national interests and not their interests.

The Shona and Ndebele news bulletins were 10 minutes and five minutes long for each of the languages. The news in minority languages were two and half to five minutes long. Each minority language had a total of 15 minutes' news reading time in the whole day and 1 hour 15 minutes per week. Instead of giving more time to the minority language news, National FM had longer and more news periods in Shona and Ndebele. Like in the case of Shona and Ndebele, news items in the minority languages were mainly based on national events. This is not acceptable as language activists argue that audiences enjoy local content (Mendel, 2000). Proponents of the PSB system are of the opinion that radio should thrive to ensure that it appeals to all people in the country (McQuail, 2010). Similarly, the newsreaders translate the news stories from English to their own languages. In an interview with one newsreader who was also a producer/presenter, this study established that the news readers obtained news stories from Newsnet through email. Due to the digitilisation process and poor internet network connection sometimes the newsreaders had difficulties in accessing the internet. They went on to use the WhatsApp platform to get the news. The news producers at Pockets Hill sent the news stories through WhatsApp and the newsreaders then translated.

From its inception the station did not broadcast news in all local small indigenous languages. The chief producer said that this was because not all minority languages had the same population so those who have more people are the ones who had news bulletins. Initially the following languages had news bulletins:

1. Kalanga
2. Shangani
3. Chewa
4. Tonga
5. Nambya
6. Venda
7. Sotho
8. Xhosa
9. Chikunda

However, by the time of fieldwork for this study, there were no news bulletins for Chikunda and Xhosa. This was caused by the restructuring exercise which resulted in the laying off of news readers. This did not affect newsreaders only as producers/presenters for other languages were also laid off in the exercise. The producers at the station also said that they did not know the criteria that were used to decide on who were to leave and who were to continue on the job. Some of the producers actually said that they had once lost their jobs in the exercise. When they were recalled, they were told to work on contract basis. They were uncertain about their fate at National FM. The lack of confidence in the management could lead to poor service delivery by the producers. While the producers said that the unfavourable conditions impacted negatively on their performance, observation proved otherwise. For instance, there were some producers who were not innovative in their search for sources or in research. While some looked for primary sources and even made an effort to interview sources who speak their languages or call those back home, some just used the internet and other secondary sources.

The minority languages news bulletins started at 10 o'clock in the morning and, as said earlier, the bulletins were only broadcast during the week. The news items covered national events but the minority language listeners were given a summary of the original news stories from Newsnet. When the news readers got the stories, they would have full details but they were supposed to summarise and ensure that the news items should be read in five minutes. At 10 o'clock the news bulletins would be in Kalanga, Venda, Tonga and Nambya. These four languages had other news bulletins at 1 o'clock, and 8 'clock in the evening. At 11 o'clock there would be five-minute news bulletins in Shangani, Chewa and Sotho. There were also five-minute news bulletins in these three languages at 2 o'clock and 6 o'clock in the evening.

The chief producer at National FM claimed that the small linguistic communities always got news from the radio station. He said that producers at National FM provided news about their different communities through their current affairs programmes but these were not hard news stories. He

however said that innovative producers provided hard news stories during their shifts. They got interesting information about their communities through different communication media and when they were on their shift they could then disseminate it as news flashes. However, these were not enough as the shifts for each language speaker were not done on a daily basis. Each day had six shifts and the 14 minority languages which currently had presenters would not be broadcast every day.

Current Affairs as 'News' for the Small Linguistic Communities

The term "current affairs" is not easy to define (Chignell, 2009), but many scholars agree that it complements news (Gans, 1980; Gitlin, 1983; Clare, 2004; Scultz, 2005). Chignell (2009) argues that news is about what was happening at any given moment and current affairs helps listeners understand what was happening. The study established that news at National FM was brief and looked at many issues but current affairs programmes were elaborate and deliberated on a particular issue or few issues. The study established that current affairs programmes were the only programmes that were specifically meant for small linguistic communities. Cottle (2003:17) is of the view that "the media occupy a key site and perform a crucial role in the public representation of unequal social relations and the play of cultural power."

At National FM these current affairs programmes were mainly live broadcasts that largely covered national and international events and commemorations. There were scheduled and unscheduled events and for these, language issues are debatable. While most of the indigenous languages had producers at National FM, not all of them took part in the production and live presentations of these current affairs programmes. The EP Current Affairs said that due to lack of both human and material resources not all languages were represented in the coverage of these events. She said that there was a team that was specifically designated for live coverage done through the Outside Broadcasting Van (OBV). The team consisted of Morris Ngwenya, Nathaniel Ncube and Rachel Chauke. Morris Ngwenya was conversant in Tonga, Nambya, Chewa, Shona, Ndebele and English. His ability to speak many languages resulted in him being selected to be one of the key current affairs producers. Nathaniel Ncube speaks Kalanga, Shona Ndebele and English. Rachel Chauke speaks Shangani, Shona, Ndebele and English. These were selected mainly because their languages have more speakers than other minority languages (Hachipola, 1998; Nyika, 2007; Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009). Furthermore, Rachel Chauke was selected because she produced and presented programmes on women's issues.

Attending live coverage of events accorded her a chance to gather information about women. These producers went on to share the information with others.

In these live programmes the producers would interview different people especially politicians and other officials. Research on the operations of public service broadcasting has shown that most PSB radio stations act as mouth-pieces of the governments and ruling parties (Ndlela, 2007; Myers, 2009; Bussiek, 2013). The interviewees for most current affairs programmes were government officials who belonged to the ruling party, ZANU PF. The languages that were used in the interviews depended on both the interviewer and the interviewee. For instance, the programme might be on Independence Day celebrations. The producers would carry out interviews with people who speak their languages and these would be broadcast live. The current affairs producers said that they would want to target people who speak their languages but if they failed to do so they used Shona or Ndebele, then translate to their languages. This is discouraged by language activists who believe that translation distorts meaning (Mazrui, 2002; Sierp, 2010; UNESCO, 2013). Not being able to send producers of all languages for live coverage is an indication that it is not feasible for National FM to broadcast in the languages of all small indigenous linguistic communities.

The producers also lamented having their fellow language speakers living outside Harare. Due to the fact that there were few minority language speakers in Harare, the producers ended up using the same sources on many occasions. The lack of different viewpoints shows that the station was not fully representing all small linguistic communities. Some of the producers said that most of the ethnic minorities in the country were not fully represented in the political arena so there would not be equal representation in parliament and at national events. The marginalisation of small linguistic communities is blamed on colonialism which elevated Shona and Ndebele at the expense of other languages (Muzondidya and Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2007). Although the chief producer denied that the station broadcasts in Shona and Ndebele, content analysis of the programmes proves that Shona and Ndebele dominate the station.

Due to the marginalisation that occurred from time immemorial, some minority language speakers now speak Shona or Ndebele, depending on the population around them (Hachipola, 1998; Nyika, 2007; Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009). Some producers lamented the fact that some prominent

politicians who come from these minority groups did not want to be associated with their ethnic fellows. They also did not want to speak their languages. Those from Mataberland would say they are Ndebele when they are Tonga, Venda, Sotho, Kalanga or Nambya. Those from Manicaland would want to speak Shona instead of Barwe, Hwesa or Ndau. They said that some MPs would not even want to be known to be coming from remote areas where these languages are spoken. The Xhosa presenter complained that he had problems in accessing Xhosa speakers for the current affairs programmes and other official comments. He actually said that MPs in Mbembesi and Fort Rixon, where the Xhosa people are concentrated, are all Ndebele. He went further to say that due to the fact that the Xhosa are found in small numbers in Midlands, Masvingo and Mashonaland, their MPs and councilors are not Xhosa so most of the interviews would be done in Shona or Ndebele. However, due to the introduction of TV news in minority languages, there is an improvement in the appreciation of local small languages.

The EP Current Affairs reiterated that it was not practical to send producers for each of the languages as the team that she usually sent out had producers who could speak many languages. She complained that getting resources for so many people was cumbersome due to the bureaucratic nature of ZBC's management system. Furthermore, the recorded interviews were also used by other producers for other programmes in their own languages. This means all the producers would have programmes from these coverages. The producers would translate the audio recordings into their own languages. The EP current affairs said that they wanted live presentations in all the languages but resources did not permit. Consequently, this lack of resources has culminated in National FM not being able to be a radio for "the whole nation". Most of the live current affairs programmes were broadcast in a few languages. The other languages, which did not get live broadcasts, would receive the information as news. As conveyed earlier, news is about what was happening and it lacks details. The small local indigenous language speakers who did not get live broadcasts were deprived of their rights to be fully informed through these live shows.

The scheduled current affairs shows included national and international celebrations and commemorations like World Press Freedom Day, World Radio Day, Indigenous Language Day and World Health Day. National celebrations and commemorations consisted of the 21st February Movement, Independence Day, Heroes Day, Defence Forces Day, Unity Day and other holidays to

commemorate the death of the late vice presidents. These holidays were scheduled and each presenter was supposed to inform his or her listeners on the import of these commemorations. The burials of national heroes were not scheduled but were broadcast live as well. As not all presenters covered these burials, it means that not all small linguistic communities were represented.

Magazine Programmes as 'News'

Like ordinary magazines, a radio magazine programme is broadcast at a particular time, on a particular day every week or every month. The radio magazine is inclusive of other radio formats such as talk shows, interviews, discussions, music and documentaries (Chignell, 2009). While magazine programmes at National FM were sometimes broadcast live, most were pre-recorded. The producers attributed this to lack of resources where they lamented the fact that they did not have resources to invite the sources into the studios for discussions or interviews. The station did not also have resources to go and broadcast from the remote areas where smallest linguistic communities reside. The weekly magazine programmes were broadcast in all the indigenous languages but Shona and Ndebele programmes were longer and more than those of all other languages.

The chief producer insisted that the small indigenous linguistic communities had news from their local communities in their languages through magazine programmes. However, an analysis of the programmes revealed that the magazine programmes had little information on what constitutes news. The programmes were more educational than anything else. They only disseminated information to audiences who did not give feedback due to lack of transmission. The only language which had active participants was Chewa and this is attributed to the fact that the majority of its speakers live in mining and farming communities and towns. In the longer programmes, the audiences did not participate as well due to lack of transmission and the programmes were not interactive due to this.

The magazine programmes in local small languages were broadcast weekly. The programmes were on farming, culture, health, youth and civic education. These programmes deliberated on developmental and health issues as UNESCO (2015) posits that there is under development in areas where small linguistic communities live. UNESCO (2015) reiterates that vernacular radio broadcasting should perform all normative roles. Of importance to this thesis are the two normative theories added by McQuail (2010) namely the development media theory and the democratic participant theory. The magazine programmes in minority languages are meant to enhance development among the people.

They educate listeners on the best farming methods in the farmers' update programmes. The health sessions counselled the listeners on how to lead healthy lives. As said earlier, the small linguistic communities are mainly found in underdeveloped areas and they lack knowledge in terms of basic human rights. Civic education programmes come handy as they educate them on how to get basic documents and other rights in general. Many scholars argue that nations should invest in youth development in order for them to continue existing. National FM has a programme which educates the youth on how to develop themselves. Haralambos (2008) defines culture as a people's total way of life and knowing one culture builds confidence. Programmes on culture are pivotal at National FM as they help the respective people in comprehending how they live. A detailed analysis of the magazine programmes would be done in the following chapter.

The democratic participant media theory entails a media system that encourages the participation of audiences in the production of content. It discourages a system whereby the media just disseminate information to the audiences. Locksley (2009:2) notes; "The creation and dissemination of knowledge are key factors in the development process where the media have been instrumental as a means of creating and sharing knowledge". Information gathered in this study indicates that the listeners do not participate in the production of the content that they listen to. The producers lamented the fact that they did not get the chance to involve the listeners due to lack of resources. They did not get funding to go and record programmes in the areas where the ethnic minorities lived and live programming from there was impossible. All the programmes were not live and getting immediate feedback from the listeners was not possible. Lack of transmission also hindered audience participation and this resulted in the programmes being pre-recorded. One producer complained that he broadcast dull programmes because the people he broadcast for did not receive radio signals due to lack of transmission. This is unlike what happens in some African countries where there are listeners' clubs and audiences participate in live broadcasts (FRI, 2011; Manda, 2015). The producers also complained that the length allocated for programmes was also a setback as some of the programmes were only five minutes long.

Lack of participation hindered the small linguistic communities from participating in national issues and this might lead them not to have a sense of belonging to the nation. If not all Zimbabweans are not involved in issues that affect their country through participation in radio programming, then National FM does not follow its theme – "*The whole nation on one station*". The other people who

are part of the nation and are geographically within the national boundaries are not involved in the discussion of issues that affect them. National FM as a PSB radio station is supposed to broadcast national issues in national languages to different ethnic groups. This thesis established that due to its shortcomings discussed above, the station does not fully have “*The whole nation on one station*”. However, there are some ethnic groups which actively participate in radio at National FM as Chewa listeners actively participate in radio programming. This is because the majority of them do not live in the border areas. Observation showed that the Chewa people participated in phone-in programmes and also sent messages to their producers. The chief producer restated, “*Vanhu vemalanguages vanohwa news dzakawanda zvikuru nokuda kokutivashamarari vavo vanotaura nyaya dzinoitika munzvimbo dzavanobva nemunyika muno nepasi rose kana vari paduty*”. (The people who speak indigenous local languages listen to a lot of news items as their respective presenters broadcast news about what happens in their respective areas, the country and the world at large).

Music as the Main Content on Radio

Music is art and according to Scannell (2001), Mano (2009) and Myers (2009), music typically constitutes 70 percent of radio content but not in talk radio. Like many radio stations, National FM had many music programmes and it also played music as breathers, background sound and to mark programme segments. Music played on National FM followed regulations stipulated by the BSA (2001). The act stipulates that all Zimbabwean radio stations should play 75 percent local music, 15 percent regional music and 10 percent international music. Information gathered through interviews indicates that local music refers to music that is produced by local artists. This includes music that is produced by Zimbabweans who live outside the country and it can be in any language. Regional music comprises music that is produced by musicians from Sub-Saharan African countries. The presenters said that for regional music, they played music that is in local African languages whether produced in Africa or outside the continent. International music refers to music from outside Africa and they play music that is in English, French and Portuguese. Besides the 75 percent local National FM also plays music in the small linguistic communities’ languages.

Presenters at National FM compiled their own music lists as they had dual duties as both producers and presenters. They also designed their compilation sheets following the BSA (2001) and National FM music policy. In the interviews, some of the presenters professed ignorance of the National FM music policy and said they only knew that they should play music that is in their languages. In a staff meeting on 15

January 2016, the chair (Chief Producer) reminded the presenters that the station's policy on music stipulated that "for every 20 songs, a minimum of five songs should be from formally marginalised languages". This means that for every four songs played, at least one should be in the small indigenous languages. Observations indicate that not all presenters followed this as some would only play one or two songs from 20 songs. In the same meeting, the Chief Producer urged the presenters to follow regulations on music and use of proper languages. He also advised the presenters to avoid using English in their shows and insisted that EPs should monitor programme content on air as well as on documents.

Music is one of the major components of radio (Mano, 2009) and National FM was not an exception. The music on National FM was in the form of pure music shows, music request shows, music as segment breakers and breathers within programmes. There were short music shows which were meant to entertain listeners while waiting for the next programme to be played. Some music programmes were live broadcasts and others pre-recorded. The pre-recorded music programmes were played by the duty announcer. The live programmes allowed audience participation as they would phone in and comment on anything and request songs.

This study established that the four-hour shifts contained music and less talk. Presenters were expected to speak in their respective languages when they were on shifts. However, *Morning Show* and *Drive Time* presenters used Shona and Ndebele for commercial purposes (see the section on funding of the station). During these sessions the presenters played both local and international music. The presenters said that they took this opportunity to play music in their languages. They also discussed the lifestyles and any information relating to their respective people.

Promoting Audience Participation through Phone-in Programmes

Like many other radio stations, National FM used the phone to communicate with their audiences. There were some current affairs series where there were invited guests and in these shows audiences were sometimes accorded the chance to talk to the guests. Observation showed that the length of the sessions determined whether the audience could phone in. For instance, in a five minutes long presentation like farmers' series the listeners would not be able to call and participate. In the 15 to 30 minutes shows like the health and culture sessions, the audiences called and got answers for their specific questions. In these sessions only those who spoke the languages whose programme was broadcast at that particular time were allowed to participate. Phone-in programmes were also prevalent in the different music shows where audiences phoned in to request songs to be played.

Technology has enabled audiences to be effective radio listeners (Hungbo, 2008; Myers, 2009) as they can now call and send messages. National FM listeners were active in the greetings, current affairs, “dating platform”, *Family Choice*, morning shows and other programmes. Listeners also called during the *Morning Show* and the *Drive Time* to participate in topical issues. There was a phone-in programme for children and it was called *Children’s Programme*. It was broadcast on Monday from 1530 to 1600 hours and it was mainly broadcast in Shona and Ndebele and other languages that the children spoke. Children who are below 12 years participated in the talk show. They passed greetings, recited poems, sang and requested songs. Observation showed that the children enjoyed the programme.

Information obtained through interviews with Robson Umari and listening to the radio station established that the *Presenter’s Choice* catered for the National FM listeners’ club. The Monday and Wednesday evening sessions were set aside for the club members. There were similar clubs in Malawi (Manda, 2015), where RLCs members communicated with each other through radio. National FM had a club whose patron was Robson Umari. Membership was voluntary and there was a membership fee which was pegged by the members themselves. The club consisted of both men and women and had no age restrictions. All National FM listeners were free to join the club including those who were not part of the small linguistic communities. This study established that the majority of club members were Shona speakers. Musa (2018) also talks of the emergence of listeners’ clubs at the onset of radio broadcasting where people listened to radio together. Musa is of the opinion that apprehension and anxiety triggered radio audiences to listen with others. This is different from National FM listeners’ club which is a social club that has nothing to do with the promotion of minority languages.

The club members “met” in the virtual space on radio and exchanged greetings as well as their musical requests. They also met physically as they held occasional get-together parties which were funded from their club funds. The patron and other National FM presenters were invited to the parties and these were held anywhere in the country as long as there was a club member who resided in that area. They held these parties in urban, rural, mining and farming areas. The patron said that the conversations on air or at the parties were done in any language but Shona, Chewa and Yao were the most commonly used. This can be attributed to the fact that these are the languages that were spoken by the presenter. While Ndebele is one of the main languages spoken in Zimbabwe (Hachipola, 1998; Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009), it is shocking to observe that there was an imbalance in the use of Shona

and Ndebele. The Ndebele have always been sidelined in many socio-economic sectors (Muzondidya, 2004; Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2007; Mhlanga, 2013).

There were many programmes where audiences participated in discussions and social issues. Of importance to this study are the programmes that were broadcast in small indigenous languages. The programmes on greetings is one of them as well as current affairs programmes on culture, youth and civic education and health programmes. As said earlier, most of the languages did not get many callers and for some the few who call would be living in urban areas where there is transmission. These callers would not have first-hand information on what would be happening at grassroots level.

‘Greetings in the mother tongue’

National FM had live shows that allowed listeners in the different languages to pass greetings to their friends and relatives. These programmes could also be called musical request shows as audiences were allowed to request music after passing greetings. These programmes were similar to Radio Zimbabwe’s popular *Kwaziso* (Shona) or *Ukubingelelana* (Ndebele). Audiences used to write their requests on postcards that they would send to ZBC through the Post Office. The audiences would request around five songs to be played after the post card has been read. The post cards would be sorted in the record library and each would have one song selected. Sometimes the presenter would read two or three post cards whose writers would have selected the one similar song or album. It was the duty of the record librarians to select the songs and match the song and post cards.

Nowadays audiences call in to pass their greetings and request songs. They also send messages through the sms and the WhatsApp platforms. These messages are read and sometimes songs are played instantly while at times music is played after a number of messages or calls have been received. The greetings shows were each 55 minutes long and they were broadcast every day from 1200 to 1255 hours. The programmes were very popular in some languages while unpopular in other languages as sometimes there were no callers at all. In some sessions they got only one or two callers only. Sometimes callers who did not speak the languages would phone and the presenters would politely tell them to give a chance to the speakers of those languages. This was usually done off-air and the presenter used the languages of the callers who would have called. The music that was played was

selected mainly from the small indigenous languages, although sometimes callers chose songs that would have been selected by other participants.

Observation indicates that the Chewa greetings show (*Tipatsanemoni*) was very popular. The Chewa listeners were very active in calling and sending messages to the extent that the presenter sometimes ignored some calls. This was done in order to play music and allow the presenter to breath or to read messages. Chewa listeners were active in the programme because of their high population in the country and they are located near and in urban areas (Hachipola, 1998; Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009) where transmission was not a problem. The other factor for the active participation is that the Chewa population is higher than all the other small indigenous languages. Ezra Kaunda and Rabson Umari, who were both Chewa presenters, argued that the Chewa, not the Ndebele population was second to Shona. They attributed this to the fact that there are some people who are not Ndebele but have now been mixed with the Ndebele. These include the Kalanga, Nambya and Xhosa. This is also prevalent among the Shona where the Barwe, Hwesa and Ndau people associate themselves with the Shona (Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009).

Not all languages had these greetings shows. The following languages did not have greetings programmes:

1. Xhosa
2. Chikunda
3. Hwesa
4. Barwe
5. Doma
6. Yao
7. Ndau

The chief producer and the EP continuity defended the radio station's position of not having the greetings show in all languages. They reiterated that there was inadequate time to cover all the languages. They also said that commercial factors were taken into consideration when choosing languages for these programmes. All the EPs agreed with their Chief Producer on the importance of each language's census in the greetings shows. Languages with smaller populations did not have the greetings sessions and sometimes news as there are only a few listeners. These languages did not bring in revenue as they did not have sponsors and advertisers. However, Xhosa had a larger population than the other languages but it still did not have the greetings programme. The Xhosa people do not reside in border areas (Hachipola, 1998; Ndlovu, 2009) where there are transmission problems. The reason for lack of Xhosa greetings could not be established as all personnel at the station could not give an answer. It could be that the Xhosa people are also conversant in Ndebele and they can get a chance to

greet their fellows through other programmes. They could also participate when the Xhosa presenter was on duty.

Sports

Sport is a major area of radio presentation (Huggins, 2007; Haynes, 2009) and National FM has sports programmes and sports updates. The radio station had sports news every morning during the week between 0730 and 0740 hours. The presenters had to research on the trends and the sports updates to present. The sports updates were based on all the popular sporting games in the country and in the world. These included soccer, athletics and other ball games. On Sunday, there were special programmes on Sport updates on all the sporting activities in the whole world. However, like most media channels, National FM had a bias towards soccer. There was also a bias towards men's sporting activities as there were only a few sessions where women sporting activities were discussed.

The question of language needs to be interrogated at this juncture. The main sports producer at National FM was Ezra Kaunda and he is Chewa. The presenter confirmed that the programme was mainly broadcast in Chewa although he would put in some Shona and Ndebele words here and there.

He said that he spoke Chewa a lot as the station's mandate was to promote minority languages. The producer/presenter also believed that there were a lot of Chewa speakers in the country. He usually looked at soccer stars and rarely looked at boxing, swimming, tennis, golf, cricket, and athletics in general and many other sporting games. The producer argued that soccer was the most popular game in the world. He, however also looked at the sporting calendar and discussed profiles of the personalities whose games would be in season at the time. For instance, when the World Boxing Council welterweight silver champion Charles Manyuchi beat his Colombian opponent Julio Feria, the programmes for the two consecutive weeks discussed the lives of current and former Zimbabwean boxers. When asked about his bias towards soccer, the producer defended himself by saying that some of the programmes were sponsored and it was the funders who chose the sport that they wanted the station to look at. Since soccer is popular among other games, market forces would influence the radio station to broadcast soccer programmes more than other games.

As said earlier the main sports presenter at National FM speaks Chewa and this means that Chewa was fully represented in terms of sports news. However, other listeners also got the information since the presenter can speak Shona and Ndebele fluently. The co-presentation involved one other presenter besides the main presenter. This means that in every sports programme there was one Chewa presenter

and any other presenter. Presenters in Sotho, Hwesa, Barwe, Doma, Kalanga and Chikunda usually co-presented with Ezra Kaunda. Although the co-presentation allowed the broadcasting of sport in other languages, there was minimal representation as the presenters in other languages did not get the chance to co-present every week. The Shona and Ndebele presentations were also not adequate as sometimes the presenters just summarised the information in their languages. The audiences participated when their fellow language presenters were on air.

Live Commentaries

There were also live soccer commentaries. These usually took place on Sunday afternoon but if there were games on Saturday there would also be these live commentaries. When resources were available, the commentaries were usually broadcast live from the soccer stadia. The duration of the programmes was determined by the length of the match. If the resources did not permit the commentaries were done from the studio using the television. This only happened when the games were broadcast live on television. The commentator and match analyst would be watching and reporting about the game whilst watching on television.

The soccer commentaries were usually broadcast mainly in Chewa and other indigenous languages. Ezra Kaunda, a Chewa producer, usually broadcast soccer matches as a commentator. Observation through listening to the radio programmes and interviews with the presenters indicate that not all languages were represented in the soccer commentary programmes. Chewa was fully represented as the producer speaks the language. The programme was usually co-presented by Mercy Ndlovu, who speaks Sotho and Tswana. Andrew Mupembe, the Hwesa producer/presenter, also co-presented the soccer commentaries and this also accorded Hwesa people a chance to listen.

Other minority languages did not get significant coverage as not all presenters were involved in the soccer commentaries. Tonga, Shangani, Nambya, Ndau, Xhosa and Venda presenters said that they were not involved in these soccer commentaries. The presenters would talk about sport when they were on shifts but the time would be little to cater for all the issues that need to be discussed and shared with speakers of that language.

Conclusion

The chapter has examined the circumstances under which radio production at National FM takes place. Many factors are involved in the production process and these are intertwined in such a way that the malfunction of one of them affects the whole process. The regulatory framework at the station has a direct bearing at the station. As a PSB radio station, National FM is controlled by the government but this control hinders it from performing its mandate to the minority languages. Scarcity of funding also hinders the station from fully representing all the small indigenous languages. Inadequate funding has resulted in the commercialisation of the station and this has resulted in broadcasting in Shona and Ndebele more than the minority languages. Findings from the thesis are that while National FM broadcasts in minority languages, it does not produce content that fully discusses issues that directly cover the interests of small linguistic communities. The study established that while the radio station was broadcasting in the languages of small indigenous linguistic communities, a significant number of programmes were broadcast in Shona and Ndebele. Like many radio stations, National FM also played a lot of music. Some of the presenters complained that local music in their respective languages was scarce and they relied on music from neighbouring countries. The radio station also has sports sessions and, like all the media, National FM had a bias towards soccer and there was also gender bias in sports coverage. The other issue is that not all languages were fully represented in soccer and other sports programmes.

Chapter Nine: Content Analysis of Selected Languages

Introduction

Previous chapters established that National FM did not fully represent all the languages as some get more air play than others. This chapter examines the current affairs content of four of the languages which have lesser air play than others. These include Barwe, Chikunda, Doma and Hwesa. Research has shown that these languages have lesser populations and the people who speak these languages are also conversant in Shona (Hachipola, 2008; Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2011). ZBC programmes were scheduled into three months long quarters and this study focused on the second quarter of 2016. The quarter stretched from April to June 2016 and during this period the political situation in the country was somewhat stable (MISA, 2016).

The study established that the four selected languages did not have any other type of programmes except current affairs. The routine current affairs issues were classified into categories which are culture, health, youth, civic education and farmers' update. All the small indigenous languages had these programmes but the detailed content analysis concentrates on the four selected languages. Unlike other languages that were broadcast on the station, the selected languages do not have youth programmes. Management defended this by alluding the dearth of some sessions to the lack of space to fit all the 16 languages in one radio station's programming. However, all the presenters for these languages agreed that the management's reason was not convincing as there were programmes that were broadcast in Shona and Ndebele. They also reiterated that those Shona and Ndebele slots could be used to air the youth programmes. The previous chapter alluded this scenario to the political economy of the radio station. Commodification as one of the practices involved in political economy entails "the process of transforming things valued for their use into marketable products that are valued for what they can bring in exchange" (Mosco, 2008:2). National FM management realised the popularity of the main vernacular languages and allocated more time for them so as to attract sponsors and advertisers.

Information presented in this chapter was obtained using content analysis from the programmes, interviews with the presenters and document analysis of the programme synopses and scripts. The exploration examined the programme content, sources of information and whether the programmes were live or pre-recorded. The time slots and duration of the shows were also analysed in terms of how they could benefit the listeners as well as the involvement of the respective small linguistic

communities in the production of the programmes. The political environment has a direct effect on the performance of journalists (McNair, 1998; Zelizer, 2004) and the study established that the ZANU PF government controlled the broadcasting arena in order to remain in power.

The *Farmers' Update* was the first to be analysed. This was followed by the *Health* programme, then *Civic Education*. The *Culture* programme was next and lastly the *Youth* programme although these languages do not have *Youth* programmes. The study concluded that these programmes were not interactive as they were just meant to disseminate information to listeners. Tonderai Samanyanga presented all the Barwe programmes while Philip Makazhu presented all the Chikunda programmes. The two male EPs Kanyemba Bhonzo and Andrew Mupembe presented Doma and Hwesa programmes respectively.

Farmers' Update

The Zimbabwean economy is hinged on agriculture (Sachikonye, 2003; Moyo, 2000; Rapftopoulos, 2004) and radio is pivotal in disseminating and sharing information on farming. The selected period had a total of 12 weeks and each of the languages had 12 *Farmers' Update* series. The *Farmers' Update* is one of the magazine programmes and it was five minutes long. This short length of time is a set back on its own as it did not allow for interaction. Producers reiterated that the objectives of the programme were to equip farmers with the best farming techniques and to update them on the current situation in the different agricultural seasons. The programme content centred on the farming region in which the language speakers reside. Issues to do with what would be happening at the particular time of the year were discussed. The producers said that they had to be abreast with the farming interests of their particular audiences. Sources of information for the programmes were principally experts from the agriculture sector as well secondary sources, especially the internet and print media.

The radio station used the one-way transmissional model of communication which prohibits the involvement of the receiver in the communication process (Shannon and Weaver, 1948). In this show, the presenter just conveyed information to the listeners who were not given the opportunity to respond. In response to why the station broadcast this programme in such a manner, the chief producer argued that the programme is there to educate farmers on the best farming methods that were available. This is in line with recommendations from UNESCO (2013) which advise vernacular language radio stations to broadcast development issues. Local research on the ethnic communities discovered that

the minority language speakers live in remote areas (Hachipola, 1998; Nyika, 2007 etc.). For instance, the Doma people are said to be underdeveloped to the extent that they still live a nomadic life (Ndlovu, 2009). They really need to be educated on modern farming methods. However, the question still stands: how do they get this information when there is no transmission in Kanyemba where they reside?

The producers/presenters sometimes invited guests to the studios. The guests would just disseminate information as there was no time for the listeners to participate. This is contrary to what happened in Malawi where Manda (2015) discusses how the radio has enhanced audience participation in developmental issues. He established that the formation of RLCs improved communication among farmers who used radio as a platform for exchanging and acquiring information on farming. In Ghana, Mali, Uganda and Tanzania, Farm Radio International (2011) assisted farmers in forming ALCs where farmers would share ideas. This was done through sharing short messages through mobile phones. Extension workers, suppliers of agricultural inputs and farmers in general would share their experiences through calls and smses on radio. Members of RLCs and ALCs used their local languages in these shows and this also boosted ordinary citizens' participation (FRI, 2011; Fortune and Chungong, 2013).

However, the Shona and Ndebele programmes were longer and the listeners were able to participate yet the station's mandate is to broadcast in the minority languages. Batibo (2005) echoes the same sentiments when he argues that the dominant African languages and the former colonialists' languages are used and this has ensued in the relegation of minority languages. Language activists argue that depriving people of their language rights is tantamount to oppressing them (May, 2003; Batibo, 2005; Myers, 2009 etc.). The producers/presenters lamented the fact that while the station was doing something to represent small linguistic communities, the time allocated for the minority languages was not adequate. The chief producer blamed this on the fact that commercial forces affected the way the radio station was run as there was need for them to get sponsorship. He further argued that there were more Shona and Ndebele audiences who enjoyed listening to National FM and if they broadcast in these languages, then they would get sponsorship. For the farmers' programme for instance, the agriculture suppliers would fund the Shona and Ndebele programmes because there were more listeners than the Chikunda, Barwe or Doma, for instance. This gave them a chance to advertise to many people.

The programme also disseminated information on the updates of the activities of farming initiatives being undertaken in different parts of the country where the respective listeners live. Interviewees for this study also echoed that the radio station was doing its initial role of educating listeners so the farmers' programme was only meant to educate farmers. This is contrary to modern forms of communication where communication is supposed to be transactional, where personages are concurrently being engaged in receipt of and conveying messages. The National FM format was different from the one that was used by the other African countries (FRI, 2011; Fortune and Chungong, 2013; Manda, 2015).

In Barwe, the programme was called *Zvakurima Nakufuya*. It was on air every Sunday from 1255 to 1300 hours. For Chikunda, the farmers' programme was aired on Friday afternoon from 1425 to 1430 hours. The Doma programme was broadcast on Thursday from 1255 to 1300 hours. The Hwesa programme *Zvakurima* on Friday from 1255 to 1300 hours. Although the programmes were very short, they were broadcast in the afternoon when many people were alert. Three of the languages were broadcast just before news and it was likely that there would be a considerable number of listeners. While the length of the programme and the mode of presentation was not commendable, the time of presentation was conducive for the farmers. It was presented in the afternoon when they would have time to listen. The presenters reiterated that they received calls from some farmers during and just after the programmes. This shows that the programme would have been more worthwhile if it was interactive.

Content analysis of the second quarter of 2016 indicates that in April Chikunda and Doma programmes discussed maize harvesting. As said earlier, the Farmers' Update discussed issues that related to the farming seasons of the ethnic communities. The Chikunda and the Doma live in neighbouring areas (Hachipola, 1998; Ndlovu, 2009) which have the same climate so they have similar seasons. The first programmes for the two languages were on maize harvesting and the presenters said they used the internet, farmers' magazines (*The Farmer*) and other books as sources. The programmes advised the listeners on maize harvesting. There was no guest and the broadcasters themselves presented the ideas. The tips included making sure the maize had dried and storing the maize in dry areas and using safe pesticides for preservation.

The second session was on harvesting small grains and the producers said they used the internet, magazines and information gathered from farmers in Guruve, Buhera and Chivi. They used farmers from different parts of the country so as to get a variety of ideas. The third programme was on storage and preservation of maize and nuts. Information in the stages that are followed in the preservation and storage of maize and nuts was disseminated. The producers reiterated that they used the same sources as in the previous programme. The fourth session in April deliberated on the storage and preservation of small grain and in this programme farmers were advised on the best methods. The producers said they used the internet as well as elderly people from the rural areas where these are grown. They used telephone interviews to get the information and this is attributed to the issue of sociology of journalism and political economy. Zelizer (2004) is of the view that media organisations practise a lot of agendasetting and this can be attributed to the way programmes were presented at National FM. The station broadcast more political news than development news.

In May, the first Chikunda and Doma programmes discussed cattle breeds and their characteristics. One of the main agricultural activities were livestock farming and the farmers needed the best methods on how to take care of their livestock. This was just an educational programme and the producers said that they used the internet and other secondary sources. The second programme deliberated on the diseases that affected cattle in the low lying areas and the sources of information were the internet as well veterinary doctors from the responsible ministry. In the third programme, the presenters discussed the vaccination of livestock and they used the same sources as in the previous programmes. The last programme in May deliberated on the identification of livestock. This programme educated farmers on the different methods of putting marks that differentiate their livestock from those of other regions. They were also told of the importance of doing this as the producers said there is high prevalence of cattle rustling in the area. The producers said that they used the internet as well as the officers from the responsible ministry. Lack of resources does not affect radio journalists at National FM only as AMB (2017) also established that most PSB radio stations lack funding.

Farmers' Update programmes were seasonal and in June the main farming activities were related to cotton farming. The first programmes of the month looked at cotton varieties and the producers said they used the internet and other secondary sources. The second programme discussed cotton grades and this was a sponsored programme where an official from a cotton company was recorded talking about grading. In the next programme the recording from the official continued. This was then

informing farmers on the activities that were taking place at cotton buying points. The last programme was also sponsored and the recordings were about the fertilisers and the pesticides used in cotton growing. The producers said that one of them went to the cotton company head office in Harare and fortunately found an official who was conversant in both Chikunda and Doma. These were rare cases as the producers said that it was very difficult to find their language speakers in Harare. Commercialisation affected the content as the sponsors dictated what was broadcast although PSB broadcasters are supposed to balance between their mandate and market forces (Barrat and Berger, 2007).

The Hwesa and Barwe people live in neighbouring areas and they have the same farming activities (Hachipola, 1998; Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009). The first programmes in April educated farmers on the best methods of harvesting maize and nuts. The sources were the internet and other secondary sources. The second programmes were on taking care of bananas. In these programmes the producers said that they went to the market in Mbare and managed to get farmers who discussed these in their languages. Although these were pre-recorded programmes, they were voices of the actual farmers and not the producers or some officials. The listeners had the chance to get information from one of them. Listeners also got a chance to listen to their fellow language speakers in the programme on production of tubers. The programme deliberated on sweet potatoes, *madhumbe*, *magogoya* and *tsenza*. In this programme, farmers were also recorded at the market. The Barwe presenter is conversant in both Hwesa and Barwe so he recorded farmers at the market. The last programme in April deliberated on the marketing of fruits and tubers and sources for these programmes were officials from the Agritex office. These were pre-recorded programmes where the officers advised farmers on the best marketing methods. The officer spoke both Hwesa and Barwe and if this was a live programme listeners would have got a chance to interact with the source.

In May the first programmes discussed the preservation and storage of maize and nuts and the producers said they used the internet and other secondary sources. The second programmes were on marketing of maize and nuts and in these programmes Marketers Association of Zimbabwe officers were recorded advising farmers on how to market their products. Both producers used their languages and used telephone interviews. The third programmes deliberated on nuts products preparation and in these programmes the presenters used the internet and other secondary sources for information. The

last programme in May discussed the drying and storage of vegetables and the producers said that they used the internet and other secondary sources.

In June, the programmes looked at fruits and potatoes. In the first programme the presenters discussed the production of apples, apricots and pineapples. They said that they used the internet and other secondary sources. The remaining three programmes looked at potatoes. These were sponsored programmes and officials from a marketing company presented the programmes in Barwe and Hwesa. The first discussed potato varieties, the second land preparation and the third sowing of potatoes. Although these were prerecorded programmes, farmers had a chance to listen to specialists who used their languages.

Health

Another current affairs magazine programme focused on health and each of the languages had a weekly session. Depending on the census of particular languages, some languages had 15 minutes long shows while others had 30-minute series. The health programmes were concerned with informing listeners about different diseases and general hygiene. On diseases, the shows discussed the causes, symptoms and preventive measures. The types of epidemics that were deliberated on were influenced by season as well as the diseases that would be affecting many people at that particular time. As discussed in the previous section, the type of communication that the station used was rather transmissional. For communication to actively take place, there is need for feedback from the receiver (Schramm and Osgood, 1954). In the transmissional model, Shannon and Weaver (1949) describe the communication as linear and technical. In this model there is no feedback from the receiver and this is contrary to the ritual model (Schramm and Osgood, 1954). Audiences were not given the chance to respond or to ask any questions. The audiences did not choose the content but management at the station prescribed what ought to be broadcast. In the *Health* programme, the station presented an allpowerful medium and listeners were there to be educated through such shows. One of the producers/presenters commented that there was need to transform the radio station so that it had more powerful audiences who contributed to what they listened to. Another producer/presenter defended this type of presentation. He said that before the radio station became a channel for small linguistic communities, it was an educational channel so there was need for it to continue its educative role. Another producer/presenter echoed the same sentiments and said that the use of all the vernacular languages has strengthened the station's educative role. While this is a positive contribution to the small linguistic

communities, the issue of transmission hinders the station's role of informing the whole nation (IMPI Report, 2014).

The health programmes mainly discussed issues to do with hygiene, food, diseases and the general welfare of citizens. Most of the series were discussions and interviews where the presenter interacted with the guest. Observations and content analysis of the shows and programme synopses show that most of the health sessions were defined by seasons and outbreaks of diseases. The programme also discussed methods of preventing diseases and how to cope with disasters like floods, veld fires and accidents. In issues to do with food, the programmes discussed the nutritional value of different food stuffs. They also looked at the use of ways of maintaining hygiene at home and in work places. The producers sometimes invited specialist guests to the studios for live presentations where listeners were given a chance to participate. However, most of the health shows were pre-recorded. The producers also went out to health functions or visited health centres to have interviews with specialists.

Most of the health sessions were broadcast for 30-minute periods. Chikunda and Barwe programmes were 30 minutes long while Hwesa and Doma were 15. The producers said that since the Hwesa and Doma presenters were also EPs they did not have time to broadcast for 30 minutes. This is controversial because most of the health programmes were pre-recorded so the air play would not matter. Maybe it was the preparation time that was of concern. It was on air on Wednesday from 2100 to 2130 hours. The Barwe health show was broadcast on Friday from 2030 to 2100 hours. The Doma programme, *Nova Zautano*, as it was called in Doma, was broadcast on Sunday from 2100 to 2115 hours. The Hwesa programme was on air every Tuesday from 2115 to 2130 hours. The issue of time of presentation is of concern in this study. The programmes which were mainly meant for people in underdeveloped areas were presented late at night. People in underdeveloped and farming areas usually sleep early and this means that there would be only a few listeners. At the selected time, the producers were given topics to work on and the issues discussed were determined by the length of the programme. The presenters played theme music in their languages and they complained that there were only a few musicians.

The first programmes in April discussed malaria, as it was common in the areas where these people lived. The producers had recordings of interviews they held with officials from the Ministry of Health speaking in the respective languages. The interviews were done through telephone and the topics were on causes, symptoms, cure and prevention. In the second week of April the programmes discussed the

significance and formation of the World Health Day which is celebrated on 7 April every year. In these programmes, the producers reported on what transpired at the national celebrations of the World Health Day. The producers managed to attend the ceremonies and had interviews with guests, most of whom were officials. In the third programmes the producers broadcast information on diseases and pests that are prevalent in low lying areas. These are malaria, tsetsefly, mosquitoes, ticks and many others. The producers said that they used veterinary doctors, internet and secondary sources and these were pre-recorded programmes. The last programmes were on the prevention and treatment of snake bites. Producers said that they used medical doctors and herbalists from the affected areas. These were pre-recorded programmes and the presenters translated recordings with doctors. They managed to find herbalists in their languages.

The May programmes strictly discussed diseases and they concentrated on types of treatment, prevention and symptoms. All the programmes were pre-recorded and the producers used medical doctors and the internet and then translated to their languages. The first programmes discussed cancer while the second one looked at Ebola and the third deliberated on pneumonia. The last programme of the month discussed how traditional foods can assist people living with HIV/AIDS.

In June, the first programmes looked at the prevention and treatment of burns. These were live sponsored programmes where nurses who spoke these languages were invited. Audiences were given the chance to phone and ask questions and contribute. There were only a few callers in all the languages and these were from urban areas. This might have been because of lack of transmission or the time at which the programmes were broadcast. The second programmes discussed flu and these were pre-recorded where the presenters discussed what they got from both primary research with doctors and secondary research. The last two programmes deliberated on toilets and safe water sources. In both programmes the presenters discussed information they got from experts. The presenters also used experts from the affected areas and the interviews were done through the phone and recorded.

Civic Education

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2013) defines civic education as “all the processes that affect people’s beliefs, commitments, capabilities and actions as members or prospective members of communities”. Civic education in a democratic government implicates that citizens need to be

educated on issues that affect their rights and governance. This entails that the topics for civic education vary and the producer is the one who decides what is best for the audiences. This is contrary to what is advocated for by language activists like Batibo (2005); Bamgbose (2011); Maseko and Ndlovu, 2013), who are of the view that small linguistic communities should be active in the planning and execution of activities that concern them.

Information gathered from interviews and content analysis of the programme indicates that this programme's content was diverse. The content included economic, political, religious and social issues. Previous research has indicated that most of the small linguistic communities live in remote areas and are not well informed on many issues to do with their well-being (Hachipola, 1998; Makoni, Dube and Mashiri, 2006; Magwa, 2008; Nyika, 2009 etc.). The station is therefore mandated to educate the different small linguistic communities on issues to do with birth, death, marriage, voter registrations and any other information that concerns them as individual citizens. Some producers said that the civic education programmes were also used to educate audiences on the importance of national events and national heroes. The producers followed the calendar of national events and research on the significance of the commemorations and celebrations as these are quite crucial on this radio station. The Chief Producer further emphasised the import of civic education programmes as they assist in unifying the different linguistic communities in the country. Some producers echoed the same sentiments when they talked of the significance of Independence Day celebrations, Heroes' Day commemoration and Unity Day celebrations in reminding the people about the armed struggle. The celebrations also reminded listeners that those who fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe came from all the ethnic groups in the country.

The civic education programmes were 10 minutes long and all the languages had a programme. For Barwe, the programme (*Ngatipasane Nzero*) was broadcast every Thursday from 1520 to 1530 hours. The Chikunda civic education programme was broadcast on Friday from 0830 to 0840 hours. For Doma, the shows were presented on Friday from 1520 to 1530 hours. The Hwesa civic education programme was on air on Thursday from 0830 to 0840 hours. The time of broadcasting for all the languages was suitable for rural audiences although transmission might have been a hindrance.

ZBC radio programmes are meant to broadcast information of public interest which is determined by the elite (Ndlela, 2009; Moyo, 2012; Ndlovu, 2016). The producers admitted that sometimes they were

not at liberty to formulate themes of their own as they were given a list of topics to work on. Civic education programmes under study were aligned to Zimbabwe's political arena in the guise of national development. The first programmes in April educated listeners on the colonisation of Zimbabwe and the producers used the internet and other secondary sources. They translated and presented them as pre-recorded programmes. Music related to the struggle for independence was played in these programmes. The next two programmes had similar sources and similar styles of presentation. They were on Zimbabwe national holidays. The last programmes in April looked at births and deaths registration. The information was obtained from the Central Registry and translated to the producers' languages and, like many other programmes, they were pre-recorded.

In May, all the programmes were pre-recorded after the producers got information from the concerned people. They then translated the information into their respective languages. The first programme discussed medical insurance and information was obtained from the responsible ministries. Operations of the Office of the Ombudsman were looked at in the next programme and the source and style of presentation was similar to the first programme. The last two programmes discussed the life of the late Vice President Dr Joshua Nkomo. These were meant to commemorate his passing on in early June. Sources for the programmes were the hero's family, friends and party members.

In June, the programmes looked at a variety of topics and they were all pre-recorded. The producers said they interviewed sources and the recordings were translated into the respective languages. The first programme talked about the Great Zimbabwe Monument. The second discussed the importance of funeral insurance while the third looked at climate change. The last programme discussed the operations of local government administrators. All the programmes were not interactive.

Culture

One of the important areas of programming at National FM is culture. Culture means ordinary (Williams, 1958) and this means that the culture programmes are aimed at educating listeners about their ways of life. Giddens (2001:22) defines culture as "...the ways of life of the members of a society, or of group within a society. It includes how they dress, their marriage customs, and family life their patterns of work, religious ceremonies and leisure pursuits". National FM culture programmes included food, dance, marriage, farming, burial, cooking, child rearing and many other aspects.

Observation and content analysis of the programme synopses highlight that the programmes were more inclined to the historical aspects of culture which are now rarely practised. The producers said that listeners requested for this kind of content. By doing this the radio station would be fulfilling the democratic participant normative theory by McQuail (2010). The theory stipulates that the media should create room for audiences to participate in the media content that they consume. The producers sometimes invite the particular language speakers to come and present.

Some culture programmes were 30 minutes long while others were 15. Not all languages had culture programmes and those which did not have the shows include Barwe and Doma. This study could not get a clear answer as to why these languages did not have culture programmes. The Doma presenter said he was a very busy man as he was the EP for Arts, Sports and Entertainment. He was also responsible for marketing the station but one can conclude that he was neglecting the development and promotion of Doma as a language. The other reason could be that Doma has fewer listeners than other languages and the Doma speakers are also conversant in Shona (Hachipola, 1998; Ndlovu, 2007; Magwa, 2008). However, Bamgose (2011) is of the view that the negative language attitude of the speakers is one of the challenges that are faced by minority languages. The language speakers themselves are supposed to show initiative so that other players would also be active. Just like Doma, Barwe also has few speakers and they also speak Shona. However, these people needed adequate airplay as they are Zimbabwean citizens.

For Chikunda, the show was also 30 minutes long and it was broadcast on Monday from 1830 hours to 1900 hours. The Hwesa Culture and Development programme (*Magarirwe Nakupfurura Kwamitunhu in Hwesa*) was 15 minutes long and was on air on Wednesday from 1900 to 1915 hours. The first Chikunda programme in April deliberated on life in the gaming areas. The producer held interviews with residents in areas where the Chikunda people lived and these were in their languages. The other three programmes were on marriage rituals, an actual marriage ceremony and a Chikunda funeral. These were recorded and presented in Chikunda and no translations were done. Actual speeches of the interviewees were used in the programmes. All the programmes for the month were pre-recorded but they were lively due to the actual voices of Chikunda people in the programme. Chikunda music performed at the rituals was also played in the programmes.

Although the May programmes were pre-recorded, they were lively as the programmes had actual audio recordings in Chikunda. The producer attended different ceremonies and managed to record the proceedings which he then packaged into programmes. The first three sessions were on the inauguration of a chief, rain-making ceremonies and *Nhimbe/humwe* (where members of community take turns to work together in farming activities). The last issue in the month discussed traditional and modern hunting methods. In this programme, the producer interviewed elderly Chikunda people and officials from the Ministry of Environment and Wildlife Management. These interviews were done in Chikunda and there were no translations and the actual voices of the interviewees were presented in the broadcasts.

The June programmes were also lively as the audiences could hear the voices of the interviewees. Traditional Chikunda music was also played. The first programme discussed the preservation of food and Chikunda village health workers were interviewed. The producer also used the internet and other secondary sources. The second programme was a discussion of Chikunda festivals where traditional leaders were interviewed. They discussed the different festivals and their importance. The third programme was on African traditional rituals and the interviewees were asked about *bira* and *kurova guva* ceremonies. These ceremonies are held in memory of deceased relatives and are associated with traditional beer and meat. The last programme in that month was a discussion of the difference between African Traditional Religion and Christianity. In this programme the producer interviewed church pastors and traditional leaders. These were Chikunda speakers and the presenter moderated the debates. Music from different church choirs from Chikunda speakers was played. Traditional Chikunda music was also played.

The Hwesa culture programmes were similar to culture programmes in other languages. In April, the four programmes discussed Hwesa marriages, marriage rituals, burials and *kurova guva*. In all the producer interviewed Hwesa senior citizens and some of the actual voices were in the recordings. Hwesa theme music from the grassroots was also played in the programmes. In May programmes on Hwesa rituals were presented in the first three weeks. These programmes discussed a chief's inauguration, marriage, death and burial. Traditional leaders were interviewed as the producer thought that these had information on the topic. The last programme in May looked at actual traditional marriage ceremonies and the producer managed to interview the bride and groom as well as their relatives. The proceedings were recorded and presented in Hwesa. In June, the programmes looked at

nchimbe/humwe, preservation of vegetables, traditional games and the rain-making ceremony. As in other programmes, the producer got the information from the grassroots. Just like the Chikunda producer and other National FM producers, he admitted that he recorded these programmes when he went to his rural home on social visits. He said that he also took this chance to record Hwesa songs from the locals. The issue of taking an initiative is a positive step towards preserving minority languages

Youth

Like in other countries, in Zimbabwe the youth are highly regarded in all sectors of life. There is a ministry that was set up to cater for the welfare of the youth. As said earlier, initially National FM was an educational channel (Scannell, 2001; Mano, 2007; Chiumbu, 2009) and it has continued to broadcast content that is still aligned to enlightening people. The radio station also focuses on developmental issues and the youth programme also broadcasts what the youth in different parts of the country are doing and can in terms of development. There was a specific programme that aimed at teaching the youth about many things that affected their lives. Each of the languages had a 15-minute programme for the youth. Besides educating the youth, the programme also discussed how the youth in different parts of the country were living. The station also broadcasts development issues that were carried out by the youth. Not all languages had youth programmes. Languages which have smaller populations do not have youth programmes. These are Barwe, Chikunda, Doma, Hwesa, Xhosa and Yao.

The Zimbabwean government has a youth policy that ensures that the youth's well-being is catered for. However, National FM management segregates the youth in other languages. While there is marginalisation of small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe, there is also marginalisation of some languages at National FM. The Zimbabwe Youth Policy stipulates that the youth have a right to equality and education among other things. Lack of youth programmes among these languages can contribute to the low representation of the minority languages even in issues of governance. The youth need training in governance issues but these languages lack this kind of education and this could be one of the reasons they do not have councillors or MPs who belong to their ethnic groups. Bamgbose (2011) is of the view that a language should be constantly used for it to survive. National FM should broadcast youth programmes in all languages including those with minimal populations.

Overall Analysis of the Selected Content

The study has established that while National FM broadcasts for small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe, there is marginalisation of some languages. According to Ndlovu (2007:119), “When a language is not recognised for a certain function in which space is accorded to other languages within the linguistic ecology, it is marginalised.” Barwe, Chikunda, Doma and Hwesa are the most marginalised as they have the least airplay at the station. They do not have the same types of programmes as other minority languages. The analysis above has also indicated that the programming of these languages leaves a lot to be desired.

Popular programmes like music, talk shows, news, phone-ins and any interactive programmes are not broadcast in these languages. These languages are part of National FM but they are not fully participating as is with the other languages. This is equivalent to exclusion by inclusion where they are said to be included in the promotion of minority languages. At the same time, they are excluded because they are not fully involved in this promotion. The selected languages are left out in the most popular programmes on radio. Management attributed this to lack of time due to commercialisation. The choice of these languages was attributed to their small population. However, Ndlovu (2007) argues that the individual speakers of minority languages have negative attitudes towards their languages. The executive producers at National FM belong to these languages and are involved in programme scheduling but they do not have the authority to decide what should be broadcast.

This study established that the length of some of the programmes is not satisfactory. The *Farmers' Update* is only five minutes long. Besides the length, the linear method of presentation is also unacceptable. One of the producers/presenters complained,

Five minutes per week is very short and insignificant. Our people are not given the respect that they deserve. How can they be told on how to farm when they have been doing it for the rest of their lives? They need to also give their input. They should also be allowed to ask questions.

The issue of time of presentation is also debatable. This study established that most of the current affairs programmes for the selected languages are broadcast very late at night. This was also attributed to commercialisation where musical programmes and talk shows in Shona and Ndebele were broadcast during prime time for commercial purposes. Radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe is influenced by both political and commercial forces and this has affected National FM as well. ZAMPS (2017) results indicated Radio Zimbabwe (which broadcasts in Shona and Ndebele) was the most popular in rural

areas. National FM competes with Radio Zimbabwe and for National FM to remain in business it had to use Shona and Ndebele as well. This is also echoed by Cottle (2003:17) in the statement, “Media industries and organisations are competing in uncertain times and volatile markets, and strategically seek to position themselves in relation to regulatory authorities, competitors and consumers.” National FM also had to broadcast its popular programmes during prime time in order to attract advertisers. The programmes in the small local indigenous languages would then be broadcast late when the prospective audiences would be tired and maybe asleep.

There are several factors that contribute to the inactivity of minority languages in in different social and economic activities (Bamgbose, 2000, 2011; Mufenwe, 2006; Ndlovu, 2007, 2009; Magwa, 2008; Nyika, 2008). Some of the factors arise from the minority speakers themselves and some from the society. According to Mufenwe (2006), some languages are at the verge of death due to the existence of the “myth of killer languages”. These killer languages are the most popular languages in a society and they are the preferred ones in a multilingual culture. In the case of Zimbabwe, Shona and Ndebele might be the killer languages as seen in National FM programming. National FM should be broadcasting in minority languages but due to reasons discussed above, it is also broadcasting in Shona and Ndebele. The producers/presenters themselves speak in Shona and Ndebele when on air. The producers/presenters also complained that the politicians and the elite from their communities do not want to speak their indigenous languages. Ndlovu (2007:130) also realised that “feelings of inferiority and internalised subordination” lead to the marginalisation of some indigenous languages in Zimbabwe.

The explanation above also contributes towards how current affairs programmes are broadcast the way they are presented. Many professionals who speak the minority languages would not want to be part of their people and therefore cannot publicly speak these languages. Many scholars blame the African education system as it concentrated on English and main vernacular languages (Bamgbose, 2000; Viriri, 2003; Mufenwe, 2006; Ndlovu, 2007, 2009; Magwa, 2008; Nyika, 2008). The producers/presenters themselves lamented the fact that they did not learn their indigenous languages at school and were not familiar of the standardisation of these languages. Furthermore, there are only a few professionals in the health sector and civic organisations who can speak the selected languages. Those who are there are affected by the “feelings inferiority and internalised subordination”. One presenter gave examples of government officials and university lecturers who belong to the small

indigenous linguistic communities but profess ignorance of the ability to speak these languages. Although the selected languages have gained the official status in the country (Zimbabwe National Constitution, 2013), the worst scenario is that the selected languages have no publications (Hachipola, 1998; Magwa, 2008). Information gathered from interviews with the producers/presenters also shows that by 2016 none of the selected languages had publications introduced at primary school.

Conclusion

While National FM's slogan is "The whole nation on one station", it does not give equal opportunities to all the languages it purports to represent. While Shona and Ndebele were dominating at National FM, there were also other languages that were more marginalised than others. This chapter has shown that Barwe, Chikunda, Doma and Hwesa were sidelined and only got minimal broadcast time. They only have four current affairs programmes and some of the programmes are very short. For example, the *Farmers Update* is five minutes long and is not interactive. The chapter also established how lack of resources at the organisation has resulted in the producers using secondary sources instead of primary sources. However, the study also realised that National FM has embraced ICTs although on a small scale. The producers/presenters admitted that they mainly use the internet as sources of information on farming, health and civic education.

Some of the programmes are broadcast late at night when the prospective audiences might be tired and asleep. The research also established that longer presentations of between 15 and 30 minutes allowed for interactive programmes where audiences would phone in to talk to guests who speak their languages. There is also audience participation when the producers/presenters go to their rural homes and record programmes with their fellow language speakers in their languages. This was seen in culture and civic education programmes.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter summarises and concludes the thesis. It also offers recommendations to the powers that control broadcasting in Zimbabwe, ZBC management, National FM management and all the people involved in the promotion of small indigenous languages. The chapter begins with a summary of the whole thesis. It then goes on to discuss the main findings. As part of the discussions the chapter also gives the major findings in relation to the research questions, literature review and theories. It also comments on the methodology and its relation to the findings of the study. Following this discussion section, the chapter then dwells on the recommendations. The section also presents recommendations to National FM producers. It proposes areas of further research in terms of how radio can be effectively used in the promotion of formally marginalised local languages. The issue of involvement of audiences in radio production are is one of the areas that also needs to be researched on.

Summary of the study

This first part of study introduced the topic by discussing the research questions as well as the rationale of the thesis. National FM, which was changed from Radio Four in 2001, was mandated to broadcast in small indigenous languages. The study established that while the station broadcasts in the languages that it is assigned to transmit in, it also airs programmes and announcements in Shona and Ndebele.

In discussing the validation of this thesis, the issue of language rights is also examined. Human rights activists fight for the achievement of total rights for all citizens and language rights are part of the fundamental rights that need to be promoted. A plethora of research has been done to assess the level at which language rights are endorsed (Bambgose, 2000; Batibo, 2005; Magwa, 2008, Ndlovu, 2009; Nyika, 2009; Maseko and Ndlovu, 2013 etc.). All these scholars examined language rights in different aspects of life, including education, social life and economic rights.

There are also scholars who delved into the issue of how the media validate language rights (Myres, 2009; Chibita, 2011; Mabika and Salawu, 2014; Manda, 2015; Okoth, 2015). These scholars just probed how vernacular languages are used in radio broadcasting. They examined the use of ordinary main vernacular languages and not the small indigenous languages that are explored in this thesis. Moreover, they did not thoroughly analyse radio production at any institution. The scholars did not also analyse any radio content of the small indigenous language programmes. However, for vernacular

radio content in Zimbabwe there is a considerable number of research that examined radio content on Radio Zimbabwe (Scannell, 1991; Mano 2004, 2005, 2009; Mabika and Salawu, 2014; Mudavanhu, 2014). Little research has been done on National FM's content (Ndawana, 2012; Ndawana and Muromo, 2012; Mabika and Salawu, 2014). Unlike previous research, this thesis is an elaborate analysis of the production as well as content that is broadcast at National FM.

Basically, radio in Zimbabwe is polarised on political grounds. There are PSB and commercial radio stations only and there are no community radio stations. ZBC manages the PSB radio stations but these do not follow pure PSB regulations. There is government and ZANU PF interference in all the four PSB radio stations (Ndlela, 2007; Chiumbu, 2009, Moyo, 2010; Moyo, 2011; Ndlovu, 2016). National FM is one of the four PSB radio stations and it also broadcasts government propaganda in vernacular languages. Zimbabwe has two national commercial languages and eight community-based commercial radio stations. The ownership of these commercial radio stations raises a lot of questions in relation to the actual freedom of the airwaves. The government claims to have freed the airwaves by licencing these commercial radio stations but all the proprietors are connected to the government and the ruling party. Radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe is polarised as all licenced radio stations support the status quo while the unlicenced radio stations appear to sympathise with the opposition (Moyo, 2010; Mhiripiri, 2011; Moyo, 2011; MMPZ, 2015). Due to the monopoly of ZBC radio stations and licenced commercial radio stations, radio audiences turn to clandestine radio stations to get alternative voices.

Unlike other media, radio has managed to survive competition from modern technology as convergence has added value to its quality and relevance (Mano, 2011; Hungbo, 2012; Kijana, 2012). The literature review section discusses the works that deliberate on matters to do with radio as a public sphere and how technology has enhanced the role of radio in promoting this concept. It also deliberates on what scholars prescribe the PSB to be and most scholars agree that in practice there is no purely defined PSB radio system. The African context is worse than other parts of the world. Scholars agree that the PSB radio stations in Africa are marred by political and commercial interests. Many scholars agree that radio can be used by the public as a platform for debate and modern technology has boosted this role of radio (Myers, 2009; Chibita, 2011; Moyo, 2012; Fortune and Chungong, 2013; Manda, 2015). Looking at National FM, this thesis established that while the station is promoting the public sphere, its target audiences are not fully active because of limited broadcast time as well as lack of transmission in some areas.

This thesis interrogates the feasibility of having one radio station representing 16 languages. In line with the reviewed literature, this thesis also examines how broadcasting in vernacular languages has enhanced development. Studies have indicated that the use of vernacular languages has increased audience participation in matters that affect the language speakers (Prah, 2004; Odhiambo, 2011, Okoth, 2015; Manda, 2015). This study has established that National FM does not fully represent all the small indigenous languages. This is because not all these languages get airplay as some languages like Khoisan and Tswana are official languages in Zimbabwe but were not broadcast on National FM. Furthermore, languages with similar numbers of people did not get the same airplay on radio. For instance, Xhosa did not have programmes like the phone-in *Greetings* programme.

Radio does not only promote language but it also promotes other aspects of culture. Scholars agree that radio is a reflection of culture as different radio programmes mirror what happens in society. Studies in African radio content portray how radio depicts religious practices, social life, economic situations, politics and many other cultural activities (Mano, 2004; Tetty, 2011; Odhiambo, 2011; Gunner, 2011; Ligaga, 2011; Fortune and Chungong, 2013; Manda, 2015). Radio has proved that because of its adaptability and many other characteristics, it can be used in many part of Africa.

Like previous research, this thesis has also argued that radio is “Janus faced” as it can be both constructive and destructive. The productive aspects have been illuminated where it is educative, informative and entertaining. Studies have also indicated that radio can also be destructive and the Rwandese genocide is a critical and typical case in Africa. Other cases include Kenya, Zimbabwe and the South African xenophobia. If not well managed, radio can be used to stifle human rights and cause political instability.

Production of radio content is influenced by many factors which include political economy of the organisation as well as sociological aspects that are related to the institution. This thesis was steered by two media concepts namely: political economy of the media and sociology of journalism. Findings from the study show that the radio content that is broadcast for small indigenous communities in Zimbabwe is influenced by the ownership and control patterns at ZBC.

The sociology of journalism also affects the production of radio in small indigenous languages at National FM. These included the physical environment, the economic situation, the status of the employees and many other factors.

Methodology is influenced by the kind of research that is undertaken (Gripsrud, 2002; Chater, 2004; Yin, 2011). As a case study, this thesis used the institutional ethnographic approach to uncover the interplay among the forces that affect the production of radio content at National FM. The ethnographic methodology encompassed different data collection techniques and these are interviews, observation, document analysis and content analysis of selected radio programmes. The study used critical discourse analysis for analysing data and thematic analysis was used for data presentation.

Findings in Relation to Research Questions

The main question of the thesis is centred on the issue of the possibility of one radio station representing all the indigenous ethnic communities in Zimbabwe. To expound on the main research question, the thesis also interrogated how National FM is fulfilling its mandate to broadcast in the languages of the local small linguistic communities. The main research question was also corroborated by the quest to find out the forces behind the production and broadcasting of content for small indigenous linguistic communities. A triangulation of research methods discussed in Chapter Six led to the conclusion that while the station broadcasts in the small indigenous languages, it is not feasible for it to fulfil the needs of all the languages that it broadcasts in.

Focusing on the main research question, the thesis established that the station broadcast in 14 languages at the time of field work for this study. However, the programme schedules that were used from 2013 to 2016 showed that the station broadcast in 16 small local languages. The two languages that were not on air are Ndaou and Tswana and their absence was attributed to the lack of speakers from those languages as well as overcrowding on the radio station. Khoisan was also not on the schedule and had no airplay and the same reason was given. The absence of these languages definitely indicates that it is not feasible for one radio station to cater for 18 languages.

Furthermore, the radio station allocated very little time to some languages. For instance, Doma only had 30 minutes per week while Barwe, Hwesa and Yao had 45 minutes per week. Other languages like Chewa, Venda, Shangani, Tonga, Nambya and Kalanga have an average of five hours per week. These time allocations are not adequate for the listeners to fully participate in radio broadcasting. Furthermore, there are disparities in the time allocations as Xhosa, Chikunda, Doma, Barwe and Hwesa are given lesser time than others yet they are also official languages. The fact that these languages are all official languages means that they are equal and they need equal representation. The languages with lesser time allocations have fewer number of speakers (Hachipola, 1998; Magwa,

2008; Ndlovu, 2009) but these people have the same rights like all Zimbabweans, as postulated in the Zimbabwean constitution. This observation is a clear indication that it is not plausible for one radio station to fully represent all the local small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe.

In addition to this, some languages only had one programme genre, which is current affairs. This lack of uniformity on airplay, duration of programmes and programme formats is an indication that it is not feasible for one radio station to represent all the small indigenous linguistic communities in Zimbabwe. Barwe, Chikunda, Hwesa and Doma had only four of the current affairs programmes. They had health, farming, civil education and culture. Doma had only three which are health, farming and civic education. The allocation of time among the small indigenous languages themselves was not fair and transparent as the management could not give concrete reasons as to why there were such disparities. Languages with the same approximate populations did not have the same number and length of programmes. For instance, unconfirmed statistics indicate that Chikunda speakers are more than Barwe and Hwesa speakers but they have the same duration of broadcasting time and types of programmes. Chikunda speakers are also more than Xhosa speakers but Xhosa has more programmes than Chikunda. This again is evidence that it is not realistic to have one radio station representing 18 languages.

This thesis has also examined how production of content at National FM takes place. Findings indicate that most of the programmes for small linguistic communities cover national issues and do not discuss matters that are of interest to the intended audiences. As discussed above, some of the languages only have current affairs programmes which are not interactive. This transmission mode of communication does not allow audiences to participate in the broadcasting of content that is meant for them. Most of the programmes at National FM were pre-recorded. The study established that the producers decided what to broadcast. Audiences were only involved as sources of information but the study also discovered that the information flow in most of the programmes was from top to bottom. The producers interviewed officials and people who were presumed to be experts in different areas. The producers and management argued that the station was once an educational broadcaster so it maintained educating its listeners as one of its objectives. As such, producers would use both secondary and primary research methods to source for information to disseminate to listeners. For instance, in farmers' update, health, culture, youth and civic education programmes, the producer decided on programme content, sources for information and broadcast live or as a pre-recorded programme.

In a bid to find out if it is possible for National FM to fully represent all the small indigenous languages in Zimbabwe, the thesis also examines the forces behind radio production at National FM. There are many forces behind radio production and these include the relations that prevail among the people involved in production and how these affect productions and the product itself. This thesis used institutional ethnography to explore how the issues to do with the producers, the organisation and the audiences affected the production of radio content at National FM. Findings from this research indicate that inequality among the different ethnic groups affects broadcasting at the radio station. As said earlier, there were some languages which had more airplay than others. This was also found in the number of producers/presenters. Some languages had three presenters while others had one and others had no presenters at all. While the available population statistics are not confirmed, there are some languages which had more producers/presenters than other languages which have more speakers than them.

Other forces behind production include training, remuneration, regulation, the socio-political environment and other factors (McNair, 1998; Zelizer, 2004; Dickinson, 2007). Contrary to what was established by some studies that many African media practitioners lack training (Myres, 2009; IMPI Report, 2014; AMR, 2014), National FM personnel have professional qualifications. They have journalistic and other qualifications ranging from certificates to Masters Degrees. Furthermore, there were also some in-house courses that equip them in the use of ICTs. Like most of the media practitioners in the country (IMPI Report, 2014; MISA, 2015; MMPZ, 2015), National FM producer/presenters were not happy with their remuneration. While they argued that this did not affect their performance, however, the study established that lack of resources at ZBC as well as lack of motivation on the part of personnel affected content production. Some producers did not use a variety of sources such as visiting places where their listeners live. They just relied on secondary sources as well as telephone interviews. There were producers/presenters who repeated programmes. However, there were some producers/presenters who were keen to present information that was about their fellow language speakers. More than half of the producers said that they carried their recorders when they went to their rural homes for personal visits. They did this to get information in their languages. Regulation and the economic and socio-political environment also had a bearing on the production of content as the station was affected by both the political and commercial forces. Instead of allocating more broadcasting time to the languages of the local small communities, the station sometimes

broadcast in Shona and Ndebele in order to get revenue from the commercial sector. This was also a result of lack of transmission in areas where the local small linguistic communities lived (Myers, 1998; IMPI Report, 2014; MISA, 2015; AMR, 2015).

The study also analysed the political economy of the radio station. Like all PSB radio stations in Africa, National FM is controlled by the government and broadcasts content that supports government interests (Moyo, 2010; Moyo, 2011; Mhiripiri, 2011; Moyo, 2012; Ndlovu, 2016). Sometimes National FM broadcast national events in Shona and Ndebele and did not broadcast programmes in small local languages which would be on the schedule. Besides government intervention, the station was also affected by commercial interests (IMPI Report, 2014; MISA, 2015). The failure by the government to fund ZBC led the PSB radio stations to seek commercial funding and this also affected the broadcasting of content in the prescribed languages. As said earlier, lack of transmission also caused the station to broadcast sponsored programmes in Shona and Ndebele. Overall, National FM's mandate was mainly affected by external forces rather than internal forces.

Limitations of the Study

A major weakness of this study is the lack of involvement of audiences. Sociology of journalism, as one of the theories that inform this study, postulates that audiences and the product are an integral part in examining how media institutions work. However, this thesis has not studied the nature of the audiences at all as it only focuses on the content and production. The study would have yielded better results if audiences were involved so that they would comment on the quality of content, mode of presentation, duration and time of programme presentation.

Furthermore, the language factor was a barrier deterring the listener from fully having textual analyses of the radio programmes in the selected languages. However, the researcher listened to the programmes in the selected languages because they are related to Shona which is the researcher's mother tongue. Magwa, (2008) argues Hwesa and Barwe are Shona dialects and the researcher managed to listen to programmes in these two languages. The content analysis information was mainly obtained through reading the programme synopses and scripts. The interviews were also done in English and Shona yet all the producers/presenters speak English and Shona as second languages. The study would have been better if the interviews were done in the languages of the interviewees. The

research established that the languages do not have equal broadcasting duration so the fact that some of the languages were not thoroughly analysed negatively affects the strength of the thesis.

Recommendations

While this study is mainly concerned with radio broadcasting, it also focuses on language rights. Basically, the study focuses on how radio broadcasting promotes language rights. National FM as a PSB should be fully funded by the government through subsidies so that it abandons commercial funding. This would allow the radio station to only broadcast in the prescribed languages. Due to these commercial interests, the radio station has many programmes in Shona and Ndebele in order to get revenue from advertisers who presume that if their promotions are aired in minority languages then they would not get customers. Information gathered from interviews with management at National FM indicates that the business world assumes that there are only a few listeners from the small indigenous communities. Sponsoring programmes in those languages would not be of any benefit to the corporate world. Besides being a small population, small indigenous linguistic communities live in the border towns of Zimbabwe where there is no or poor radio transmission (IMPI Report, 2014, MISA, 2015; AMR, 2015).

Unconfirmed statistics show that Shona speakers are about 75 percent of the Zimbabwean population, Ndebele 16 percent and the small linguistic communities constitute 9 percent (Magwa, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009). Although the small linguistic communities constitute a small percentage of the population, there is need for them to be represented in the media as they are official languages (Zimbabwe Constitution, 2013). UNESCO (1993) and OAU (1997) and other human rights organisations agree that all languages should have equal representation, including those that are spoken by very few people. This means that all small linguistic communities in Zimbabwe should have equal air play on National FM. Since Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts in the two main vernacular languages, National FM should not broadcast in Shona and Ndebele. The government should fully fund the station so that there would be no commercial interference. The government should also speed up the digitalisation process so that all border areas get transmission. In 2014 only 65 percent of the country received radio transmission (IMPI Report, 2014). The small linguistic communities need to listen to programmes in their languages so that the audiences contribute to the production and broadcasting also becomes interactive. The producers should go into the field and find information about the interests of the public. If the issue of convergence is improved, audiences can have more participation in radio broadcasting as what

happens in other countries and in the clandestine radio stations in Zimbabwe (Mhiripiri, 2011; Moyo, 2013; Manda, 2015).

One of the recommendations is on the establishment of community radio stations that are based on language. A community can be defined as a group of people who share the same language (Mendel, 2000). In order to allow all the small indigenous languages to have access to adequate radio content that is broadcast in their languages, there is need to set up community radio stations that are based on language. It is recommended that policy makers should set up whole radio stations that cater for specific languages. These should have personnel who are conversant in these languages as well as the particular people's culture. National FM should also use stringers who reside in their communities and these would record information and send it for packaging.

The indigenous small linguistics themselves are also advised to be more vibrant in their effort to restore and promote their language rights. While almost all the local small linguistic communities have associations, some of them do not have active organisations. Research has shown that languages like Doma, Chikunda, Xhosa, Barwe and Yao do not have lively associations and their languages lack development in education and in the media. The vibrant organisations like ZILPA, TOLACO, VETOKA and others should assist these languages in setting up vigorous associations that would be actively involved in the promotion of these languages. If these associations are vibrant, it would be easy to lobby for the languages to be part of the curriculum and the media as well. It would even be possible to have language based community radio stations when the government decides to licence community radio stations.

Recommendations for further study

The rough estimates of the statistics of the population of small linguistics are not available. Studies by Hachipola (1998), Magwa (2008) and Ndlovu (2009) all talk of lack of proper statistics from 1982, 1992, 2002 and 2012. The only statistics available pertain to the small linguistic populations per district per language not the overall language speakers in the whole country. For instance, Ndlovu (2009) gives estimate figures for Sotho people in Gwanda, Hwesa in Nyanga and Shangani in Chiredzi. This study could not establish the estimate for the small indigenous linguistic communities as well.

The only estimates available are online and these sources lack credibility. Due to lack of this vital information, it becomes difficult to argue why Hwesa and Barwe are said to have fewer people than Xhosa or Tswana. The issue of time allocation on National FM would also be questionable if the

population statistics of the language speakers is not available. For instance, Xhosa has shorter air play than Nambya and the argument is that Nambya has more speakers than Xhosa. The question is: how is this real when the national statistics are not available?

There is need for a thorough research on the population census or a national survey for the small indigenous language communities in the country. The survey can be done at an administrative level by the government and civic society. The academia can also carry out such a study. In the case of the former, this kind of inquiry would be valuable in decision making. For instance, the information would help in determining the expected number of pupils to be enrolled in Doma or Chikunda schools. The information would also be useful in policy formation in other sectors as well. An example could be in the media, the health sector, religion and other areas. In the later, the statistics are useful in guiding scholars to arrive at conclusions and compare variables. It is advisable for the Central Statistics Office to have official documentation on the census of the small indigenous linguistic communities.

Another area for further study is the issue of the content analysis for radio content in different languages. There is need for thorough analysis of what the different programmes in the small local languages are about. For this to be successful, those who are conversant in these languages should carry out the research as translation distorts meaning (UNESCO, 2014). Furthermore, there is also need to have audience studies of these programmes to establish the interests of the listeners. Those who speak the languages should be involved in these studies as well. Generally, there should be more research on the role of the media in the promotion of small indigenous languages as has been done in education, nation building and policy formation (Magwa, 2008; Makoni et al, 2008; Nyika, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009; Makoni, 2013). Very little has been done in the discipline and this has been researched in conference and journal papers (Ndawana, 2012; Ndawana and Muromo, 2012; Mabika and Salawu, 2014).

Conclusion

Radio has always been used as a tool to disseminate information and one of its strengths has been its ability to adapt to new technologies. This thesis has examined how radio can be used to promote language rights and it has looked at one particular radio station in Zimbabwe, National FM. The thesis has concluded that National FM is not capable of fully representing all the small indigenous language communities in Zimbabwe. Most of these languages are official languages but they are not given equal opportunities yet they have the same weight in terms of having a significant number of speakers. The

lasting solution for these languages to be fully represented is to have language based community radio stations. The issue of transmission should also be considered so that the audiences would listen and participate in the discussion of issues that affect them. Transmedia should speed up the digitalisation process so that the whole country gets access to radio broadcasting.

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Appendix

National FM Programme Schedule



PROGRAMME SCHEDULE 2016

APRIL TO JUNE

SUNDAY

TIME	PROGRAMME	
0000-0400	Sunday Morning Listening	Live
0400-0500	Gospel Music	Live
0500-0505	Thought for the day	Tape
0505-0510	Station Frequencies	Live
0510-0554	Morning Show	Live
0554-0559	National Anthem	Tape
0559-0600	Station Identity	MD
0600-0620	Nhau/Indaba	Live
0620-0730	Sunday Morning Show (Gospel messages)	Live
0730-0800	Morning Show	Live
0800-0805	Programme Trailer	Live
0805-0830	Gospel special	Live
0830-0859	Church service (Ndebele) Inkonzo	Live
0859-0900	Station Identity	Tape
0900-0930	Mixed Bag with music	Live
0930-1000	Church service (Shona) Mharidzo	Live
1000-1025	Gospel special	Live
1025-1045	Musical interlude	Live
1045-1100	Venda culture – Siyalala Lashu	Tape
1100-1110	Nhau /Indaba	Live
1110-1120	Musical interlude	Live
1120-1135	Sotho Health (Tsabophelo)	Tape

1135-1145	Musical Interlude	Live
1145-1159	Kalanga Health (Butjilo Bubuya)	Tape
1159-1200	Station Identity	MD
1200-1255	Greetings (Nambya) Ngatimusaneni	Live
1255-1300	Farmers update – Barwe (Zvakurima Nakufuya)	Tape
1300-1320	Nhau / Indaba	Live
1320-1330	Lunch Time Listening	Live
1330-1345	Venda Youth (Vhasva)	Tape
1345-1400	Musical interlude	Live
1400-1415	Youth – Sotho (Basoa)	Tape
1415-1425	Sports Yester year soccer greats	Live
1425-1435	Sports World Sports Updates	Live
1435-1500	Sports Personality Profile/Highlights of upcoming match	Live
1500-1715	Soccer Commentary (NB. till end of the match)	Live
1715-1759	Sunday Ride	Live
1759-1800	Station Identity	MD
1800-1820	Nhau indaba	Live
1820-1900	Sunday ride	Live
1900-1930	Amaphimbo – Amnandi	Tape
1930-2000	Music Interlude	Live
2000-2020	Nhau /Indaba	Live
2020-2030	Sports results	Live
2030-2045	Let’s talk about our station	Live
2045-2100	Presenters choice	Live
2100-2115	Health (Nova zautano) – Doma	Tape
2115-2200	Jazz on Sunday	Tape
2200-2210	Nhau/Indaba	Live
2210-2300	Thematic Music	Live
2300-2359	Mixed Bag with sporting results	Live
2359-0000	Station Identity	MD
0000-0005	National Anthem	Tape

MONDAY

TIME	PROGRAMME	
0000-0400	Early Morning listening	Live
0400-0500	Golden oldies	Tape

0500-0505	Thought of the day	Tape
0505-0510	Station frequencies	Live
0510-0554	Morning show	Live
0554-0559	National anthem	Tape/MD
0559-0600	Station Identity	MD
0600-0620	Nhau / Indaba	Live
0620-0630	Morning show	Live
0630-0640	Morning show(News headlines local/International and weather report)	Live
0640-0730	Morning Show	Live
0730-0740	Morning show (Showbiz, sports, fashion and other social news)	Live
0740-0800	Morning Show	Live
0800-0805	Nhau /Indaba	Live
0805-0810	Programme trailer	Live
0810-0830	Morning show	Live
0830-0840	Venda Civic Education	Tape
0840-0859	Morning show	Live
0859-0900	Station Identity	MD
0900-0930	Venda Health	Tape
0930-1000	Presenters Choice	Live
1000-1025	News (Kalanga/Venda/Tonga/Nambya/ Xhosa)	Live
1025-1030	Music Interlude	Live
1030-1100	Chewa culture	Live
1100-1120	News – (Shangaan/ Chewa/ Sotho/ Chikunda)	Live
1120-1130	Music Interlude	Live
1130-1140	Kalanga Civic Education	Tape
1140-1159	Musical Interlude	Live
1159-1200	Station Identity	Tape

1200-1255	Greetings – Sotho –(Aridumedise)	Live
1255-1300	Farmers update- Venda (Zvaulima)	Live
1300-1320	Kalanga/Venda/Tonga/ Nambya news	Tape
1320-1330	Musical interlude	Live
1330-1400	Youth (Vatsva) – Shangaan	Live
1400-1425	News–(Shangaan/ Chewa/ Sotho/ Chikunda/ Xhosa)	Live
1425-1430	Farmers update –(Kulima) –Nambya	Live
1430-1500	Ingosi yabesifazane –(Ndebele women)	Live
1500-1518	News –(Shangaan/ Chewa/ Sotho/ Chikunda/ Xhosa)	Tape
1518-1530	Musical interlude	Live
1530-1600	Childrens programme	Live
1600-1605	Programme trailer	Live
1605-1800	Drive time	Live
1759-1800	Station Identity	MD
1800-1820	News (Kalanga/Venda/Tonga/Nambya/Shangaan/ Chewa/ Sotho/ Chikunda / Xhosa)	Live
1820-1825	Announcements Lost and Found	Live
1825-1855	Xhosa Culture	Live
1855-1900	Musical Interlude	Live
1900-2000	Nhaka yedu / Ilifa Lethu	Tape
2000-2020	News(Kalanga/Venda/Tonga/ Nambya)	Live
2020-2100	Presenter’s Choice*	Live
2100-2200	Presenter’s Choice	Live
2200-2210	Nhau/Indaba	Live
2210-2300	Family Choice	Live
2300-2359	Mixed bag	Live
2359-0000	Station Identity	MD
0000-0005	National Anthem	Tape

TUESDAY

TIME	PROGRAMME	
0000-0400	Early Morning listening	Live
0400-0500	Women Musicians	Tape
0500-0505	Thought for the day	Tape

0505-0510	Station frequencies	Live
0510-0554	Morning show	Live
0554-0559	National Anthem	Tape
0559-0600	Station Identity	MD
0600-0620	Nhau/Indaba	Live
0620-0630	Morning Show	Live
0630-0640	Morning show(News headlines local/International and weather report)	Live
0640-0730	Morning Show	Live
0730-0740	Morning show (Showbiz, sports, fashion and other social news)	Live
0740-0800	Morning Show	Live

0800-0805	Nhau /Indaba	Live
0805-0810	Programme trailer	Live
0810-0830	Morning show	Live
0830-0840	Ngatibikei	Tape
0840-0900	Presenter's Choice	Live
0900-0930	Nambya Health	Tape
0930-1000	Presenter's Choice	Live
1000-1025	Kalanga, Venda,Tonga,Nambya and Xhosa News	Live
1025-1030	Musical Interlude	Live
1030-1100	Kalanga Culture	Tape
1100-1120	Shangaan, Chewa, Sotho and Chikunda News	Live
1120-1130	Musical Interlude	Live
1130-1140	Civic Education-Nambya	Tape
1140-1159	Musical Interlude	Live
1159-1200	Station Identity	MD
1200-1255	Greetings Tonga (Kujuzyana)	Live
1255-1300	Farmers update – (Kulima Mbumi)- Tonga	Tape
1300-1320	Kalanga/Venda/Tonga/Nambya news	Live
1320-1330	Musical interlude	Live
1330-1400	Youth – (Bachikomona) - Tonga	Tape
1400-1425	Shangaan, Chewa, Sotho,Chikunda and Xhosa	Live
1425-1430	Farmers's Update Xhosa (Ezolimo)	Tape

1430-1500	Afternoon Listening	Live
1500-1518	News	Live
1520-1550	Health (Ezempilontle)- Xhosa	Tape
1550-1600	Musical interlude	Live
1600-1605	Programme trailer	Live
1605-1759	Drive Time	Live
1759-1800	Station Identity	Live
1800-1825	Shangaan ,Chewa,Sotho,Chikunda and Xhosa news	Live
1825-1830	Announcements Lost and found	Live
1830-1900	Chikunda Culture	Tape
1900-1950	Drive Time	Live
1950-2000	Yao Civic	Tape
2000-2020	Kalanga, Venda,Tonga and Nambya News	Live
2020-2030	Musical Interlude*	Live
2030-2100	Health Kalanga*	Tape
2100-2115	Musical Interlude*	Live
2115-2130	Health (Zvautano)- Hwesa*	Tape
2130-2200	Late Night Listening *	Live
2200-2210	Nhau /Indaba	Live
2210-2300	Family choice	Live
2300-2359	Mixed bag	Live
2359-0000	Station Identity	MD

WEDNESDAY

TIME	PROGRAMME	
0000-0400	Early morning listening	Live
0400-0500	Our Neighbours	Tape
0500-0505	Thought of the day	Tape
0505-0510	Station frequencies.	Live
0510-0554	Morning show	Live
0554-0559	National anthem	Live
0559-0600	Station identity	MD
0600-0620	Nhau/Indaba	Live

0620-0630	Morning show	Live
0630-0640	Morning show(News headlines local/International and weather report)	Live
0640-0730	Morning Show	Live
0730-0740	Morning show (Showbiz, sports, fashion and other social news)	Live
0740-0800	Morning show	Live
0800-0805	Nhau/Indaba	Live
0805-0810	Programme Trailer	Live
0810-0900	Morning show	Live
0859-0900	Station identity	MD
0900-0930	Chewa Health	Tape
0930-1000	Morning Show	Live
1000-1025	Kalanga,Venda,Tonga,Nambya and Xhosa	Live
1025-1030	Musical Interlude	Live
1030-1100	Zyabuntususu –Tonga Culture	Tape
1100-1120	Shangaan, Chewa,Sotho and Chikunda	Live

1120-1125	Programme Trailer and Frequencies	Live
1125-1150	Music While We Work	Live
1150-1159	Civic education (Thumba Lazambili) – Chewa	Tape
1159-1200	Station Identity	Live
1200-1255	Greetings –(Tipatsanemoni) – Chewa	Live
1255-1300	Farmers –Yao (Kulima Niumi)	Tape
1300-1320	Kalanga/Venda/Tonga/Nambya News	Live
1320-1330	Musical Interlude	Live
1330-1400	Nambya Youth	Tape
1400-1425	Shangaan/Chewa/Sotho/Xhosa/Chikunda News	Live
1425-1430	Farmers update –(Tsabaleme) –Sotho	Tape
1430-1500	Afternoon Listening	Live
1500-1518	News	Live
1518-1530	Drive Time	Live
1530-1600	Dzumbani na Africa	Live
1600-1700	Drive time	Live
1700-1705	Police reports	Live

1705-1759	Drive time	Live
1759-1800	Station Identity	MD
1800-1825	Shangaan,Chewa,Sotho,Chikunda and Xhosa	Live
1825-1830	Announcements lost and found	Live
1830-1900	Drive Time	Live
1900-1915	Culture & Dev Magarirwe – Nakupfunyurura Kwamitunhu -Hwesa	Tape
1915-1950	Music Interlude	Live
1950-2000	Civic education –Sotho (Letulu Latuto)	Tape
2000-2020	Kalanga,Venda,Tonga and Nambya News	Live
2020-2030	Musical Interlude	Live
2030-2045	Farmers update – (Ezabalimi)- Ndebele	Tape
2045-2100	Presenters Choice	Live
2100-2130	Chikunda Health	Tape
2130-2200	Presenter’s choice	Live
2200-2210	Nhau Indaba	Live
2210-2300	Family choice	Live
2300-2359	Mixed Bag	Live
2359-0000	Station Identity	MD

THURSDAY

TIME	PROGRAMME	
0000-0400	Early morning listening	Live
0400-0500	Apostolic Music	Tape
0500-0505	Thought of the day	Tape
0505-0510	Station frequencies.	Live
0510-0554	Morning show	Live
0554-0559	National anthem	MD/ Tape
0559-0600	Station identity	MD
0600-0620	Nhau/Indaba	Live
0620-0630	Morning show	Live

0630-0640	Morning show(News headlines local/International and weather report)	Live
0640-0730	Morning Show	Live
0730-0740	Morning show (Showbiz, sports, fashion and other social news)	Live

0740-0800	Morning show	Live
0800-0805	Nhau/Indaba	Live
0805-0810	Programme Trailer	Live
0810-0830	Morning Show	Live
0830-0840	Hwesa Civic	Tape
0840-0859	Morning show	Live
0859-0900	Station identity	MD
0900-0930	Tonga Health Education	Tape
0930-1000	Presenters Choice	Live
1000-1025	Kalanga, Venda, Tonga, Nambya and Xhosa News	Live
1025-1030	Musical Interlude	Live
1030-1100	Shangani Culture	Tape
1100-1120	Shangaan, Chewa, Sotho and Chikunda News	Live
1120-1125	Programme trailer and frequencies	Live
1125-1150	Music While We Work	Live
1150-1159	Civic Education – (Katula Kaluzibo) - Tonga	Tape
1159-1200	Station Identity	Live
1200-1255	Greetings – (Ndumeliso) - Venda	Live
1255-1300	Farmers update – Doma	Live
1300-1320	Kalanga/Venda/Tonga/Nambya News	Live
1320-1330	Musical Interlude	Live
1330-1400	Youth – (Achinyamata) - Chewa	Tape
1400-1425	Shangaan/Chewa/Sotho/Chikunda and Xhosa News	Live
1425-1430	Farmers – (Zaulimi)- Chewa	Tape
1430-1500	Sungano Yevanhukadzi	Live
1500-1518	News	Live
1518-1520	Programme Trailer	Live
1520-1530	Civic Education-Barwe(Ngatipasane Nzero)	Tape
1530-1600	Congratulatory messages	Live

1600-1605	Programme Trailer	Live
1605-1759	Drive time	Live
1759-1800	Station Identity	MD
1800-1825	Shangaan,Chewa,Sotho,Chikunda and Xhosa	Live
1825-1830	Announcements lost and found	Live
1830-1900	Drive Time	Live
1900-2000	Vaimbi	Live
2000-2020	Nhau/Indaba	Live
2020-2030	Musical Interlude	Live
2030-2045	Farmers update – Shona	Tape
2045-2100	Presenter’s choice	Live
2100-2130	Country music	Tape
2130-2210	Nhau /Indaba	Live
2210-2300	Family choice	Live
2300-2359	Love songs	Live
2359-0000	Station Identity	MD
0000-0005	National Anthem	Tape/MD

FRIDAY

TIME	PROGRAMME	
0000-0400	Early morning listening	Live
0400-0500	Revolutionary Music	Tape
0500-0505	Thought of the day	Tape

0505-0510	Station frequencies.	Live
0510-0554	Morning show	Live
0554-0559	National anthem	Tape/MD
0559-0600	Station identity	MD
0600-0620	Nhau/Indaba	Live
0620-0630	Morning show	Live
0630-0640	Morning show(News headlines local/International and weather report)	Live
0640-0730	Morning Show	Live

0730-0740	Morning show (Showbiz, sports, fashion and other social news)	Live
0740-0800	Morning show	Live
0800-0805	Nhau/Indaba	Live
0805-0810	Programme Trailer	Live
0810-030	Morning show	Live

0830-0840	Chikunda Civic Education	Tape
0840-0859	Morning Show	Live
0859-0900	Station ID	MD
0900-0930	Shangani Health	Tape
0930-1000	Presenters Choice	Live
1000-1025	Kalanga, Venda, Tonga, Nambya and Xhosa News	Live
1025-1030	Musical Interlude	Live
1030-1100	Sotho culture	Tape
1100-1120	Shangaan, Chewa, Sotho and Chikunda News	Live
1120-1150	Music while we work	Live
1150-1159	Civic Education – (Ngula Yavutivi) – Shangaan	Tape
1159-1200	Station Identity	MD
1200-1255	Marhungula (Shangaan Greetings)	Live
1255-1300	Zvakurima – Hwesa	Tape
1300-1320	Kalanga/Venda/Tonga/Nambya News	Live
1320-1330	Musical Interlude	Live
1330-1400	Youth – (Batjakula) Kalanga	Tape
1400-1425	Shangaan/Chewa/Sotho/Xhosa/Chikunda News	Live
1425-1430	Chikunda Farmers' Update	Tape
1430-1459	Culture Yao-Paluvala nimwenye	Tape
1459-1500	Station Identity	MD
1500-1518	News	Live
1518-1520	Programme Trailer	Live
1520-1530	Civic education – Doma	Tape
1530-1535	Swavarimi-Shangaan	Tape
1535-1600	Children's Programme	Live

1600-1605	Programme trailer	Live
1605-1700	Drive time	Live
1700-1705	Police reports	Tape
1705-1759	Drive Time	Live
1759-1800	Station Identity	MD
1800-1820	Shangaan,Chewa,Sotho,Chikunda and Xhosa News	Live
1820-1825	Announcements lost and found	Live
1825-1900	Abahlabeleli	Live
1900-1930	Current Affairs topical issues (Asikhulume/Ngatikurukureyi)	Tape
1930-2000	Drive time wrap up	Live
2000-2020	Kalanga,Venda,Tonga and Nambya News	Live
2020-2030	Musical Interlude	Live
2030-2100	Barwe Health	Tape
2100-2200	New Releases*	Live
2200-2210	Nhau Indaba	Live
2210-2300	Family choice	Live
2300-2359	Late night extravaganza	Live
2359-0000	Station Identity	MD
0000-0005	National anthem	Tape

SATURDAY

TIME	PROGRAMME	
0000-0400	Early Morning listening	Live
0400-0500	New Releases	Tape
0500-0505	Thought for the day	Live
0505-0510	Station Identification & Frequencies	Live
0510-0555	Morning Show	Live
0555-0600	National Anthem	Tape
0559-0600	Station Identity	MD/Tape

0600-0620	Nhau/Indaba	Live
0620-0630	Morning Show	Live

0630-0700	Morning Show Interactive	Live
0700-0800	Morning Show	Live
0800-0859	National Fm Top 20*	Tapes
0859-0900	Station Identity	MD/Tape
0900-1000	Afro Gospel show	Live
1000-1100	House/Kwaito Session	Live
1100-1105	Nhau/ Indaba	Live
1105-1159	Personality play list	Live
1159-1200	Station Identity	MD/Tape
1200-1255	Greetings Kalanga - Ngatibuyisaneni	Live
1255-1300	Farmers Update – Nlimi Wanasi	Tape
1300-1320	Nhau /Indaba	Live
1320-1345	Musical Interlude	Live
1345-1400	Writers programme Shona & Ndebele (Zvevanyori/Abalobi)	Live
1400-1410	Civic Education – Xhosa (Sabelane Ulwazi)	Live
1410-1500	Mudariro Munaani /Enkundleni kulobani	Live
1500-1600	Bvunzai Tete / Buzani ubabakazi - Shona/Ndebele	Live
1600-1605	Programme trailer	Live
1605-1759	Saturday mix	Live
1759-1800	Station Identity	MD
1800-1820	Nhau/Indaba	Live
1820-1845	Musical Interlude	Live
1845-1900	Sekaurema Wafa	Live
1900-1945	Rhumba vs Museve	Live
1945-2000	Health Yao – syaulama	Tape
2000-2020	Nhau/Indaba	Live
2020-2045	Musical interlude	Live
2045-2100	Culture – Nambya	Tape
2100-2200	National FM Hit Parade	Live
2200-2210	Nhau/Indaba	Live
2210-2300	Reggae Sounds	Live
2300-2359	Muhupfu Nemudota	Live

2359-0000	Station Identity	MD
0000-0005	National Anthem	Tape