Public Service Broadcasting and the Construction of the Angolan Nation:

Audiences' perceptions of News at 8pm and Muangolé

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Abstract

Studies of the media in Angola have been recent and very few, and have focused more on the general aspects of public media performances and how they interplay with Angolan politics and society. Public service broadcasting (PSB) has been included in these researches only as part of the media and rarely researched separately, despite its strong impact in this country. There have been no studies on PSB audiences or public broadcasting's role in giving a voice to voiceless people. The long period (27 years) of civil war that commenced immediately after independence from Portuguese colonialism (1975) is acknowledged as the main reason for the scarcity of academic studies.

This thesis, then, focuses on the perceptions of Angolan audiences regarding the role of their public service broadcasting as a catalyst for Angolan nation-building in this post-war society. From the constructivist perspective of nation-building as a project always in process, Angola's post-war society, with its diversity of tribes, languages, races, ethnicity and traditions, is an example of such a nation in process.

Three methodologies are used in this investigation: first, qualitative content analysis (QCA) evaluating samples of content from the *News at 8pm* both on Public Service Television and Angolan National Radio and the TV talk show *Domingo a Muangolé;* second, interviews with journalists to gain a perspective on the elitist idea of Angolan nation-building in Angolan PSB; and third, focus group discussions with sample audience members, to understand what Angolan PSB audiences expect and perceive from these media in view of their nation in construction, evaluating how their daily life is addressed by these broadcasters.

The thesis found that Angolan PSB was doing less than expected in terms of addressing audiences' stories. Conversely, the broadcast content highlighted a more elite vision of the nation. The Angolan PSB is in a process of transformation, as is the whole country at all levels (law, governance, and justice sectors), but this research found that audiences still expected the PSB to be an important tool to help the country build up a sense of national identity and belonging after the war. While the programmes studied were attempting to do this, their perspective was mainly limited to urban life and they presented a government-approved picture of the society. The disconnect between *News at 8pm* and its audiences' needs and expectations is the main challenge that Angolan PSB has to deal with in the context of post-war nation building and present-day Angolan society.

Acknowledgements

Declaration of Authorship

I, José Sebastião Paulo, hereby declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

Contents

List of Acronyms

ADPP – Development Aid from People to People (a Norwegian NGO)

AHADI - Africa Health and Development

AIDS - Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC – African National Congress

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

BRU – Broadcasting Research Unit

CBS - Central Broadcasting Corporation (former name: Columbia Broadcasting System)

CD – Critical Discourse

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

CNCS - National Council of Social Communication

CPJ – Committee for Protection of Journalists

DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo

DStv – Digital Satellite Television

FACRA - Angolan active risk capital fund

FNLA – Angola National Liberation Front

ICT - Information Communication Technologies

INE – National Statistical Institute

JES – José Eduardo Dos Santos (President of Angola)

MP – Members of Parliament

MPLA – Angolan Popular Liberation Movement

MPLA-PT – Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola – Workers' Party

NBC - National Broadcasting Company

NGO – Non Government Organisation

PRS – Social Renovation Party

PSB – Public Service Broadcasting

PSM - Public Service Media

RNA – Angola National Radio

SWAPO - South West African People's Organisation

TPA – Angola Public Television

Telejornal – Angola Public Television News at 8pm

TV – Television

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UNITA – National Union for Total Independence of Angola

UPA – Angolan popular Union

URSS – Soviet Socialists Republics Union

US – United States

USA – United States of America

VORGAN – Voice of Resistance of Black Coq (UNITA radio station's name)

General Introduction

Angolan citizens continually complain about the Angolan National Radio (RNA in Portuguese) and Angolan Public Television (TPA in Portuguese) services' weaknesses in failing to address the real and most important daily problems and challenges of the country and its inhabitants, on the one hand, and, on the other, the imbalance in the media in promoting the ruling party (MPLA) and its government activities, although not in the interest of the public, since the end of the civil war (2002). This has drawn my attention to the real perceptions that Angolan PSB audiences have and their expectations about the nation they want and the nation they are forced to watch and listen as narrated in those public broadcasting services.

Public service broadcasting in contemporary societies often emphasises elements relating to the nation and nation-building. 'Nation, ethnicity, nationalism and religion are four distinct and determinative elements that help to understand our modern society' (Hastings, 1997:1). However, no one academic can properly tackle the concept of nation without linking it to the other three elements noted by Hastings. Throughout history, societies have experienced cultural expansion, with their values and ways of life steadily changing; nowadays, this process occurs in the context of globalisation.

This thesis is about the contribution of Angolan Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) to the construction of a sense of national belonging and identity in post-war Angola from the perception of the audiences. It provides a reflection on news content (current affairs) provided at 8pm on Angolan National Radio and Angolan Public Television, and the content of one of TPA's talk show programmes, *Domingo a Muangolé (Sunday Angolan Style),* produced with the objective of presenting important aspects of Angolan identity to citizens both within the country and abroad.

There has still been very little academic research carried out on public service broadcasting since Angola gained independence in 1975. TPA and RNA are generally mentioned in such research within the wider concept of media (as in Vunge 2006; 2010; Carvalho, 2010,).[1] Public service radio and television are often also mentioned as *the press* and discussed with

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[1] Vunge, A. (2006) Dos mass midia em Angola: um contributo para a sua compreensão histórica.
 Vunge, A. (2010) A credibilidade dos Media em Angola.
Carvalho, P. (2010) Campanha Eleitoral de 2008 na imprensa de Luanda.

daily and weekly newspapers in terms of academic reflection on the country. Therefore reflection turns more around the performance and accuracy of these media *vis-à-vis* politics, economy and security. Academic references emphasise more Angolan PSB's political agenda, such as how TPA and RNA address or should address this or that aspect of public interest. Even though those reflections have signalled some weaknesses in this public service broadcasting, the public has not yet had adequate opportunity to express its opinions and elite groups usually speak on their behalf. This thesis is rooted in the perspective of TPA and RNA audiences' perceptions of nation-building through those media.

The focus of this thesis is on audiences' perceptions of TPA and RNA *News at 8pm* and the TV show *Domingo a Muangolé*, in their relation to the concept of the nation. This thesis's departure point is the construction of the Angolan post-war nation. It reflects on the role of TPA and RNA in nation narration and the national *we* in reconstruction as key concepts in permanent transformation.

From the perspective of nation-building, this thesis is a constructivist (Breury, 1993; Gellner, 1994, 2006; Billig, 1995; Bhabha, 1996; Mamdani, 1996; Jenkins and Sofos, 1996; Hasting, 1997; Anderson, 2006) concept of nation, highlighting the will and awareness of given community members living together so as to narrate their experiences. Anderson's academic reflection on imagining communities enlightens this thesis in developing the understanding that public service broadcasting in the context of this thesis has had a big impact on Angolan post-war audiences' imagining of their communities. The completion of that objective is Mamdani's (1996) perspective of 'linking the rural and urban' when reflecting on the concept of nation-building in post-colonial and contemporary Africa.

In addition, this thesis also finds guidance in the reflections of Scannell (1996) on nature, performance and the expectations of public service broadcasting about implementing its principles, to focus and address audiences' expectations on who PSB programmes are made for.

The objective of this thesis is to provide an understanding of the role of TPA and RNA as contributors to the construction of Angola as a nation in a post-war context from audiences' perspectives. As Pole and Lampard (2002: 5) put it, 'providing answers to the questions will help to establish a clear reason for the research and also begin the process of identifying a focus for it'. However, such answers must be based on clear criteria. In the case of this thesis, as mentioned above, the focus is the audiences of TPA and RNA *News*

at 8pm as well as the TPA talk show, *Domingo a Muangolé*. Keller (2014) emphasises process tracing in qualitative research as a good means by which to establish a clear picture of events. While researching identity, citizenship and political conflict in Africa, Keller asserts that 'in some cases, process tracing focuses on a single significant event; in others it concentrates on recurrent events over time' (p. 37). Indeed, complaints about the role of public service broadcasting in Angola often recur.

For a better understanding of public service broadcasting and the construction of the Angolan nation, this thesis sets about answering the following research questions:

1. What does the Angolan public think of the contribution of public service broadcasting (TPA and RNA) to the construction of national belonging and national identity in the context of post-war Angola?

2. Does Angolan PSB address the needs of its public or some notion of public interest, and how can this be seen in the case study programmes in particular?

    a) Do flagship public broadcasters, national television, national radio and especially the *News at 8pm* address national needs and respond to the expectations of audiences and their understanding of Angolan society?

    b) What is the agenda of national identity and belonging presented by the television programme, *Domingo a Muangolé*, and how do audiences receive and perceive it?

For a better understanding of public service broadcasting and the construction of the Angolan nation, this thesis has used a qualitative content analysis (QCA) and a focus group method. In relation to the last method (focus groups), I set up 18 groups, each made up of six to eight people. Discussions took place in urban, suburban and rural areas of different regions of Angola. After the field work, urban groups were analysed separately to identify similarities and differences, and the same was done for suburban groups and those from rural areas. Gender was taken into consideration; whereas I had groups of mixed young men and women in urban and suburban areas, in rural areas, I separated the men from the women in order to allow the latter more freedom to discuss the issues and to prevent them feeling embarrassed about talking in the presence of their husbands or fathers.

This thesis is aware of the deep transformations and convergences occurring in the media field, where considerable numbers of consumers of traditional media (newspaper, radio and TV) are migrating to social media (see Jenkins, 2006; Deuze, 2006). Audiences often

approach new platforms (smartphones, tablets, mobiles) through the Internet, allowing them to produce and exchange audio and video content, and become more active media consumers than in the past (see Bowman and Willis, 2003; Gillmor, 2005; Deuze, 2008). However, that is not the full picture in the case of Angola, where only 19% of about 26 million inhabitants have access to the Internet (INE, 2016: 30), the majority of whom live in the capital, Luanda. Even there, Internet users face many difficulties with service quality.

The TPA and RNA *News at 8pm* programmes were selected as a case study because they represent a privileged space in which adult Angolans can be informed about the country and the world. High levels of poverty and considerable levels of illiteracy, added to the reality that many adults spend all day away from their homes looking for food or work, as well as the heavy traffic encountered by early evening commuters, help make the *News at 8pm* slot the best space in which Angolans can be informed.

Domingo a Muangolé (meaning *Sunday Angolan Style*) is a televised talk show set up to present an Angolan national identity. It provides a mix of entertainment and information for young and adult people, containing discussions, dance, food, traditions and reportage. Many Angolans watch the programme either to learn or for leisure purposes. It is broadcast on Sundays at 6pm.

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. The first chapter: *The construction of a nation: need or fashion,* reflects on nation-building and the concepts of nation, national identity and belonging, with theoretical definitions and analysis supported by the views of various scholars and academics.

The second, contextual, chapter reflects on Angola as a post-colonial and post-war society, considering its new situation as the beginning of an 'imagined' nation, with reflections from Mamdani (1996), Okigbo (1996), Malaquias (2007), Middleton and Njogu (2009), Nyamnjoh (2009) and Keller (2014), just to name a few. This contextual chapter looks at the socio-cultural, geographic, political and media context that lie behind the constitution of Angolan communities as an attempt to better understand how this post-war nation is being 'imagined' and perceived. However, this exercise may be an incomplete one if one does not consider Angola within the contextual background of post-conflict African countries after decolonisation and independence. This chapter reflects likewise. For Mamdani (1996: 298), for instance, 'the reform of indirect rule systems in post-independence Africa is built on the practice of participation without representation'. And this was the case 'in the second phase of radical African governments (Qaddafi, Sankara,

Museveni) [when] this reform became the basis of dismantling authority in the local state without democratizing power in the central state' (ibid.). On the face of it, Mamdani asserts that 'peasant movements in Africa tended to participatory reforms' (ibid.), which means empowerment to the extent of the autonomy of a bounded group, but with no success. This chapter also evaluates the character and evolution of PSB within the context of Africa, and the history of the media in Angola, in order to understand how participants (who are also audiences) perceive the Angolan public service broadcasting role in this nation-building process to the extent that common citizens are involved.

Despotic power in Africa has not been the simple centralised despotism of the colonial state, as many thinkers presume. For Mamdani:

> in the process of forgetting the decentralized despotism that was the colonial state is one variant of the African state today, it makes more sense to appropriate critically the experience of militant nationalism of yesteryears than just to debunk it. The strength of that experience lay in its ability to link the urban and the rural politically (ibid., p. 300).

The third chapter of this thesis focus on methodological aspects, specifically to better explain how the data collection of the chosen TPA and RNA programmes was conducted for content analysis and also to give detail on how the focus groups were set up to develop a better understanding of the outcome of the group discussions. This chapter is also aimed at understanding to some extent the kinds and levels of social interactions and interrelationships between TPA and RNA and their audiences nationwide, the structure of society and the effects of PSB on Angolan social life, from small groups such as families through to the whole of society. 'Social research, therefore, is about social behaviour, rather than individual behaviour, and it seeks social explanations of behaviour' (Mann, 1968: 2). It is in such a perspective that this chapter was structured as a way of providing an understanding of Angolan PSB as a contributor to the construction of the Angolan nation in a post-war context from the viewpoint of its audiences.

Chapter 4, 'African governments' interference in public service broadcasting', is an attempt to look at issues related to propaganda, censorship and secrecy in RNA and TPA, taking also some examples from Southern Africa public broadcasting. The study considers some academics' and scholars' perspectives and looks at the contribution of the Angolan journalists interviewed for this thesis. This is more about the way the nation is usually narrated and addressed in the news reported at 8pm by public service broadcasters from

their perspective and the perspective of the Angolan journalists' association. In this chapter, I first look at the role and influence of public service broadcasting in Africa as a whole to develop a better understanding of the Angolan PSB in the face of government interference.

In Chapter 5, I reflect on the discourse of nation and national reconstruction as broadcast on the Angolan PSB. *News at 8pm* is a paradigmatic example of this analysis given the fact that it is a privileged space through which the majority of Angolans are informed and the Angolan government addresses the most important news about daily happenings in Angolan communities, regions and provinces, the country and in the world. The chapter seeks to understand and reflect on who speaks about the nation on those public broadcasters, what nation they refer to, who are included and who are excluded. The chapter refers to nine TPA/RNA selected samples, according to whether a story brings or is expected to bring interesting elements to the narration of the nation, national reconstruction, elements that address the public interest and development, and also tries to understand the idea of nation that the Angolan government members project abroad. One of the focuses of this chapter is to attempt an acceptable interpretation of the narrative of nation-building within the context of the selected samples.

The sixth chapter attempts to explore audiences' access to Angolan public service broadcasting: how it interplays with news content, and what the elements are that connect to the building of a nation. This chapter is also an attempt to understand the perspective by which Angolan audiences perceive their PSB as a catalyst for the building of their national identity and national belonging after three decades of civil war.

Chapter 7 is an attempt to understand the reasons behind audiences' mistrust of the TPA and RNA *News at 8pm* programme from the point of view of focus group participants. The main objective of the chapter is to find answers from participants' contributions on why people believe less in the Angolan PSB *News at 8pm*, how is the nation, national identity and national reconstruction presented by Angolan public broadcasting in a way that makes people very critical; and if the alternative broadcasting platforms to Angolan PSB provide a better service in the narration of the nation's voice than PSB's *News at 8pm* programmes do, and finally, what are the expectations of audiences in the face of TPA and RNA.

The last chapter (Chapter 8) brings a qualitative content analysis from some selected samples of the *Domingo a Muangolé* TPA talk show, looking at the context and interpretation of it to gain a better understanding of elements constituting Angolan national identity, its

customs and its culture. The chapter also introduces some feedback from participants in group discussions on how they perceive this talk show and what they learn from it. I also include briefly the concept of TV talk show in the digital era as well as its impact on audiences nowadays to help, in the context of this thesis, devise a better definition of what '*Muangolé'* means.

It is important to note that despite all the critics and all observations made by participants in the group discussions and supported by some journalists in this thesis, what was surprising and unexpected was that none of the participants claimed the 'death' of Angolan PSB. However, based on the findings, Angolan PSB seemed 'dead' from the perspective of audiences' expectations because, according to most of the participants, it had served the elite first during the war, and the same elite is in power in the era of peace (2002 to date). The question now is: how to adjust and reform PSB so that it will finally address the Angolan nation in process and in its progress? How can one address the national identity that is also in reconstruction and the 'dormant sense of belonging' within this post-war society? The thesis presents an overview of the concept of nation and then identifies the elements of blockages for Angola PSB from audiences' observations, before finally advancing some suggestions. This is what I reflect on in the forthcoming chapters.

Chapter 1: PSB and the construction of a nation: need or fashion?

Introduction

Public service broadcasting (PSB) in contemporary societies often emphasises elements relating to the nation, nation building and national identity. In the early years of the BBC, for example, a range of programmes were designed to promote a sense of communal identity for its audience, whether at regional, national or imperial level (Cardiff and Scannell, 1987: 157) even though the relationship between broadcasting and national unity in Britain, as Cardiff and Scannell put it, can be explored in several ways (ibid.). Therefore, from a cultural perspective, as noted in section 2 of this chapter, the task of public service broadcasting 'was to create a common culture that speaks to the whole society and can be shared by people of widely different backgrounds, with different tastes and interests' (Scannell, 1996: 26). But what does the concept of 'nation' mean? According to Hastings (1997: 1), 'nation, ethnicity, nationalism and religion are four distinct and determinative elements that help to understand our modern society'. However, no one academic can properly tackle the concept of nation without linking it to the other three elements noted by Hastings.

This chapter is an attempt to understand how ambivalent and complex the concept of nation is, and it will look at what perspectives were applied to it in the past and how it is currently being acknowledged by some scholars and thinkers. This academic journey involves research on national identity and national belonging, and the role that broadcasting media play in them.

First and foremost, it is important to understand what nation, nationalism and national identity mean. This can be considered from different viewpoints, in particular, from Western and non-Western scholars. Moreover, responses to the concept of *identity* – who we are, what group we belong to, what language we speak, what values we represent and the level of interest people attach to it – are diverse and complex. The 'we' is a significant sign of identity that can be found to a certain extent in all cultures. This chapter will also discuss the different aspects of 'we' in the sense of belonging at different levels. Cardiff and

Scannell (1987: 158) assert that: 'the original idea of public service broadcasting rested on the intention of democratizing culture and politics by offering a new mass audience access to forms and processes from which it had previously been excluded'. This was to make members of society more actively responsive and responsible in the matters of a nation's culture and politics. In doing so, public service broadcasting was seen as a facilitator in introducing a considerable number of citizens to cultural goods which had previously been available to privileged people only.

The quest for national identity is among the most important and controversial subjects of our time. Indeed, it is the central idea around which political and intellectual debates often revolve. What does national identity mean? Throughout history, societies have experienced cultural expansion, with their values and way of life steadily changing; nowadays, this process occurs in the context of globalization as a result of a revolution that is happening in the media (with an emphasis on public service media – PSM – in the new broadcasting style and platforms) and in all fields of communication technology.

Section I

1.1 Nation and nationalism: origins and development

The reasons behind the origins of national consciousness (Anderson, 2006: 37) are complex and varied, but Western capitalism has played a particularly important part. Accordingly, Ernest Renan, one of the well-known pioneers in providing deep reflections on what nation means by emphasising human perception, asserts that the concept of nation is relatively new in human history. Renan describes the long journey – in terms of conception – that Western countries have undergone in order to become nations. This journey began with tribes and continued to feudal communities, dynasties and empires, which were later challenged by decline and invasion. The idea of nation dates only to the fifth century AD. In the disintegration of Charlemagne's empire, one can find the seeds of Europe's division into nations. 'It was in fact the Germanic invasions which introduced into the world the principle which, later, was to serve as a basis for the existence of nationalities' (Renan in Bhabha, ed., 1990: 9). For Gellner (1983), nations as they are conceived and accepted in today's contemporary societies are products of Western countries. The same argument maybe found in Giddens. Reflecting on the origins of nations in the format that is understood by today's societies, Giddens has reinforced Renan

and Anderson's ideas of the nation as a product of Western capitalism, asserting that 'modernity refers to institutional transformation that have their origins in the West' (Giddens, 1990: 174). In such a context, Giddens notes that the nation-state and systematic capitalist production played an important role in the development of modernity. Giddens' contribution has facilitated and enlarged the sociological debate on nation building being based on European history to identify the roots of the nation-state *vis-à-vis* capitalism. Moreover Giddens, considers globalisation as one of the consequences of Western modernity. Thus, it is correct to say that Western modernity speaks *louder* in a sense that it has a bigger impact on what Giddens terms 'emergent forms of world interdependence and planetary consciousness' (1990: 175). Western modernity and the globalisation of social life, as Giddens puts it, are ongoing processes. In fact, despite different approaches made by non-Western nation states, what the world has got so far in terms of globalisation has the seal and stamp of Western influence. And this plays a big role when one analyses the construction of national identity in contemporary non-Western societies.

What applies to the origin of the concept of nation (Western) is also applicable to the concept of public service broadcasting since the early twentieth century. Lublinski et al. (2014: 11) assert that: 'Public service broadcasting is deeply rooted in the history and political discourse in Western Europe, an ambitious and universal concept which integrates great visions (…) media freedom, equality among citizens, a public sphere, and innovative force'. In this context, the BBC may be considered as the best-known paradigm. The intention of making public service broadcasting a means to help unite communities and people in a nation may clearly be understood from this statement by the BBC's founder, John Reith (1924): 'making the nation as one man'. And so, it is also acceptable to say that the concept of public service broadcasting as it is known in today's non-Western societies is a product of the West, either in terms of technology or in terms of understanding, especially when the contents are considered important in the name of the public interest.

What non-Western countries often try to do is to adapt, adopt or contextualise such a reality in their people's daily lives through the practices and management of their stakeholders.

Initiatives, processes and academic approaches to understanding nationhood as it relates to national identity or nation building in terms of economy, religion and social life have connections with and are influenced by the West, in general, and Europe, in particular, for good or bad reasons. Denying this amounts to a rejection of historical facts. Another

aspect to consider is the relation of *'love and hatred'* and how they affect contemporary non-Western scholars in their evaluations when reflecting on the building of national identity after national independencies, an area I will reflect upon later. In addition, the 'syndrome' of love-hate takes me to Kristeva's (1993) question: what of tomorrow's nation? Although her reflection on the French idea of nation points to freedom in a global culture, this might not heal, at least in the medium term, the wounds of the past. Accordingly, Anderson makes the point when explaining the length of time that has gone into nation-building that it can take a century or more to come up with a collective imagining, narration and memories to make up a nation.

Is the nation then a need or a form of pride in a globalised world? Before suggesting an answer to this question, it is important to remark on Brennan's observation: 'we live in a world obsessed with national pride' (in Bhabha, ed., 1991: 45). I agree with this argument to the extent that one can observe regularly that the importance given to certain nations in contemporary society is disproportionate. And public service broadcasting in many Western countries highlights this to a great extent, giving much voice and time to those who argue in favour of the existence of what are considered as 'strong nations'. The fact is, often such importance is rooted in wealth rather than in the will, consciousness and 'imagining' narratives of its constituencies to build nations. Analysis on purely materialistic variables alone – such as economic rates, factory production, industrialisation levels, highways, security, information technology and strong laws, democratic system and the right of veto in the United Nations – may be representative signs of strong modern states, but they do not show the complete picture in a way that shows how nations are sometimes glorified and worshipped as strong nations. And this phenomenon often occurs nowadays.

Many members of industrialised states subscribe to the notion that a strong state equals a strong nation. It may be a good scenario to dream of, but in reality many entrances to such a conception remain closed off. Bhabha (1990: 1) emphasises the ambivalence in the whole idea of nation in terms of 'the language of those who write of it and the lives of those who live it'. A considerable length of time must pass for the nation to become what imagined narratives signify it to be in theory. And in the long run, many imagined aspects may disappear, while others may come to light. This phenomenon may be perceived in analysts' views on nation building, as we shall see below.

1.1.1. Nationalism and the nation according to some scholars

It is a difficult task to merge all definitions of the 'nation' produced by scholars. However, common ideas may be identified in some definitions, such as that of Hastings (1997: 3), who asserts that the 'nation is far more a self-conscious community than an ethnicity'.

This thesis has adopted two different levels in which may be included the main ideas of some of the principal scholars in relation to reflections on nationalism and nation building. The first is ethno-nationalism, emphasising the natural reasons for the make-up of a nation. At the second level, I focus on the scholars who reflect on nation-building from a gradualist perspective, where human consciousness is at the centre of their reflections.

First of all, the construction of a nation depends on many factors, according to context and time. It can be initiated by an ethnic group, an elite group of a given society, an army or a mix of all of these (see Gellner, 1946, 1983, 2008; Breuilly, 1993; Billig, 1995; Hastings, 1997; Anderson, 2006). If this is the case in communities where linguistic reasons do not apply, how complex is the concept of nationhood in countries with a huge diversity of ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-racial groups, and how is such a nation *imagined* (Anderson, 2006)? Response to this question will come later when reflecting on those two levels.

Nationalism is 'a form of politics' (Breuilly, 1946:2). He differs to some extent from scholars who define nationalism as a state of mind, a matter of national consciousness or even a doctrine elaborated by intellectuals. In his nationalism and state perspective, Breuilly is against the idea of nationalism being based on 'something deeper', such as common interests, economic development, cultural achievement or any sort of modernisation. Breuilly believes that such a perspective gives a misleading impression. For him, culture, ideology and identity are worth much less than politics when defining nationalism. Nationalism is politics; politics is power. Nationalists' main objective, according to Breuilly, is to take effective control of political power. All other perspectives are secondary or even unnecessary. What precisely is nationalism for Breuilly?

> The term 'nationalism' is used to refer to political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist argument: (...) (a). There exists a nation with an explicit and peculiar character. (b) The interests and values of this nation take priority over all others interests and values. (c) The nation must be as independent as possible. This usually requires at least the attainment of political sovereignty (Breuilly, 1946:2).

Breuilly seems to give less importance to his first two arguments above and to focus more

on the last one. Contrary to this perspective, Renan, Gellner, Bhabha, Billig and Anderson highlight the clear differences between nationalism and the state. While a state's objectives relate more to power, politics, law, control, force and order, nationalism is based on the will of members of a given country or countries, or community or communities, to join together their narratives, beliefs, values and national consciousness, at least in terms of what they all generally accept. And so, nationalism in the sense of nation building happens and is still happening.

Nationalism requires a kind of consciousness – a personal decision and state of mind. Although such a decision can be influenced from the outside (whether through culture, religion, ethnic history or ideology), ultimately, the final decision is each individual's alone.

However, as a form of political power, the state aims to control and protect common and individual freedom in a given territory. In this sense, it helps to promote nationalism, particularly in terms of national identity and belonging.

In contemporary society, many people hold papers of a given country for certain reasons (security, business, etc.) but feel totally detached from it in terms of belonging. The idea of dividing nationalism according to the notions of ethnic nationalism (Smith, 1995), universal nationalism or territorial nationalism might not be the full picture. What Breuilly defines as different types of nationalism are, in my view, different manifestations of the same reality. As Anderson (2006) explains, a nation can be initiated by an ethnic group, an elite or an army in a given territory, 'but the objective although often unclear at the beginning' is the same: imagining communities and making up a nation that willingly connects peoples to certain values accepted by all or at least by the majority, who, in turn, promote these values and pass them on from one generation to the next. Thus, nationalism may be analysed through the prism of protecting and promoting those values, viewed as pillars that sustain a given nation.

In this respect, Billig (1995:60) notes that nationalism appears, at first sight, a concept rooted in identity. However, what Shotter (1993a) considers a 'watchword', referring to identity, must also be observed in the daily lives of people. Put simply, sometimes the importance given to national identity is much greater than the reality of everyday life. I discuss identity later in this chapter. At this point, after considering nationalism, it is now appropriate to briefly present and comment on the two above-mentioned levels as perspectives on nation building:

a) Understanding the nation from the ethno-nationalism perspective

From a common sense perspective, some academics better understand the construction of a nation from an ethnicity point of view. In fact, a community that has the same habits and customs, physical similarities, familiar connections, the same language as well as common ancestors are, at first glance, better placed to create a history together to imagine a nation. One of the best known proponents of this argument is Anthony Smith (1995), to whom I will return later.

Nevertheless, I have to state that nationalism and national identity are, in fact, sociologically and even anthropologically, among the most controversial subjects of this globalised era, resulting in emotive and contradictory debates. What do nationalism and national identity mean? Who (in a given country) is a national and who is not; and who is excluded? When does identity apply; when it is hidden from or ignored by a given majority or minority community? Questions like these are more often highlighted in democratic societies, especially in electoral processes. This debate becomes more heated among scholars when one sees how there is no uniformity but only a diversity of aspects in terms of national identity.

Therefore, it is important to note the significance given to ethnicity across human history as an important element of national identity. Castells (2001: 65) argues that ethnicity has been a fundamental source of identity, but, at the same time, a key cause of discrimination, in many modern societies. Ethnicity has been and is still being used in certain countries as the *raison d'être* behind the fight for social justice. Some nationalists have used this stratagem to lure innocent members of a given community (tribe). Examples of this are the cases of the Bosnian and Rwandan genocides in the early nineties.

Accordingly, Hearn (2006) is aware of the confusion when it comes to many reflections on nationalism. From the Bosnian war of 1992, to Milosevic's behaviour in Yugoslavia in 1998, to the Kosovan war in 1999, to the Scottish referendum of 2014, examples of nationalism have become increasingly confusing. Hearn argues that generalisations may lead us 'to lose sight of the messy reality we seek to understand' (2006: 2). He recognises that the concept of nationalism is more 'conspicuously Eurocentric', and predictions about the end of nationalism may be due to the very many approaches that accompany it.

Now back to Smith's arguments: he asserts that the legacy of historical cultures and ethnicity are the only way to nation building. Smith argues that ethnicity is the principal

way of uniting communities and peoples, although he recognises other secondary but hybrid aspects too this (1995: 19). In his *Nation and Nationalism in a Global Era*, Smith identifies two main routes to coming to a definition of today's nation states: a process of vernacular mobilization and bureaucratic incorporation backed by ethnicity. This is, according to him, the routes by which nations were formed in Europe, Asia and even the Horn of Africa. Smith notes that colonial empires in Africa and Latin America have followed the same routes when establishing elite administrations overseas (1995: 87).

In view of this, Smith defines the nation as 'a named human population which shares myths and memories, a mass of public culture, a designated homeland, economic unity and equal rights and duties for all members' (1995: 90). This perspective looks, at first sight, similar to Anderson's imagined communities, Gellner's *will* and even Renan's *consciousness* because Smith's concept of nation building emphasises myths, memories, traditions, rituals, values and symbols. However, although his argument seems to be similar to theirs, his understanding is that these symbols are a result of a natural phenomenon (ethnicity). No one is asked to be born in a particular part of the world or to be part of this or that race or language. In view of this, Smith's sharing of narratives, symbols among neighbours or, let us say, symbols among relatives is a natural phenomenon. The nation in this perspective is not an outcome of construction. There is no process in Smith's argument. Nation building has no place here, for it has been naturally given and is not the outcomes of processes of social construction. His understanding on this issue is in fact very much at odds with those of Renan, Gellner (1983), Bhabha (1990), Billig (1995) and Anderson (2006).

Smith seems to give less attention to the argument that a given people in a given geographic space, expressing the same vernacular and belonging to a same ethnic group may not be aware of their common identity and may not want to share these memories. In fact, *will* and awareness are fundamental to the construction of a nation. Smith's response could be: they do not have to do anything to let it happen, for there is an automatic answer, a result made without human effort. It was already obviously given. By whom and how? A response to these questions seems, in my view, to be distinctly missing.

Moreover, Smith's argument is not clear and is unconvincing if one takes the example of the Tutsi and Hutu tribes of Rwanda. Rwanda is a small country, where the two main ethnic groups share the same language (Kinyarwanda) and there is mixed marriage between them. Despite that, these common aspects did not facilitate the path to nation building. The 1994 genocide raised a clear alarm for those communities as a rejection, apart from the

political instigation that was involved, of the sharing of memories and narrating a nation. In brief, will and consciousness were missing here.

Will, awareness, re-creation and imagination together are, in my view, *a recollection to the present existence of* what has happened over a past common history of a given population. Overall, 'the nation and nationalism provide the only realistic socio-cultural framework for a modern world order' (Smith, 1995:159). However, Smith pays little heed to the downsides of nationalism: exclusion, hatred, anger and injustice. The nation is then a matter of community awareness, as Hastings puts it, rather than an ethnicity. For Hastings (1997: 3), although ethnicity constitutes a distinct element, it is only a pre-national element of nation building.

b) Understanding nation and nationalism based on human perceptions: a constructivist perspective

Arguments about geographic space in nation building may have less importance in Renan's reflection on this subject. It is important to highlight that Germany's invasions and the French Revolution, whose principles are *égalité, liberté* and *fraternité,* have helped shape the concept and reality of nation. Renan accepts that: 'a nation can exist without a dynastic principle (...) and be separated from it without ceasing to exist' (p. 13). In this regard, Renan sowed the first seeds in the development of the thinking of some key academics (Anderson, Billig, Bhabha, Sofos and Jenkins), which has facilitated the rethinking and elaboration of the concept of nation, when they came to consider – although individually often emphasising one or other aspect more than the other – that it is a matter of imagining people's narratives or will or the consciousness of participants.

In view of this, for Renan, what is a nation? Before I answer this question, it is worthwhile mentioning that contrary to what Smith strongly defended later, Renan has for some time rejected ethnographic considerations of nation building. I agree with Renan on this point when taking the example of the mixture of races in Europe, where he asserts: 'the truth is that there is no pure race and that to make politics depend upon ethnographic analysis is to surrender it to a chimera' (p.14).

On the other hand, this thesis also agrees with Renan that although discussions about race remain prevalent even in contemporary societies, its role in nation building is of increasingly small significance. The same argument applies to language. The concept of nation based on language is very weak in contemporary societies. The fact is that

transformations in communication technologies have resulted in a great need for people across the world to learn languages in order to communicate with others.

Geographical considerations are also insufficient for understanding nation building. As Renan notes, German invasions and the Roman Empire have facilitated the mixture and movement of entire peoples from one place to another. This argument continues to be valid nowadays, and immigration, such as we are observing from Syria and Iraq to Europe, is not new in human history. Human beings were and always will be migrants. The search for security and good conditions to live and to develop are and will continue to be the *raison d'être* for exodus and migration and, consequently, a mixture of races, cultures and habits in this globalised age. However, if one reflects upon most aspects of nation building, questions arise when these thousands of millions of people claim, decades later, to belong to the European nations to where they have actually been scattered. This may result in future conflicts around issues of exclusion and inclusion, mostly when some habits may be considered to be contrary to those commonly expected and accepted by *natives* or long-established European citizens. On the other hand, the new immigrants may also claim their rights through their citizenship even if they are still minorities in those European countries.

Therefore, in matters of geography and cultural belonging, it is also important to mention Gellner's (2006: 6) argument when highlighting his first consideration of the nation: 'Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating'. The second stage involves a sense of belonging to a group or geographical place.

One of the aspects also considered important to the constitution of nation, according to Hastings (1997) – as previously mentioned in the introduction to this chapter – is religion. Renan, Bhabha and Anderson give the impression that they do not place too much weight on it. I also argue that although religion still plays an important role in communities' lives in the 21st century, it is no longer as prevalent as it used to be in the past (let us invoke here the religious wars of the European Middle Ages), when it was considered an essential element of people's identity. Moreover, the old slogan of the Roman Empire, '*the religion of the King is also the religion of the people*' has disappeared long ago. Renan argues that 'religion today is a matter for each individual to decide'. Kingdoms, empires, countries and nations experience a diversity of religions; we find all kind of religious and no-religious people. Religion alone can no longer define the frontiers of nations, unlike in the first half of the twentieth century in Europe, when Catholic nations could be clearly identified from their

Protestant counterparts. To define a nation from this perspective is to limit the whole concept and underplay what is most important.

Conversely, however, it is important to underline this aspect (religion), which is often used by extremist groups in certain communities as a *raison d'être* for nation building in the 21st century. The desire, for instance, to constructing a nation taking Islam as a keystone can be clearly seen among many. This may represent a phenomenon of using religion to hide political purposes when some groups continue to consider the substantial role that religion plays in the constitution of nations and even national identities in the 21st century. In this regard, religion may be envisaged as a strong symbol, able to unify millions of member in attaining political power. At this point, it is correct to say religion is an element of cultural cohesion, and often is still utilised within specific relations of power to narrate 'the nation' or to be a cornerstone of nation building. What apparently is seen as an expression of people's faith is capitalised on by some groups to build up strategies to attain objectives that are contrary to what people seem to believe and profess. As a result, concerns have arisen in contemporary Europe in terms of its future, its habits and customs, and stability and peace building.

To Jenkins and Sofos (1996: 11), the ideology of nationalism needs a kind of essential support, what they call the 'raw material of collective identity'. These elements (a common language, shared history and culture, religion particularism) are for Jenkins and Sofos potential ingredients for nation building.

Renan has demystified confused and false beliefs related to language, ethnography, race, geography and religion, which are often considered the most essential aspects of nation building. Renan's perspective helps us in acknowledging what defines the nation as a community of interests:

> Nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an individual form … The nation, like the individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice, and devotion. (Renan, in Bhabha, ed., 1990: 19)

Thus, according to this idea, the construction of the nation comes from within individuals,

and this desire is shared with others. It overcomes the hurdles of language, ethnography, race, geography or religion, which may limit people's freedom to live together. But it mobilises them in terms of processes of construction of what brings people together. Differences of race or language should obstruct the construction of a nation, even though, as Renan notes, 'suffering in common unifies more than joy does. Where national memories are concerned, grief is of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties, and require a common effort' (ibid.).

A similar reflection to this is made by Gellner. The desire to live together is in fact one of the Gellner's fundamental arguments when he reflects on the concept of the nation. Gellner's definition of the nation emphasises the significance of human behaviour in narrating it. For Gellner, 'will, voluntary adherence and identification, loyalty, solidarity, on the one hand; and fear, cohesion, compulsion, on the other' (1983: 52) are the two poles that must be considered in the constitution of a nation. Of course, in order to become reality, any project needs the acceptance of its constituent parts; however, this works for good as well as for bad purposes. Gellner (1983: 53) recognises that although *will* is fundamental, it may apply to other organisations, such as clubs, conspiracies or gangs; thus, in this paper, I argue that *will* only makes sense if someone possesses within himself the seeds of belonging. In that context, *will* becomes a catalyst for perpetuating the desire, the link of being part of a nation for good and right purposes.

For Gellner (2006), nations are contingent constructs and not universal needs; he argues that neither states nor nations exist at all times and in all circumstances. He considers that the nation can only be understood in the context of nationalism, not the other way round. Thus, on this basis, without nationalists, there is no nation.

However, nationalists' sentiments alone are not always good enough for the construction of a nation. The above elements noted by Renan and Gellner are necessary in order to complete it. In a similar way, Anderson (2006: 3) contributed to the constructivist perspective in understanding nation building when recognised nation-ness as one of the most important, universally legitimate values in the political sphere of modern society. He sees clearly the 'nation' as the product of modernity. Nevertheless, defining the nation is a difficult task. 'Nation-ness and nationalism are artefacts of a particular kind' (ibid). To define the nation will always be difficult because, unlike philosophy, sociology or other isms, 'nationalism has never produced its own grand thinkers' (p. 5).From this vacuum have emerged diverse interpretations and even misunderstandings on the question of what

nation means. Anderson's point reminds me of an old African proverb: *'until the lion has his or her own storyteller, the hunter will always have the best part of the story'*. Much more so than in the past, the present has produced important scholars on nationalism (Renan, Gellener, Hastings, Hearns, Billig, Smiths, Jenkins and Sofos, and Giddens) who have reflected on nation building, although the existence of extremist trends, in my view, needs to be incorporated in some arguments. Therefore, Anderson may be considered one of the last of the most recent scholars on the subject of nation building who has applied a comprehensive approach by drawing on the many diverse aspects of this sociological and anthropological subject.

So what does the concept of nation mean for Anderson? 'Nation is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (p. 6). Anderson's argument is based on the idea that people living in a certain geographical space as a community will never come to know every person among them, even though they imagine that they belong to the same people and share common values. And that is the starting point for the construction and imagining of a nation.

In this respect, Anderson refines the concept of *invention* created by Gellner, where the latter admits that nations are inventions. Anderson argues that *invention* can lead to a masquerade, fabrication or even falsity. He prefers the term *imagining* and *creation*: 'Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style that they are imagined' (2006:6). In view of this, nations are imagined but also limited because of their boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. Nations' sovereignties, according to Anderson, were imagined in the context of the age of enlightenment and revolution, and conceptualised in opposition to the 'divinely-ordained, hierarchical realm'.

Anderson's concept of *creation* makes more sense, however. At first glance, abstract concepts such as peace, justice, development and truth are simply imagined concepts; but in fact, these are 'transferred, recreated, imagined in our daily lives'. People have experience of what unity, peace or justice means in their past real lives. The way they understand these concepts may be diverse, but their recreation in their everyday lives is generally understood. In view of this, I agree with Anderson's argument that 'the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship, and it is this fraternity that makes it possible' (2006: 7).

Life is short and demanding; it is impossible to know every member of a given nation. People are merely aware of neighbouring communities with similar characteristics, challenges, desires, perspectives, worries and anxieties. These factors produce the *will* (to

borrow Gellner's expression), which, in turn, creates and strengthens links of unity among them. From this, nations come into being. Nations, then, are indeed creations of human beings from pre-existent ties and common interest between members of similar communities.

On the other hand, Anderson notes the importance of cultural roots in the construction of nations, giving the example of the emblem of the Unknown Soldier at modern national ceremonies. Most of the time, the public does not know who actually lies in these tombs. It is important to underline Anderson's thesis of *creation/recreation* in people's minds. We will never come to know all soldiers who fought for peoples' liberty. Some are known but the majority are not. And this applies in many other contexts: each community and country has its own heroes. In view of this, public reverence and remembrance of the Unknown Soldier is more a recreation of real events, connected to a historical and contextualised past. The concept of *creation,* and even *recreation,* is in some way connected to common cultural roots, which are constructed too.

Accordingly, in *dissemiNation*, Bhabha (1990: 294) states that: 'to write the story of the nation demands that we articulate that archaic ambivalence that informs modernity'. Bhabha's suggestion is to question the idea of modern social cohesion, such as *the many as one*, or what Reith (a former BBC chairman) claimed as *one nation one man*. What elements of daily life suit the idea of the many as one? Bhabha asserts that 'the scraps, patches, and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into signs of national culture, while the very act of the narrative performance interpellates a growing circle of national subject' (1990: 297).

In the same perspective, however, Billig asserts that nation is constructed more from the everyday attitudes of people rather than great ceremonies commemorating historical events. Billig's reflection about *unwaved flags* links Renan, Gellner and Anderson's work in underscoring people's *will, consciousness of building unity, culture and imagination/creation* as fundamental in achieving a better understanding of the construction of a nation. As Anderson and others have commented, nationalist consciousness is essentially secular: 'the theory of nationhood stipulates that a people, place and state should be bound in unity' (Billig, 1995: 77).

The nation in contemporary society is not only a narrative of people's past history or experiences. There are, in fact, other aspects to consider that interplay in the process. Bhabha reflects on this when arguing that: 'the people are neither the beginning nor the end of the national narrative; they represent the cutting edge between the totalizing powers

of the social and the forces that signify the more specific address to contentious, unequal interests and identities within the population' (ibid.). From this perspective, Bhabha demonstrates the ambivalence of the 'nation-space' as conceived in modern societies (an idea already advanced by Renan and Gellner). Also, in his *Banal Nationalism,* Billig (1995: 61) argues that 'the rise of the nation-state brought about a transformation in the ways that people thought about themselves and about community'. Therefore, everyday life is a good school of experiences and memories for people to start building up the idea of a nation. Billig makes the point that focusing on people's daily lives enables one to arrive at a better understanding of what nation and nationalism mean. For him, the bonds linking people and place hold firm; nations are presented as inevitable entities: 'Each homeland is to be imagined both in its totality and its particularity' (Ibid, p. 75).

Constructivist perspectives, as presented by the key scholars above, help to provide the understanding that there is no sole definition of the nation – but common aspects (people, narration, memory, space, will, ethnicity, and consciousness) give us a clearer picture of the meaning of nation in 21st century society. Bhabha considers that people are simultaneously the object and subject of the construction of a nation.

Based on the analysis of the definitions outlined above, is it possible to understand how complex the building of a nation is? 'Nationalisms are product of complex social negotiation premised on the activation of social and cultural relationships and emotional investments among the – potential- members of the national community' (Jenkins and Sofos, 1996:11).

At this stage, it is appropriate to think about the 'waved' concept and reality of nation building when one considers the going advancements in the world of high technology mixed with states' economic, social and cultural insecurity. There are some weaknesses to nationalism that have to be considered. Gellner calls nationalism 'feeble'. This feebleness ranges from aspects of language to potential national groups. Although nationalistic strength prevails over other modern ideologies, for Gellner, it should not lead to ignoring nationalism's weakness. 'The clue to the understanding of nationalism is its weakness at least as much as its strength' (2006: 42). Reflecting on the future of nationalism, Gellner notes that one can enter into speculation when seeking to answer whether nationalism will continue to be an imperative in the advanced age of industrialisation. The fact is the world seems insatiable in matters of economic growth and this last aspect has implications for other elements of life, such as social mobility (2006: 108).

Besides, after noting the social speculation about the advent of a new world order in terms of nation building and nationalism in the 1990s because of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse and decline of the USSR and its associate states, Jenkins and Sofos raise concerns on the nation and nationalism in contemporary Europe, including the appearance of extreme wing political parties and the radicalisation of nationalism, such as Le Pen's party in France and extreme right-wing political parties in Italy and Germany. So, what was thought to be new world order, open to multiculturalism and global culture is becoming a 'meagre,' unstable and relative concept if compared to what is happening in the world. In Europe, one can still see the ups and downs occurring in the process of nation building.

Immigration and terrorism happening in the heart of long-established nations of Europe may cause considerable changes in the way the nation is or might be perceived. This includes the concepts of identity and belonging to different stages of the *We*. This is what I reflect on further here.

1.1.2. Nation, identity and belonging: different stages of the *We*

'Nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time', according to Anderson (2006: 3). However, Anderson's argument also explains how the nation still matters in 'long disputes'. Nation, nationality and nationalism are clearly difficult to define, he notes. Although nationalism has had a considerable influence on the modern world, theories on nation are still – for him – 'meagre'. However, in matters of national identity, nations are 'the bricks of which mankind is made up' (Gellner, 2006: 46).

Reflecting on national identity is an empty endeavour. Conversely, however, if the construction of a nation can take centuries, and still be happening even in our time, as Anderson puts it, to define such an abstract, unstable and universal concept as national identity may take time passing through diversities of theories and scientific considerations around it.

In addition, concerns about individual and collective identity are ubiquitous in contemporary society. Nevertheless, diversity is part of being human. 'We are distinct from each other', as Calhoun (1994:9) reminds us, and often strive to distinguish ourselves. He adds that: 'we know of no people without names, no language or cultures in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they are not made' (ibid.).

Although one can be conferred with a native identity for varied reasons in a given country, citizenship and belonging are also matters for each one's awareness and feeling. While disputes around national identity happen every day in many regions and countries, fewer

states come to blows over the right of someone to exercise his citizenship or force citizens to belong to a particular community or nation. Nevertheless, even though on one hand a state's policies may set up means that help to convince its population to begin experiencing a perception of belonging, on the other hand, the behaviour of members of a given society may also be catalysts to such an approach.

In this respect, it is also useful to be aware of Gellner's (2006: 7) perspective: 'two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation', adding that 'nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities'. This is to confirm and underline the importance of human awareness and a disposition in matter of citizenship and belonging. Reflecting on the *quest for humanity, the good society in a global world*, Boldt (2011: 210) states that 'it is not possible to objectively authenticate our conception of reality'. Nevertheless he emphasises: 'the importance of our myth of reality in our quest for good society' (ibid.). I argue that objectivity is also a controversial concept, since the human being is aware of what he observes and up to where it is possible according to his knowledge. One cannot argue in favour of a kind of extra natural or extra human objectivity. And so as long as human beings perceive the reality of their world, above all what is good, what is true and what is accepted, at least by the majority, a 'good society' (a nation) can start to be imagined. I am afraid that Boldt's argument in considering as a *myth of reality* what scientists reaffirm as reality may lead to a relativity of our world either in its nature or in the meaning of it to us who dwell in it. In my view, Boldt throws suspicion even onto the lived experiences of a given people, a community whose narratives and memories help the consciousness to imagine a nation. Boldt's *Myth of Reality* may also be contradictory since these two words are contrariwise. The construction of a nation happens and is not an invention or a masquerade, as Anderson explains it. A good society, as claimed by Boldt, may be perceived in everyday events such as *unwaved flags* (to use Billig's expression) by its builders and so not a myth but a reality.

When reflecting on the quintessence of belonging, scholars often put more emphasis on one aspect than other, according to their observations of societies and according to different contexts and times. Nevertheless, the '*We' is* always predominant as a key word in the search of belonging for individuals, as well as for groups and countries. And this exercise helps with the perception of national identity.

In reflections on identity, the *We,* is understood by some academic and scholars as a subject

of identity, but from diverse angles and perspectives. I assume that nations are constructed by women's and men's attitudes across human history. And in view of this, each individual deserves personal recognition as part of the project (nation) under construction. This process, however, can be perceived at different levels of *We*.

This research draws attention to the representational *We* identity, which is highlighted in broadcasting media, as I will discuss in the second section of this chapter.

In the reflections about identity by academic and scholarly writers, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, the constitution of the *We,* as collective identity, can be understood in diverse ways.

I argue that nations are constructed by women and men but, following Marx's (2003, 1897) insight, not in the conditions of their own choosing. In view of this complexity, I further argue, each individual deserves personal recognition as part of the continued, reiterated project of national construction.

This process of identity and national construction, however, can be perceived at different levels of the *We*, for example, societal, collective and group identities.

In seeking to understand identity construction as part of nation construction, some scholars argue that identity is performed, through a series of identifications that are repeatedly or iteratively enacted, see, for example, the work of Judith Butler (1988, 1990, 1997) and the survey article by Vikki Bell (1999). Others argue for a negotiated identity, such as Stuart Hall (1991, 1993, 1995) and Frantz Fanon (1988), while others put emphasis on a multiple, fractured, hybrid or even fragmented identity, for example Ulrich Beck (2000), Van Meijl (2012) and Spivak (2012).

One can also find reflections on mediated identity, such as Poster (1994) and Cleland (2008), as well as theorisations of identity in terms of antagonistic identities, i.e friend or enemy, such as, for example, Schmitt (1996) as discussed in Cordero Irigoyen (2006) and agonistic identities, i.e. struggle among adversaries, notably Chantal Mouffe (2013).

All of these more specific theorisations of identity formation and construction may be related to those theories, deriving from phenomenological thinking and feminist thinking, which concern themselves with embodied, situated identity, see, for example, the survey by Chemero (2006).

This thesis, however, draws attention to the representational forms of *We / identity* which are highlighted in broadcasting media, as discussed, for example, by Stuart Hall in *The Whites of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media* (1981), in which he proposes that the media, as a principal form of ideological dissemination, produces representations of the social world via images and portrayals. I will proceed to discuss these issues further in the second section of this chapter.

To sum up, nation and nationalism, as I have detailed above, are not a matter of pride. They are key questions for any human being, who wishes to find out the essence and implication of his existence. The construction of the nation will continue to be on the agenda of countries and communities across the world in the 21st century. The fact is that while some people have for a long time gained awareness of others for varied reasons and due to events that happened in their common history, they still struggle to join their narratives and memories so that the nation may be imagined. I also conclude this section by stating that the European form of nation building is present as an imprint or a trade mark in all non-European countries. One must consider whether such a form will continue to be adopted by all communities and countries when one bears in mind the radical changes (globalisation, economic issues, immigration, terrorism, extremism, insecurity, just to name a few) happening across the world and in Europe in particular. Nevertheless the nation for some (who have gained awareness of it) and for others (who are not yet in that paradigm) is still a process, often one that has ups and downs as a result of people' attitudes. Last but not the least, time, in the story of a nation, is a good professor of humanity teaching good and deep lessons for life.

In accordance with the objective expressed above, this thesis will go through the role of media in nation building. Are media actors facilitators of nation building? What impact might the media have on the complex process of imaging a nation? These and other questions will be the subject of my reflection in the second section of this chapter.

Section II

1.2 The role of the media in nation building

The focus of this second section is to provide an evaluation of the extent to which media and, more precisely, broadcasting, are important pieces in the construction of a nation. First, according to some scholars, the media are the cornerstone in the concept of nation

and form its components in contemporary societies.

In Scannell's (1989) perspective, for instance, public pressure and a favourable socio-political moment, mainly in Western European countries, opened the door to the creation of public service broadcasting. And as a result, public broadcasting has become the central institution of the democratic public sphere and has increasingly gained more public space and time, playing an important role in the democratisation of public life.

Based on Scannell's perspective, it is not an exaggeration to accept the idea that the media in the 21st century have become like a football field, where discussions on nation building, national identity, citizenship and belonging are played out. The game takes place with diverse players (politicians, academics, sociologists and anthropologists) and with the intervention of different referees (governments, lawyers, human rights organisations, church leaders and international organisations). The role of the media in nation building, ranging from its influence as print (see Curran, 1991: 27-57; Anderson, 2006; Briggs and Burke, 2009) to the impact of public service broadcasting as reflected in Scannell's (1996) and Cardiff and Scannell's reflections on the role of the BBC and national unity (1987: 157-173), to the effects of today's social media (see Couldry, 2012), is immense, important, central and controversial.

The power of mass media, residing in their impact and influence in the construction of national unity and national identity, is significant, although the extent of it is debatable at different levels of our globalised world (Curran et al. (eds.), 1987: 7-139). While some scholars argue that the media expose governments to the blast of public opinion (Lloyd, 2004), others consider that governments often use the media to manoeuvre public opinion according to their policies and interests. Others again even give emphasis to the plurality of opinions as being one of the strengths of mass media in influencing consensus in a given society. On the other hand, there is the influence of press barons and media proprietors, who can manoeuvre media according to their business interests.

1.2.1 Media and the public sphere in the context of nation building

Definitions about what is *public* are philosophical and, as Dahlgren (1995: 7), asserts, can be traced back to ancient Greek. Debates around what is public and what is private are historical ones and always arise in democracies and, of course, in the media field. Conceptualising the *public sphere* as a realm of social life where there is an exchange of

information and views on issues of common concerns are aired is one of Habermas' perspectives. For Dahlgren, 'the public sphere takes place when citizens, exercising the rights of assembly and association, gather as public bodies to discuss issues of the day, specifically those of political concern' (ibid.). Although Habermas and Dahlgren circumscribe this concept more in the context of mediating democracy, it fits with the idea of public service broadcasting.

Feminists (e.g., Fraser, 1987, 1992; Pateman, 1988, 1992; and Nickolson, 1992) have criticised not only the actual exclusion of women in the concept of the bourgeois public sphere, but also Habermas' failure to make a critical point of this in his evaluation (Dahlgren, 1991: 10). Habermas, however, has already responded to these critics considering the context of the world in general and the West in particular of the 1960s in which the concept of the public sphere was made known, and he admitted that in today's context, many arguments written around this concept at that time could change.

In the context of nation building print may be considered as a pioneering media form with regard to the construction of the nation. In fact, from the beginning, with the invention of the Gutenberg press, print has facilitated the mobility of ideas, encouraged people to become literate and, obviously, increased communities' awareness of national identity, beginning in Europe, and, later on, reaching other parts of the world 'discovered' by Europeans.

Print is the 'dean' among media for the construction of nations in Europe and elsewhere in the world. All events in the history of media refer back and will always refer to the importance of the discovery of print and its impact on all societies across the world.

However, interferences of many kinds in the production of news for newspapers have put to the test press ethical commitments and journalism as a profession. A summary of it is expressed by Professor Colin Sparks in his reflection on the print media, especially in Britain, in the last decade of 1990s. Sparks describes the phenomenon as a 'vanishing serious press' when he asserts:

> 'The press' is a portmanteau term which includes a range of different artefacts produced by different sorts of organisations for different reasons, which are consumed in different ways at different times in history and in biography by different types and numbers of people who derive different things from them. (Sparks, 1991: 63)

Although professionalism among some journalists is not yet dead and seriousness is still desirable among some print media, the trend of manoeuvring the media is still live in our contemporary society. Many aspects relating to the importance of print media could be the object of important reflection; however, the focus of this research is on broadcasting's role in the construction of the Angolan nation as perceived by its audiences.

1.2.2 Broadcasting and nation building: a theoretical approach

The impact of sound and pictures in people's everyday lives is well-known in our globalised world. Television and radio underscore and speed up norms of cultural behaviour, knowledge, practices and policies in communities and nations around the world. Hence, with the help of the internet, news and current affairs as images and sound come to us in a click. But in terms of the content brought by TV and radio all over the world from the beginning of the broadcasting age (the 1920s) to date and how this content has influenced human perceptions on the construction of nations, there are many elements worth analysing.

The most known paradigm of this is, again, Western countries and, consequently, Western culture. It is 'again' because as Anderson, Giddens and other scholars have observed (and as I have mentioned in Section I of this chapter), nations as they are conceived today are products of Western industrialisation, Western capitalism and even Western modernism. It is also correct to say that public service broadcasting (PSB), with its positive or negative power and influence on nation building, is a product of the West, containing the seeds of capitalism, industrialism, imperialism and even '*manoeuvrelism*'. All of these 'isms' have played a big role when one comes to evaluate the role of the media from the early presses to social media.

As the history of Western European public service broadcasting shows, in the eyes of its pioneers, public broadcasting was an ambitious bringing-the-nation-together project with the help of the 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1983) that was expected to provide geographically-dispersed national audiences with universal access to the collective life of the nation and thus to promote a sense of national 'we-ness' or belonging, as discussed above in Section I of this chapter.

In terms of national identity, Western influence has also introduced the idea of super nations and super cultures, presented with the help of broadcasting as fashionable, elegant

and highly valued worldwide. In this respect, the old powers of some Western countries adding to the power and influence of their public service broadcasting outlets gives the sense that if a given people intend to narrate, to imagine a nation, they have to 'delete' the awareness of their common history because the best paradigm to achieve it is to look at the Western model. The language of globalisation transmitted by some Western public and private service broadcasting outlets may show part or the entire picture of this. On the other hand, however, broadcasting offer a great opportunity for sociability among communities, countries and the world. Connecting people through common issues as it happens in broadcasting and without any familiar relationship deserves particular attention.

Scannell (1996: 23) asserts that 'the character of broadcasting as necessarily sociable lies in the form of its communicative context, and the broadcasters' lack of control over their audiences'. He makes a good point here; in terms of Simmel (1950)'s perspective of demonstrating that sociable associations are essential to democracy, Scannell analyses the relationship between the broadcasting role in a society and the audience. We all know that broadcasting provides news, current affairs and entertainment. In such a context, broadcasting is not an objective medium.

In terms of common concern issues (security, unemployment, terrorism, poverty, immigration and football) in communities, countries and the world, broadcasting may contribute to what people worry about (such as security, unemployment, terrorism, poverty and immigration) or bring together millions of happy fans (in the case of football).

For this reason, broadcasting is a good tool for facilitating sociability within communities, for it attracts people. It ignites in people's minds their most wanted desires of happiness and joy, but also their most unwanted desires of sorrow, worry and distress. Therefore, lonely people often have broadcasting devices as companions through which they have the possibility to learn, to laugh, to cry or to shout. In fact it is good to realise that human emotions from broadcasting media, for instance, are not a result of broadcasting *tout court* but the outcomes of their contents and the communicative action of its messages. This is only one among many perspectives of how broadcasting influences society. Furthermore, as Couldry (2012: 107) notes in his reflection about media and the hidden shaping of the social: 'countries where a new range of media institutions is emerging, capable of challenging government and religious elites, perhaps for the first time effectively (…), offer a very different perspective'. This is to emphasise broadcasting's repercussion in all societies. The good and bad outcomes of broadcasting as phenomena of our contemporary

society are not only matters for neoliberal democracies such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America but a concern for the humanity of the 21st century.

On the face of it, first and foremost, it is a good idea to look at the objectives of broadcasting traced by its founding fathers in the various countries and states that were involved from the very beginning and to evaluate whether there were clear intentions in using it in nation building and in the nation-state's interests.

1.2.3 Origins of public service broadcasting: the BBC as a paradigm

The origins of public service broadcasting (PSB) may be recalled in Western Europe, as stated above, and, specifically, the experience of the BBC and its founder, Sir John Reith. In terms of definition, however, Raboy (1996: 6) says that: 'there is no easy answer to the question of what public service broadcasting is'. Raboy reminds us of the attempt to conceptualise PSB in the Broadcasting Research Unit's (BRU) first pamphlet, published in 1985, according to which public service broadcasting should be seen as a comprehensive environment containing:

> universal accessibility, universal appeal, particular attention to minorities, contribution to sense of national identity and community, distance from vested interests, direct funding and universality of payment, competition in good programming rather than for number and finally guidelines that liberate rather than restrict programme makers. (ibid.)

To implement those values, Raboy argues that 'the notion of citizenship has severe implications for broadcasting. Citizenship cannot be passive. Citizenship is political' (ibid.: 7). Thus public service broadcasting has to assume the fight for the principles of the French revolution, liberty, equality, fraternity, that have become universal for all cultures and societies.

However, public service broadcasting as medium with those values expected and listed above by Raboy has raised some concerns among scholars since the advent of industrialisation and particularly in the field of digital technology. In fact, questions about public service broadcasting, as Scannell (1996: 23) puts it, ignited in the last two decades of the 20th century considering the advancements in new technologies and the new political context that emerged from the 1980s (especially the liberalisation of broadcasting

monopolies by states in Europe). The main question according to Scannell is the relevance of public service broadcasting in contemporary society. Therefore, some critics have claimed that the traditional base upon which public service broadcasting was created in the 1920s, although pragmatic in responding to the specific needs of nation-states in that epoch was over. Problems related to broadcasting such as sponsorship (just to name one) have found a response with the improvement of industry and, consequently, spot advertising. And on the face of it, for those critical voices, there was not a necessary state intervention to regulate an industry in its infancy. 'The need for regulation simply withers away as the market takes over' (ibid.: 24). Such a view seems to regard broadcasting from just a business perspective only. So broadcasting is simply a business like any other business. Scannell describes it as *market-led*. This study agrees with Garnham (1994, quoted by Scannell, op.cit.) when he argues that 'broadcasting is a large scale business, certainly; however its business is not the production of programme commodities but of a communicative'. According to Scannell, 'viewers and listeners are not engaged in a process of consumption of programmes but, rather, a process of interacting with and interpreting the programme output of broadcast institutions' (ibid.).

Broadcasting praxis, then, started in the West as a socially marvellous element and an achievement that has transformed communities and peoples' everyday lives. In such a context, it is accurate to emphasise that the initial impetus that turned broadcasting into a reality was the result of the work of several contributors.

Many other public service broadcasting projects that were built up later on in other Western countries and elsewhere in non-Western states used the British Broadcasting Company as one of the main reference points. Inside of the BBC, however, the departure of part of its founding teamwork (Burrow, Lewis, West and Eckersley) a decade after the beginning of the project weakened the production research section, causing setbacks to the quality of some programmes.

'Serving the nation' is a key expression in the analysis by Scannell and Cardiff (1991), who reflect on the role of the BBC in the social history of the United Kingdom. In the perspective of the BBC founder, John Reith, public service broadcasting should not be used for entertainment purposes only, but above all to foster national unity, provide an educative role and preserve a high moral tone in society, avoiding what is considered vulgar and hurtful.

However, in evaluating the transformations that have occurred in our time, Scannell and

Cardiff (1994) recognize the deep changes in the broadcasting sector in Britain and in most Western countries. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), established in the 1920s as a paradigm of public service broadcasting by serving the nation, has experienced in the last decade of the 20th century a radical transformation. This refers to both its content and broadcasts. The transformation that has occurred in broadcasting technology has also facilitated the change in the production sector as well as in the form of broadcasting.

The above-mentioned scholars, although their reflection is based on the social history of the BBC, have sought to expose the way broadcasting has developed, with its social and cultural implications taken into account. For example, the way public TV and radio approached audiences before the 1990s seems to be over.

In the early age of broadcasting, the BBC founder, John Reith, reflecting about broadcast over Britain, asserted:

> Broadcasting brings relaxation and interest to many homes where such things are at a premium. It does far more: it carries direct information on a hundred subjects to innumerable people who thereby will be enabled not only to take more interest in events which formerly were outside their ken, but who will after a short time be in a position to make up their own minds on many matters of vital moment. (cited in Scannell and Cardiff, 1994: xvi)

While that time is over, one cannot surely say that public service broadcasting is totally over, and developing countries in the 21st century may provide a clear example of it, as explained below in Chapter 2. It is true that the classic era of broadcasting has begun to pass away, and it has become possible to see more clearly what its features were and are. What once was deeply taken for granted now has emerged as one of the historical forms of media usage, one that constitutes an epoch that was deeply implicated in the familiar texture of life for whole populations. For instance, radio entered as an intruder into the day-to-day lives of whole societies (Scannell and Cardiff, 1994: 3).

The British Broadcasting Corporation as a national service broadcasting was expected to bring together all classes of the population. In addition, it would prove to be a powerful mean of promoting social unity, particularly through the live relay of national ceremonies and functions (ibid.: 7). Moreover, broadcasting, as Scannell and Cardiff put it, was considered within the BBC founder's perspective as a good tool to promote democracy and to include some sectors of society previously excluded. To achieve this purpose,

'broadcasting needed to be free of interference and pressure from the state in order to develop its political role as a public service' (ibid: 8).

Scannell and Cardiff (1991) point to the impact and importance of radio as an element of unification. Its characteristics are that it is cheap to purchase, easy to assess and flexible to carry out. This is to highlight some among other values of radio in the PSB environment. These are advantages promote a sense of unity and highlight common cultural aspects that encourage a sense of civic responsibility and access to public life. 'Through radio a sense of nation as a knowable community might be restored by putting people in touch with the ceremonies and symbols of a corporate national life' (Scannell & Cardiff, 1991: 13). Scannell and Cardiff agree with Reith's definition of public service broadcasting as an instrument of democratic enlightenment, as according to them, 'it promotes unity through the creation of a broader range of shared interests, tastes and social knowledge than had previously been portion of the vast majority of the population' (ibid.).

The BBC is not exempt from criticism by some academics, such as in how it achieved the complex task of responding satisfactorily to a huge diversity of tastes at the local, regional, national or international level, it is seen as an instrument of standardisation of culture. Since its establishment in 1927, the BBC has settled into an ambitious institutional project of expansion at local, regional and imperial level as an example of public service broadcasting. A clear recognition of it came from a newspaper when John Reith resigned as general director of the BBC in 1938, as Scannell and Cardiff note: one newspaper congratulated Reith 'for making the BBC into a national institution as thoroughly typical and representative as the Bank of England – safe, responsible, reliable, the guarantor of the nation's cultural capital' (ibid.: 17).

Scannell and Cardiff 'have tried to catch the unity in diversity of broadcasting, the parts and the whole, and to understand it as the expression of a new set of social relations between broadcasters, programmes and audiences' (ibid.: 4). The BBC is a successful project at this point and feedback on its actions in British culture and among its public audience is a fact, from the first decades of its existence to today.

Nowadays, there are different approaches in favour of and against when one should acknowledge whether a market- led approach to broadcasting is better than a public service-led approach. While some people argue that both public and market-led approaches provide content in the interest of the public, other are concerned about the fact that independent broadcasting's priority is business. This thesis relies on Scannell (in Raboy,

1996: 25) when he reflect on this question, arguing that both approaches are complementary because each adds something to the other. For Scannell, 'both produce the same kind of things (news, entertainment, and sports)'. The first task for commercial broadcasting was and remains to find profitable ways for programme making and distribution while for public service broadcasting; the first task is to find a way of providing broadcasting as a public service. And so both 'are not intrinsically different things, but similar things done differently, organized differently, with different styles and in a different ethos' (ibid.).

However, even in today's society, the role of public service broadcasting is to focus and address people as citizens, and this perspective has supporters, such as for example Raboy, Bernier, Sauvageau and Atkinson (1994) in their reflection, where they argue that public broadcasting can accomplish the role of addressing people as citizens 'only if it is seen as an instrument of social and cultural development, rather than as a marginal alternative service on the periphery of a vast cultural industry'. To accomplish this objective, states' role has to be that of facilitator and organiser of the multifaceted task of public service broadcasting system, rather than implementer of a strategy of direct patronage of national service broadcasting.

In the early years of the BBC, as the national broadcaster, the linking of culture with nationalism – the idea of a national culture – was, according to Scannell and Cardiff, given new expression in broadcasting through those kinds of programme that had the effect of, in Reith's words, 'making the nation as one man'. From the twenties to the present day, the BBC has continued this work of promoting national unity through such programmes (ibid.; 10). In addition to this, these scholars explain that, based on the Annan Committee's report on the future of Broadcasting (HMSO, London, 1977: 263), royal occasions, religious services, sports coverage and police series all reinforce the sense of belonging to one country, being involved in its celebrations and accepting what it stands for (Scannell and Cardiff, 1994: 10).

The importance of radio is deemed worthy of emphasis in Scannell's analysis. Radio is an organised social form, seen to be a significant and unprecedented means of helping to shape a more unified and egalitarian society:

> Through radio a sense of the nation as knowable community might be restored
> by putting people in touch with the ceremonies and symbols of a corporate
> national life. A common culture might be established by providing listeners

with access to music and other performing arts and cultural resources from which most had previously been excluded. A sense of civic responsibility and wider knowledge of public affairs might be encouraged through common access to the discourses of public life, through the balanced presentation of the facts and the issues at stake in current political debates and policies. This interlocking processes were to be the desired effects of a conception of broadcasting as an instrument of democratic enlightenment, as a means of promoting social unity through the creation of a broader range of shared interests, tastes and social knowledge than had previously been the portion of the vast majority of the population (p.13).

Scannell and Cardiff's reflection on radio, as presented here, summarises well the main aspect of this broadcasting medium. It comprises radio's nature, objectives and efficacy yesterday, today and in the future, while broadcasting will continue to be undertaken to shape the needs and perceptions of people according to time and place.

Radio expands and enriches the sphere of private life, linking it to the public world and its discourses, broadening horizons, extending informally education to family members and providing them with new interests and topics of conversation (ibid.). As a final point, listeners may be equipped with a sense of 'carrying a range of social and cultural needs and interests (…) a more public role as citizens in a larger community of public affairs and national life' (ibid.: 15).

This is one of the reasons why, in the early decades of its existence, the BBC came to see its audience, according to Scannell and Cardiff, together as both unity and as diversity.

The life of the BBC was to some extent not exempt from challenges and controversies in its relationship with British political power. Interference can be pointed to since the time it received its charter in 1926. Some members of the board of governors were in favour of banning controversial matters relating to the government in public service broadcasting, as Cardiff and Scannell (1987: 159) note: 'even after the ban was lifted in 1928, the BBC had to face continuing government interference in the broadcasting of political issues while at the same time it failed to gain reasonable access to politicians'. One of the reasons for this was the fact that the two main parties in Britain were incapable of making an agreement in a way that would share balanced air time in public service broadcasting.

Political interference aside, the BBC proceeded with its policy of offering current political

and social content as education for citizenship. Cardiff and Scannell assert that the BBC at that period offered elucidation of issues at an abstract level which transcended current controversy (ibid.). Exposition of political controversies especially in the inner circle of a government constitutes a hard step for any public service broadcasting service, not just the United Kingdom's but in countries where public service broadcasting companies are owned by the state. Rivero (2015) reflects on broadcasting and modernity in Cuban television; Roboy's edited work (1993) provides an overview of public broadcasting for the 21st century, with several cases studies from Western and non-Western countries about interference by governments in public service broadcasting, and Lloyd (2004) reflects on the intervention of the UK in Iraq during the leadership of Tony Blair, just to name a few.

Above and beyond political controversies, Raboy (1996: 6) considers the British Broadcasting Company an example for other broadcasters: 'the BBC still stands as the quintessential model of public service broadcasting worldwide, particularly in the view of national governments seeking to stablish or to revitalize their broadcasting systems'. Although praising the BBC's model, Raboy warns that it is not advisable to copy and paste or to just transport models. The idea is that in any broadcasting context and situation, democratic values can be said to be universal (ibid.).

1.2.4 Broadcasting and national culture

Controversies as to whether public service broadcasting addresses the main cultural issues according to needs of a given nation to some extend prevail even in today's societies. Scannell (1996: 26-27) reflects on the case of the BBC, asserting that:

> The BBC is persistently biased toward the south-east of England, has a metropolitan attitude that regards the rest of the country as culturally inferior to the culture of metropolis, and systematically misunderstands and marginalizes the cultural interests of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

Those challenges are very well known in the social history of the BBC, especially when dealing with contents of national programmes. However, the BBC has made efforts throughout its history to address and reduce those problems.

On the other hand, debates around the impact, importance and need for countries in contemporary society to continue to have public service broadcasting continue. Some scholars (see, for example, Tracey, 2008) argue in favour of reducing the role PSBs while others (for instance, Scannell, 1996) argue in favour of maintaining this model with

adjustments for the digital age. This thesis is in favour of the last argument in view of the fact that in the digital age of media convergence the term public service broadcasting (PSB) is broadened to public service media (PSM) and considers that there is room enough for conviviality between public service broadcasting and interactive media. The fact is, what is happening in interactive media is just a new way to present and perform what public service broadcasting has already been doing up to the last decade of the 20th century. The arrival of interactive media through the Internet is a great opportunity for public service broadcasting to be more creative, to be performed and transformed in a way to feed and respond to the needs of the citizens of the 21st century.

Even with the knowledge of convergence between public service media and public service broadcasting, this thesis addresses matters related to public service broadcasting, in particular, public service radio and public service television. The emphasis is not on state control broadcasting but the public service, where citizens are the *raison d'être* of public service broadcasting. In this respect, Scannell (1996: 26) highlights the impact of the BBC in the context of Britain culture. He asserts that 'the task was to create a common culture that speaks to the whole society and that can be share by people of widely different backgrounds, with different tastes and interests'.

Television (TV) in contemporary society has become the privileged virtual space in which people build up a good or bad picture of the world. The characteristics of TV – picture, sound, text and gestures – help to share attitudes, customs, behaviours and practices of all 'tastes', with a strong impact on people's everyday lives. It is in view of this that TV as a broadcasting medium is often considered the first messenger of culture in this globalised era.

In fact, some media researchers, when analysing the innovations that broadcasting media have achieved in the world, highlight the impact of television on culture more than other broadcast forms. Television is still strongly alive in practically all countries of the world. National anthems and ceremonies in the national interest are 'well dressed' in today society's when being broadcast live (and here TV takes the lead).

Television today is too exposed to be considered as a kind of 'first class lounge' of our contemporary society and even to be the darling of broadcast media. Compared to print or radio, many people are more convinced when watching, hearing and reading on the TV screen stories about what is happening in the world, in terms of news and current affairs, either locally, regional or internationally. The quality of TV pictures has improved every

decade since the 1990s with multiple changes in terms of technology. TV output aggregates old and new platforms of communication: script, voice, picture and often gesticulation. This phenomenon, which is good to watch, attracts the attention of and fascinates people (even blind or deaf people, and illiterates) across the world. Although in terms of innovation, TV has not brought so much to global culture, it is true to say that the digital era has led to a huge revolution, bringing new platforms to information and communication. TV's impact is far from undeniable.

This thesis draws attention to the public service aspect of television rather than commercial TV, because while the former plays an essential role in safeguarding the pluralist and social needs of a given society and is one of the fundamental broadcasting media of a democratic system, the second puts more emphasis on profit by selling its content to attract audiences to it. Iosifidis (2012: 5) reflects on this perspective when he notes: 'through its mass reach and influence public broadcasting has the capacity both to enrich people's lives as individuals and improve the quality of life in society'. However in terms of the first model, one can demonstrate that the USA TV system is more market oriented, and is highly commercial, with quite no interest in embracing the concept and objectives of public service broadcasting. This last perspective often has trend to consider public interest what 'bourgeois sphere' as in Habermas' perspective reflected above consider most important for society. Proprietors of private TV channels (for example, Murdoch's and Berlusconi's broadcasting empires) often interfere and clearly have influence on their broadcasting contents. However, it is possible for private and public broadcasters to work in the public interest. With this purpose in mind, Rudin (2011: 19) joins the debate around continued tensions about the purpose and potential of television, arguing that from the 1950s to the 1970s 'in the UK, the commercial broadcasters, as well as the BBC, were required to be public service broadcasters in ethos and practice … for quality and quantity of ... news and current affairs'. In that period, advertising on commercial channels was limited and never allowed to influence the decisions of producers. 'The BBC and the commercial channels demonstrated that they could be both educational and entertaining. Even the soap operas reflected many of the changes and debates in society' (ibid.). In addition, Iosifidis (op. cit.: 5) emphasises the impact of public broadcasting, reminding us that 'in its early years public TV was indeed an observably critical social perspective, providing the audience with a healthy alternative media diet to the fast food of commercial networks' (ibid.).

Reflecting on the objectives and impact of broadcasting, (and in this thesis the focus is on radio and TV) from the beginning and even nowadays, it is true to some extent that it

resets people's memories of positive commemorations of countries; states' historical events would have less impact on citizens, especially in contemporary society, without broadcasting. 'If the culture of radio depended on a shared public life brought into being by broadcasting itself, a central aspect of this process was the creation of a sense of participation in a corporate national life' (Scannell and Cardiff, 1994: 277). These academics consider in this particular case that 'the BBC fulfilled its mandate of service in the national interest by synthesizing a national culture from components that had begun to converge since the late nineteenth century' (ibid).

One of the cultural aspects worth considering in broadcasting is sound, music to be exact. In the BBC, music can be controversial to the point of trying to find consensus between local, regional and national tastes (ibid.: 301-303).

Generally public service broadcasting as whole is usually conceptualised with reference to the construction of a national identity and the embodiment of a singular public sphere (Graham, 1999; Graham & Davies, 1997; Dahlgren, 1995; Blumler, 1992; Raboy, 1996: 5-10; Hargreaves Heap, 2005: 116-8), and thus it remains a vital instrument in helping to facilitate the construction of national identity and unity. In view of this, Raboy (2006: 7) states that 'when public service broadcasting is linked to the idea of citizenship, it must logically be decoupled from the authoritarian power of the state'.

Arguments like those of Michael Tracey (2008) according to which public service broadcasting is practically dead because of deep and radical changes, developments that are occurring in information and communication sectors have to be treated with caution. In fact, in the short and medium term, public service broadcasting is in a process of transformation to adjust to the actual context of the media landscape. However, public service broadcasting, in general, and public service television, in particular, are challenged by today's competitive market. See, for example, Iosifidis (2012: 47- 79) as well as the cases studies on broadcasting in many countries across the world as reflected by the contributors to *Media development. In the service of the public* (Lublinski, Wakili, and Berner, eds., 2014: 36-216) and by Rudin (2011), who reflects on the process of broadcasting liberalisation in Europe since the 1980s in his book *Broadcasting in the 21st century*. It is appropriate then to highlight the transformations occurring in this digital era, especially in Western countries, with the highest figures for the use of terrestrial TV (cable), dish satellites, and prominent TV channels (since 2004) among countries that are members of the European Union and the United States of America (see the arguments presented by Iosifidis, 2012). This thesis is

in favour of the idea that in the digital era, Internet support that improves social media communications is neither poisonous nor a menace public service broadcasting. The Internet is a facilitator of public service broadcasting just as broadcasting is a facilitator of democracy and nation building. The new available platforms through the Internet help network citizens from any place in the world to connect and watch and hear TV channels live. It is the case for instance for the BBC that any citizen in the UK may watch its TV and radio channels live on the Internet.

1.2.5 Public broadcasting challenges

There are of course challenges and negative trends to the public service broadcasting model when it comes to dealing with the challenges of finding funds and sponsorship for production to guarantee the quality and quantity of news, current affairs and programmes and the purchase of new generation equipment in order to compete side by side with commercial and private channels. To do so, public service broadcasters have to admit advertisements into their programmes. This often comes with no less ethical concerns. And in view of this, some dilemmas come to light. Iosifidis, in this respect, considers that in the case of public television, when facing competition dilemmas, 'public channels have to offer quality (therefore high-cost) informative, educational and entertainment services, not normally provided in the free market (ibid.: 13). Yet it is by keeping those important aspects connected to the nature of public service broadcasting that makes it harder for public broadcasters to compete directly with the private ones. And if the obligation of public television, as Iosifidis well observes, is to preserve the nation's culture, offer educational services and cater for minorities, then public service broadcasting has to adopt a solid strategy to deal with competition. This thesis supports such an idea, and it is also in favour of the contextualisation of strategies according to place and time. To accomplish this goal, there is a need to maintain the founding objectives of public service broadcasting, as reflected above in this section, and to adjust them to operational processes into new platforms of media technologies. What we believe to be true is that the quintessence of public service broadcasting is still valid in our time, and it is to be welcomed in the media field of the 21st century.

The question of whether public service broadcasting should continue to exist or not in the 21st century is at the centre of a contemporary media debate and many academic

reflections. However, academics such as Raboy (op. cit.: 14) argue that public service broadcasting deserves a new approach that looks beyond simple aspects. For instance, the real challenge is not to defend institutional territory as often happened before. What is important, according to Raboy, is 'rather how to invent something new, remembering that broadcasting service is first of all a public good'. On the other hand, Scannell (1996: 31) argues in favour of the development of PSB. For him, the BBC has undergone three periods: the first was the national one, the second, the popular one and finally, the pluralistic one. Public service broadcasting, as Scannell advocates, has to 'wear' multiculturalism 'garments' to respond to the challenges of our time.

There are some people, businessperson and individual donors, interested in maintaining and developing public service broadcasting in order to promote and protect its founding values (what Raboy names as a public good), which are never out of date. Values such as promoting unity, identity, nation building, *will* and desire of people to live together, and other cultural fundamental values proposed as the flagship of public service broadcasting, are never *passé* or dated subjects because they are rooted in the nature of all human beings. To adjust public service broadcasting in contemporary society is to help bring back these '*dormant*' values (unity, identity and a sense of belonging) and make them live and achievable nowadays. This perspective transforms public service broadcasting from a national culture perspective to a multiculturalist one. Even though some academics predict that the arrival of the Internet (with websites, blogs and so forth) and the move to video and audio on demand may guarantee the pluralism of the media in contemporary society, there are serious concerns when one evaluates the matter of the credibility of sources, manipulation of footage and even responsibility. The Internet may also become a field of uncertainty and speculation. Scannell, however, argues that public service broadcasting will continue in the future to serve as a source of independent journalism and diverse cultural expression (1996: 61).

In conclusion, public service broadcasting will continue to be an important instrument for the making of all aspects of the nation. However, there are key elements to be transformed especially within PSB's *modus operandi*. Scannell (ibid.: 35) reflecting on the importance of multiculturalism aspect of PSB advises that the 'national service must (…) have programme values which in some ways speak to the whole society'. Based on his observation, some people complain that the BBC has always been white, male and middle class, and this is now apparent both to its audiences and to itself in ways that are far more troubling today than in the past. Scannell encourages the example of the Channel 4 model. To him,

'Channel 4's greatest accomplishment has been to become a genuinely national television service that accesses minority interests in ways that appeal not only to those audiences but to mainstream audiences as well' (ibid.: 36).

Inclusion of minorities and representation in PSB programmes are important aspects to consider as ways to reform and transform public service. Scannell makes a point to remind us of those aspects. However, this paper also suggests that producing and including minorities' community issues in national programmes alone would not resolve all problems. The inclusion of citizens from minority communities to the teamwork in a way that lets minorities see how content related to them should be better delivered is also a good strategy. If this is done, the partial monopoly of independent service broadcasting will not prevail. The contemporary society of the 21st century may assist what Scannell names as *duo-poly* broadcasting. This includes both public and independent service broadcasting.

The next step now is to evaluate to what extent developing countries deal with all these PSB aspects. Will PSB in non-Western countries, like Angola, be a catalyst for nation building? This is what this thesis intends to look into in the second chapter.

Chapter 2: Angola and the construction of a nation: a contextual approach

Introduction

This chapter looks at the construction of African nations, taking Angola as paradigmatic example. It reflects on how African nations were or are being imagined, according to some scholars within and outside Africa. It first provides an overview contextual background of post-conflict Africa after decolonisation and national independences. In terms of this country's historical background, I reflect on the perspectives of some Angolan scholars as to whether Angola should consider itself as a nation or just a country in process. This last aspect may be understood to some extent from the geographic and social constitution of Angolan communities.

Colonialism and slavery are brought to the reflection in this chapter because they have contributed a great deal, albeit negatively, to the making of the Angolan nation.

The second section of this chapter focuses on the character and evolution of PSB within the context of Africa and the history of the media and broadcasting in Angola, in order to broaden the understanding of the role of broadcasting in the construction of the Angolan nation, which is at the centre of my reflection from Chapters 3 to 8.

Angola as a country and its 'imagining communities' (in Anderson's expression) cannot be understood outside of Western intervention for two main reasons: the first is the fact that is known about this country – in terms of culture, society, politics and religious organisation – before contact with Portuguese colonisers was oral, not systematised (I mean the Western logic accepted worldwide), and generally confined to specific places. Second, from contact with the West, the introduction of the Western alphabet and the use of Portuguese language facilitated the writing of Angolan cultural wisdom from almost all ethnic groups and old kingdoms and made it known within Angola and all over the world.

This chapter, then, looks at the socio-cultural, political and media context that led to the constitution of Angolan communities as an attempt to better understand how this post-war nation has been constructed, 'imagined' and perceived. To do this, I first look at the context of Africa as a continent.

Section I

2.1 Contextual background of post-conflict Africa

Some African scholars have reflected on the challenges that the continent has faced in building its nations. Reflections have also addressed the weaknesses of Africa in setting up new perspectives of development in a post-conflict context since the beginning of the independence period (1960s) for the majority of its countries to date.

First and foremost, Africa has undergone a long nightmare in terms of recurring conflicts in many of its 54 countries. As soon as one thinks that a post-conflict era has come, a new conflict begins or another one 'restarts'. To have an idea of the context from which PSB is operating, it is useful to consider even briefly the background context of some post-conflict countries in Africa, including Angola, after decolonisation and independence.

It is however not an easy task to understand the context and challenges of post-conflict countries in Africa. There are, on one hand, internal evidences behind the recurrence of conflicts (see, Mlambo, ed., 2008; Collier, ed., 2011; Keller, 2014; Williams, 2016; Nkurunzinza and Hellmuller in Langer and Brown, eds., 2016) that blocks the continent from development in all its different aspects. On the other hand, preconceived ideas and beliefs about this continent (see, Deng et al., 1996; Francis, 2008; Schmidt, 2013) are also assumed attitudes from outside that expose the continent to a kind of mockery and deception.

Koffi Annan's (2008) reflection on the sources of conflicts in Africa may to some extent bring light to better understand this post-conflict environment where the media currently operate. From historical legacies, to internal and external factors, to particular situations in a given region of Africa, there are many aspects worth of attention. The challenge for academics in their reflections is often how to fully address this vast and varied continent. How should one understand the very different histories and geographic conditions of African countries and their different stages of economic development, and how this variety and diversity interrelate in today's international arena?

> 'The sources of conflict in Africa reflect this diversity and complexity. Some sources are purely internal, some reflect the dynamics of a particular sub-region, and some have important international dimensions. Despite these

differences the sources of conflict in Africa are linked by a number of common themes and experiences' (Annan, in Mlambo, ed., 2008, 20-21).

It is important not take for granted simple judgements that emphasise the internal reasons for the delay of the African continent in attaining development and sustainable peace in all its aspects. Africa is a vast continent, diverse in culture, habits, languages and customs, and reflections that take Africa as one sole reality may miss the richest aspects of this continent that have contributed to the knowledge of the world yesterday and today and will do so in the future.

There are many reasons behind the social and political 'convulsions' in post-conflict Africa. With the support of some scholars, this chapter briefly considers some of the most representative sources of conflicts and challenges. This contextual background, I think, may help situate the relevant aspects of this thesis.

Keller (2014: 36-48) for example, presents disputes over identity and citizenship as one of the most common sources of conflict after independence. However, conflict over citizenship rights in Africa covers multiple factors, within which ethnicity is just one of the most representatives.

> In some cases, ethnically based conflicts relating to such grievances grow out of electoral competition at the national level; in other they are triggered by long-standing claims involving land ownership (…) or government failure to deliver public goods to ethnic communities in a non-discriminatory manner (p.36).

According to Keller, this is one of the main reasons for the conflicts in the North of Kivu in the DRC, between indigenous Congolese and the long-established Rwandese in the region, whose right to land and national identity is refused. The ethnic minority of Rwandese have been trying since the 1970s to acquire those rights (in both identity and land), but Congolese politicians and law-makers have manoeuvred to block them. Keller asserts that 'the issue of indigeneity became an acute problem in the early 1970s, as the notion of authentic national "citizenship" became more important' (p.39).

As a result of dissatisfaction, armed conflicts develop, as occurred with the M-23 military forces insurgence in the known case of Rwandophones in the DRC. 'Since independence, in Zaire (today DRC) and, indeed all over Africa, questions of the autochthony of a group

or a particular political leader have been common' (p.40).

Williams (2016: 65-185) reflects on what he terms the 'ingredients' of contemporary conflicts in Africa: neopatrimonialism, resources, sovereignty, ethnicity and religion. For this last aspect (religion), he states that it 'depends where one looked, religious beliefs and organizations were a source of solidarity, comfort, explanation, assistance and peace-making, as well as means of justifying extreme acts of oppression and violence' (ibid, p.184). Williams' argument is to some extent an important observation. However, in the case of Southern Africa where Angola is, with some exceptions, religious organisations have played more positive than negative roles in the post-conflict societies after decolonisation and independence.

In terms of sources of conflict, another aspect to consider is the role of some African elites in instigating people to claim their citizenship rights such as land, distribution of common goods and so on. This is often performed within the context of an electoral process, even though their real (hidden) objectives are more to do with political power than social rights. And so media are often used as a means to refuel conflicts rather than helping to solve them (e.g. the radio station Radio Mille Collines in Rwanda in 1994).

An important aspect is what Francis (2008: 3) has named the 'elusive peace' for most of the post-colonial history of Africa. Peace and development have become more difficult to achieve, contrary to what Afro-optimists believed after independences. To understand the context of peace and conflict in Africa, as Francis evaluates it, there are domestic and external factors to consider. The first range consists of 'the image of the dangerous and mysterious Africa as represented by perennial violent wars and bloody armed conflicts, perpetual political instability, unrelenting economic crises, famine, disease and poverty' (ibid). This image symbolises what Francis terms as 'hopeless continent'.

In the second range are negative images presented by the external media, including the Hollywood film industry, about Africa. National Geographic magazine pictures and Hollywood movies present a 'safari' continent where wild animals roam and pose a threat to any human being (e.g. *The African Queen,* 1951; *Out of Africa,* 1985 and *The Lion King,* 1994). That image of Africa becomes darker when added to the dangerous, mysterious and exotic continent as presented in movies such as *Dog of War* (1980); *Black Hawk Down* (2001); and *Blood Diamond* (2006). The sub-text of this perspective may be understood as a warning that anyone coming to Africa will be welcomed by lions or snakes and be killed by

beasts or backward indigenous people.

> These contrasting representations of Africa have not only been instrumental
> in shaping and reinforcing public perceptions about the continent, but have
> also legitimized the dominant worldview of a *tragic continent* and a *basket case*.
> It is therefore not surprising that the greater part of the media news
> coverage of Africa reflects the sensational and stereotypical presentation of
> the continent (Francis, 2008: 3).

On the face of it, Africa is often understood as one country rather than as a continent where some similarities may be identified but there are also differences in many other aspects of life. Evidence of this can be observed also from the process of decolonisation.

Reflecting on the consequences of the war and decolonisation in Portugal's African empire, 1961- 1975, Elizabeth Schmidt (2013, 79-102) recalls the fact that the British, Belgian and French colonies in Africa, with very few exceptions, attended independence without violence because of the economic stability in those European countries. Conversely, Portugal, ruled by the fascist António Salazar since 1932, decided that independence in African Portuguese colonies was out of the question. The reason was because 'Portugal was an impoverished country with an underdeveloped economy. However, it maintained the illusion of grandeur with significant African possessions' (p. 79). In order to maintain this illusion, Salazar used Portugal's advantage of being a member of NATO to ask its allies for money, military weapons and aviation to respond to various challenges. In fact, these were used to suppress native independence forces in the Portuguese colonies (p. 82-83).

After independence, external interference occurred in the context of the Cold War, to bring more trouble to the African Portuguese colonies.

> The richest and most strategic of the Portuguese colonies, Angola attracted
> the most outside interest during the periods of decolonization and the Cold
> War. A major producer of oil, industrial diamonds, and coffee, Angola was
> the site of significant investments by American, British, Belgian, French,
> and West German firms (Schmidt, 2013: 92).

And because of its natural resources 'Angola became a Cold War battleground when the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba embroiled themselves in the conflict on the eve of Angola independence' (ibid).

From Schmidt's analysis, one may understand how external factors have had a negative impact in post-conflict Africa. 'During the period of decolonization and the Cold War (1945 – 91) and the first two decades of its aftermath (1991 – 2010), foreign intervention in Africa strongly influenced the outcome of conflicts and the fate of African nations' (Schmidt, 2013: 227). Even though in the post-independence context there were no impositions of foreign forces alone, negative cooperation agreements between Western powers and some African leadership are still evident to date. 'While foreign governments took advantage of divisions within African societies to promote their own interests, African actors also used external alliances for their own ends' (ibid). Apart from the extra-continental interventions in post-conflict Africa, there were also conflictual interventions between neighbouring African countries with hidden interests. However, here too foreign 'hands' were always visible. Schmidt, then, believes that from 1945 – 2010:

> Foreign intervention in Africa generally did more harm than good. External involvement often intensified conflicts and rendered them more lethal. Even humanitarian and peacekeeping missions, which were weakened by inadequate mandates, funding, and information and undermined by conflicting interests, sometimes hurt the people they were intended to help (ibid, p.229 – 230).

These scholars' reflections highlight how the basis upon which African nations were, and are being, constructed remains confused and problematic. Ethnicity, European languages, colonial economic interests and so-called tribes were some of the factors taken into consideration by colonialists. As a result, even in southern African, we can easily identify communities that belong to the same ethnic group, its members communicating in the same local language, but scattered in different countries (Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Congo Republic, Namibia and Zambia). This 'commercial geography' created by colonisers has had considerable negative consequences (such as illegal immigration through artificial borders, human rights abuses, forgery of personal identification documents and robbery) for all neighbouring countries. In view of this, the concept of *nation* or *nation-state* in Africa is seriously 'wounded' and affected by European intervention. And so, 'the concept of nation that took hold in Africa was not the same as the concept of nation that emerged in the creation of such entities in nineteenth-century Europe' (Keller, 2014: 5).

Keller's assertion is that 'the terms *state* and *nation* are often conflated, but in reality are quite different'. He explains that the concept of nation is more about 'normative and moral

attachment', and only later in the nineteenth century was a legal definition created in Europe, comprising geographical boundaries and so-called states (ibid.). Nation-states were a result of modernism. In Africa, on the other hand, nation-states were a product of the 'artificial construction' of colonisers, based on the latter's interests.

After the Second World War and the rush towards independence across much of Africa, post-colonial governments were formed by nationalists in an attempt to avoid further social problems; but these continued to congregate multi-ethnic communities (generally referred to as *tribes*) to create what Keller calls 'a sense of national unity' (2014: 4). African nation-states find here the seeds of a clear definition of nation, as well as the beginning of the conflation of *nation* and *state*. The moral feelings, narrative, will, imagination or memories (highlighted by Renan, Gellner and Anderson, see Chapter 1) attached to nation, and legality, force, control, law and order appropriate to the state, have become the many faces of the same coin.

As Keller argues, 'nation building is still a work in progress' (ibid.). Overall, although colonialism was not the source of all Africa's problems, it was a significant contributor (ibid., p. 11). In view of this, it can be assumed that the history of colonialism provides many clues for any researcher who wishes to understand the ongoing debate on the constitution of African nations or nation-states. What solutions are there for post-conflict African countries to reconnect to nation-building and development?

2.1.1 Possible solutions

Mamdani (1996: 3) argues that 'discussion on Africa predicament revolves around two clear tendencies: modernist and communitarian'. The modernist tendency in the 1980s takes inspiration from eastern European countries, what Mamdani names as 'Left eurocentrism, the call for a return to a source'. The communitarian tendency is where 'civil society is an embryonic and marginal construct in Africa. Real flesh-and-blood communities that comprise Africa are marginalised from public life as so many tribes' (ibid)

The liberal solution, according to this scholar, is to locate politics in civil society while the Africanist solution is to put Africa's age-old communities at the centre of African politics. One side calls for a regime that will champion rights, and the other stands in defence of culture. The impasse in Africa, as Mamdani evaluates it, is not only at the level of practical politics. It is also a paralysis of perspectives.

The solution to this theoretical impasse between modernists and communitarians,

Eurocentrists and Africanists does not lie in choosing a side and defending an entrenched position. Mamdani finds that both sides provide important but different aspects to the same African dilemma. A double move – to criticise and affirm – is needed as solution. The synthesis, as Mamdani asserts it:

> lies in asking how power is organized and how it tends to fragment resistance in contemporary Africa. This should allow locating the language of right and culture in their historical and institutional context (ibid.).

Mamdani observes that part of the African constitutional legacy continues to be reproduced through the dialectic of state reform and popular resistance. But the core legacy has been forged through the colonial experience, he suggests.

To make it clear, Mamdani recalls General Jan Smuts' 1929 Rhodes Memorial Lectures speech, when he reminded his British audience of the colonial idea of Africans as 'a child race' that can never grow up … and the venerable Albert Schweitzer of Gabon fame used to call 'every African male regardless of age as 'boy', houseboy, shamba-boy, office-boy, mine-boy and so forth'. Smuts later changed his opinion of Africans being a sub-race. He was not in favour, however, of the application to Africa of the French Revolution principles (*liberté, fraternité, égalité)*: 'that would de-Africanize the African and turn him either into a beast of the field or into a pseudo- European, as Mamdani notes:

> First we looked upon the African as essentially inferior or sub-human, as having no soul, and as being only fit to be a slave … then we changed to the opposite extreme. The African now became a man, a brother. Religion and politics combined to shape this new African policy. The principles of the French Revolution which had emancipated Europe were applied to Africa; liberty, equality and fraternity could turn bad Africans into good Europeans. (ibid., p.4)

This position, according to Mamdani, destroyed the institutional basis of Africans, to force them to become a sort of pseudo-Europeans. Mamdani then reflects on the institutional legacy of colonialism in Africa, which, according to him, remains more or less intact. 'The non-racial legacy of colonialism needs to be brought out into the open so that it may be the focus of public discussion' (ibid). Mandani agrees with Smuts' view that African institutions should not be created from an alien European mould. Rather, Africa should preserve her unity with her own past and build her future progress and civilization on specifically

African foundations (ibid., p.5).

Mamdani's reflection then is about how Europeans ruled Africa and how Africans responded to it, in actually addressing the structure of power and the shape of resistance in contemporary Africa (ibid., p.7).

Besides Mamdani's perspective, there are a considerable number of African scholars within and outside of Africa (for example, Cheikh Anta Diop, 1982; Kabou, 1991; Obenga, 2001; Mbembe, 2005; Oliveira, 2015) who have reflected on the contemporary challenges of this continent, where they refer to development in terms of democracy, cultural identity, social stability, economic growth and independence, to name a few factors. This thesis is also aware of the ongoing debate about the construction of African nations after independence. Some reflections in this regard deserve to be mentioned here, such as Kabou Axelle (1991) who, in her controversial book, *Et si l'Afrique refusait le développement? (And if Africa refused development?),* exposed and criticised openly some of the simplistic excuses of African leaders and intellectuals who hide their ineffectiveness in developing the continent by putting slavery and the colonial period down as the main cause of Africa underdevelopment. The continent is still socially, culturally and economically declining, carrying a huge amount of debt (where China is becoming a main investor in it – and this is my observation) and developing no creative initiatives to radically stop this and start a new course of history. Mbembe Achille's (2005) work*, l'Afrique indocile: cristianisme, pouvoir et état en société postcoloniale, (Irreverent Africa: Christianity, power and the state in postcolonial societies),* highlights new forms of cultural values and religious creativity in Africa, challenging what was socially correct and accepted in terms of cultural and religious values from the West. Another point in this debate has been made by Théophile Obenga (2001) in his *Le sens de la lutte contre l'africanisme eurocentriste (The essence of the fight against eurocentric Africanism).* Obenga defends an historical African perspective that helps African researchers and intellectuals to revisit their cultural heritage. Hence, Obenga denounces the preconceived ideas of Western scholars, mostly from France, who do not believe at all in original African thinkers addressing the real problems of Africa and possible solutions, such as Cheikh Anta Diop (a well-known specialist in African studies and social African matters). The Africanist eurocentrists (i.e., Fauvelle-Aymar, Chreétien and Perrot), argues Obenga, try to intellectually humiliate African natives academics as 'petits hommes'. From this complexity of inferiority and superiority come the wounds of the colonial past.

In this regard, when reflecting on the construction of any nation in Africa, it is a good idea

to first understand the common challenges and aspects of history affecting the entire continent. Although there are many similarities, there are some differences, specifically in the history of each country, which deserve to be looked at. However, reading some of the arguments advanced by some of the scholars quoted above, one develops a fractured idea of the 54 African countries that seems to ignore the differences and particularities of the cultural riches of each country. Evidence of this comes from Obenga (2001, p. 18), when he argues that the 'African nation (singular) was established in the 1960s (sic). This is correct point of view. (…) in the sequence of it, some founding fathers have monopolised the state power for decades (sic)'.

In fact, only a number of West and Central African countries, such as Ghana, DRC and Nigeria, received their independence in that decade (1960s). In the case of the Southern African countries (such as Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Namibia), they had to wait 15 or more years to become independent in the 1970s and 1980s.

I think it would be accurate to say that African countries began to break free from colonialism in the 1960s. Africa is not one nation: it is a great, big continent with a diversity of kingdoms, countries, tribes, communities, languages and imagined nations – and these last forms an ongoing process. And researchers often underestimate this.

The entire African continent was colonised and dominated by the Western powers, who divided it according to their will. Colonialism had a deeply negative impact on the entire African continent, shaking its historical, social, and anthropological foundations, with consequences that are visible even today. However, colonialism alone cannot explain all of Africa's contemporary societies' pain, sorrow, hopes and joy. Trying to blame the continent's setbacks on colonial intervention in Africa alone may be incorrect. The actual reality requires contextualisation, as in Mamdani's reflection above, rather than generalisations in the social study of each of the countries that comprise Africa. When looking at how the Angolan nation has been constructed, I am committed to this perspective.

Kabou (1991:14) argues that Africans have been persuaded to be total strangers to the contemporary history of the world. Kabou underlines that: 'Africa can only be a victim of slavery traffic, of colonisation, of apartheid, of the deterioration of commercial terms and conditions to call responsibility out of Africa' (ibid.). However, the move to independence happened more than five decades ago. Moreover, new forms of neo-colonialism have been facilitated by African post-independence leaders.

For the majority of contemporary African states, their indiscipline, disorganisation, lack of creativity, debt, and corruption are setbacks are within Africa and not outside of it. Therefore, all of the mentioned negative aspects are reinforced by a kind of *monocracy* (the power of a one-party state) which runs normal elections and wins them at all times through strategic processes or electoral fraud. And when they accomplished two term of office they change their country's constitution so as to remain longer in power, as has happened in Congo-Brazzaville, Rwanda and Burundi. I argue that nation building is also reinforced by a good state's government policies. In this perspective, Kabou notes that one of the main reasons for African underdevelopment is the fact that 'no one African country has succeeded, up to now, in elaborating a clear project of society understood by its population *latus sensus* (….) there is a kind of predominant artistic uncertainty' (ibid, p. 15). Kabou, however, seems not to consider many of the positive efforts (in terms of social and national projects) made so far by some African governments and even civil society leaders in some countries. Ghana in West Africa and Botswana in Southern Africa are clear examples of successful nation-building, with democratic processes running normally and with fewer complaints being heard from the populations despite other challenges (AIDS, poverty) that need time and other measures to be sorted out.

2.2 Angolan nation-building: a historical background

There is an ongoing debate among Angolan scholars as to whether Angola should consider itself as a nation or just a country or a state in process. See, for example, Warner and Byrnes in Collelo's edited work (1991), highlighting the genesis of this nation and its challenges throughout history. De Sousa (1998), emphasises the hard fight for freedom that Angolan nationalists endured since the 1960s. Malaquias' (2007) reflects on key elements that explain the structural violence among Angolans in the last four decades of the civil war. Meanwhile, Oliveira (2015) discusses the roots of contemporary Angola social stratification, its economic growth due to its huge natural resources and its quick recovery, national reconstruction and configuration in the international arena after a decade of peace.

To start, I will argue that are both nation and state were in process, as according to Keller's (20014) perspective, given the actual context of this post-war society

Angola has a total physical area of 1,246,700 square kilometres. As Warner (in Collelo, ed., 1991) puts it, this 'makes Angola the seventh largest state in Africa, but it is also one of the

most lightly populated (…) bordered to the north and east by Zaïre [today the Democratic Republic of Congo], to the east by Zambia, and to the south by Namibia' (p. 57). In his edition of *Angola: a country study of the United States federal research division* Warner (1989), details the main aspects of the country (physical, economic, cultural and social) as an outsider. The country has 'fertile land, large deposits of oil and gas, and great mineral wealth' (Warner, 1989: 3).

The Angolan founding fathers found their way to this region a long time before the arrival of the first Portuguese. The region was divided into kingdoms: Kongo, Matamba, Ndongo, Lunda and Soma, to name just a few. And they were well established by then. Warner notes that 'the Bantu settled in Angola between 1300 and 1600, and some may have arrived even earlier (…) they formed a number of historically important kingdoms (…) the most important of these was the kingdom of Kongo formed between 1300s and the mid-1400s in an area overlapping the present-day border between Angola and Zaire' (present-day Democratic Republic of Congo) (ibid., p. 6). Other important kingdoms were Ndongo, Matamba, Kassanje and Lunda.

It is also a fact worth mentioning here that communities in those kingdoms perceived the natural need and *will* of living together although it was not necessarily happening in the Western perspective. The way communities were organised – their customs and their rituals (births, marriages, death and so forth), provide some clues for understanding the sense of belonging and identity of these communities. However, the course of that trajectory was changed, transformed and sometimes even blocked with the intervention of Western colonisers to something else that was, nevertheless, genuinely African. Once again, it is appropriate at this point to emphasise Bhabha's (op cit., 1990, p. 1) perspective, as I mentioned in the first chapter, that a considerable length of time is necessary for a nation to become what its imagined narratives signify. And what is most important is that in the long run, many imagined aspects may disappear, while others may come to light. This is what happened with the intervention of the Portuguese in Angola's history. Good aspects of Angolan culture have disappeared, giving rise to new ones, and these ones are often mixed, transformed, enriched or weakened also by the entrance of Europeans. This is how dynamic nation-building is.

Henceforth, the course of Angola history is totally different from being in contact with European culture if compared to the earlier context where it was created by native kingdoms. The results were no longer the same as imagined. In this regard, some

academics (e.g., Warner, 1991; De Sousa, 1998; Malaquias, 2007) argue in a sense that colonialism intervention in Angola was 'a capital sin', a destroyer of the construction of a nation because it was neither positive nor prospective.

However from colonialism's ashes, a new fire has ignited, a hope for a new departure in the nation building perspective has begun.

For a better understanding of how the Angolan nation is being *imagined* in this post-war society, it is good idea to take a quick but interesting academic tour through some important aspects of Angola's history.

'Although precolonial history of many parts of Africa has been carefully researched and preserved, there is relatively little information on the region that forms contemporary Angola as it was before the arrival of the Europeans in the late 1400s' Warner (in Collelo , 1991, p. 57). Disagreeing with British, French and German scholars who have carried out important and interesting research on their colonial empires, Warner observes that 'the Portuguese were more concerned with recording the past of their own people in Angola than with the history of the indigenous populations' (ibid.).

From the written available information available at this time, it is possible to affirm, as Warner did, that the original inhabitants of present-day Angola were hunters and gatherers (…), named *bushmen* by Europeans. Actually they are still present in Angola, although in small numbers (in the southern Angola provinces of Huila, Namibe and Cunene). This was a result of the expansion of Bantu-speaking people during the first millennium A.D. (ibid, p.5).

Since the beginning of the constitution of today Angolan inhabitants, multicultural, multi-ethnic and even multi-racial elements have been present in Angolan communities (see for this purpose, as the works, for example, of De Sousa, 1998; Jamba, 2006; Malaquias, 2007; Gaivão, 2013; and Oliveira, 2015). This fact is very important for understanding how troubled, conflated the identity of Angolans is when compared to their neighbours of the two Congos, Zambia and even Namibia.

In this regard, it is interesting to read the article, *Angola: identities, cultural translation, transculturation,* by Gaivão Mascarenhas (in Mulemba, Angola Review of Social Science, 2013: 13-35) where he updates some important historical elements of the cultural background of Angola in the context of multiculturalism. Gaivão reminds us that cultural inter-relations occurred among Angolans for centuries, and that it was primarily of a

Central African origin, as well as later coming from Europe and Latin America. Those cultural interchanges – the result of a variety of historical reasons – caused many transformations that Gaivão describes as 'transculturation', with real influences created in renewed relations of power, economy, business and culture across time and place within and outside of Angola.

In fact, 'Angolan's history refers to considerable cultural interferences and junctions across centuries resulting to the actual cultural identity' (Gaivão, op. cit., p.14). The inhabitants of today's Angola are a result, says Gaivão, of vast groups of immigrants from Nigeria and Central Africa. Over the centuries, they have mixed among themselves and with other groups and tribes, resulting in the institutionalisation of kingdoms that last until the total control of their territory was taken by Portuguese colonisers between the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

Accordingly, Jamba (in Vidal and Andrade, eds., 2006: 96) emphasises that multi-culturalism in the history of Angola specifically has a linguistic, racial and religious character. Hence, Jamba asserts that 'such diversity, far from becoming an obstacle to the construction of the Angolan nation and to affirm its identity is a valuable heritage that has to be preserved and dignified'. Professor Jamba underlines the importance of local languages as vehicles in supporting and preserving Angola's cultural values. Angola as a multilingual country – explains Jamba – has four big lingual families: 'languages from Bantu origin; Khoisan languages; Vatuas languages defined as Bantu element, and finally the Portuguese from Latin origin' (sic) imposed by colonisers. Today, Angola has nine principal languages, subdivided into more than 150 dialects. Portuguese remains the *lingua franca* that unites – in terms of communication – all Angolans.

In the perspective of diversity, Jamba recalls the conclusions of the Inter Government Conference about cultural policies in Africa, which took place in Accra, Ghana, in 1975, to argue:

> Cultural diversity in Africa represents a live reality. Far of becoming a discordant element, diversity has to be understood as a balanced and unification element. A productive dialogue between different cultures and active participation of diverse communities in cultural life of a nation has facilitated the national integration and unity (2006, p. 94).

On the face of it, Jamba asserts that 'Angolan cultural identity is the single specificity of the

genius creator of Angolan people in all its activity expressions sustaining and firming in the coexistence and interchange between diverse and specific cultures that enhance the entire community' (ibid.).

Organised into kingdoms, Angolan communities would be well on their way of imaging a nation if their strong and innate community *will* of living together and considering community interests above any individual interests had been well perceived before contact with Europeans. Some Portuguese scholars recognised the quality of organisation in terms of the social and cultural daily life of the inhabitants of Congo's kingdom in the 1480s. The primary objective of the first Portuguese settlers in Angola was the establishment of a slave trade, as Warner (1991) explains it, although some explorers recognized the economic and strategic advantages of establishing, as a first step, good relations with the kingdom's leaders within Angola. A question often asked among African scholars is whether Europeans discovered the African continent or did they find it? Although some may admit linguistic similarities between *discovery* and *finding* in the context of academia, any explanation using the term discovery for Europeans' first contact with Africa or even Latin America leads to a kind of overstatement. I prefer '*finding*' rather than '*discovery*'. African communities and kingdoms were never hidden: they existed and would continue to exist with or without contact with European explorers. The Angolan kingdoms were well known among their neighbours in Africa. A good trade and exchange of products took place before contact with the Portuguese. The Western exploration of the Atlantic Ocean from the 1480s was a good opportunity for Europe first and for the rest of the world later to learn about other cultures, races and peoples, with many positive aspects (exchange and expansion of gastronomy between continents, improvements in medicine, development of geographic knowledge) emerging.

One must avoid the selective thinking according to which human existence and relations in Africa and elsewhere outside Europe only became a reality once they were visible and validated from a Western perspective (see, for example, *The Lusiads* of Camões (1572), which relates the Portuguese voyages of discovery of the 15th and 16th centuries). This is the worldview according to which entire empires and kingdoms (the Maias, the Astekas in Latin America or the Chinese ancient civilizations) apparently did not 'exist' before the Western 'discoveries' and only became interesting after Western contact, even though always less or behind Western history. It is always a good idea to use a social scientific eye contextualizing some of the contacts between cultures.

The kingdom of the Congo was the first African coastal Atlantic community that had contact with a European explorer, Diogo Cão in 1483. The first contacts were considered fruitful for both sides. As Warner (op. cit., p. 7) notes, the king of Congo sent emissaries to Portugal and the Portuguese king did the same. Each side was impressed with the other's culture. *Manicongo*, the king, embraced Christianity and was baptised and took a Christian name (Afonso I).

With the 'discovery' of Brazil, the kingdom of Congo was used by the Portuguese to take slaves from and send them to the sugar cane plantations in Brazil and to serve in Portugal. All entreaties by Congo's kings to the king of Portugal to stop the slave trade were met with mockery and silence. As a result, the famous great black kingdom on the coast of the Atlantic of Africa entered into decline, marked by insurrections, vandalism and exacerbation of the slavery traffic by all means by the Portuguese colonisers.

Meanwhile, in 1575, another Portuguese explorer Paulo Dias de Novais, arrived in Loanda (present-day Luanda, the capital of Angola) looking for gold and silver. Entering through the country by Cuanza's river, he could not find them. He faced strong resistance from a native army of Ndongo's kingdom. However, his defence force could not resist for long considering the advanced technical military power of the invaders. The Ndongo kings tried a diplomatic dialogue with the Portuguese king but the result was the same as that observed in Congo: intensification of the slavery trade emptying the kingdom in general and communities in particular. Many slaves died in the Atlantic on their way to Brazil. Sources such as Gaivão (op. cit., p. 17) assert that between 1502 and 1860, 9.5 million Africans were exported as slaves. The main destinations were: 'South of America, mostly to Brazil, but also in Centre America, Caribe and to the South of English colonies of North of America, despite other slaves who were sent to serve in colonisers' countries' (ibid.). And so more than three generations of Angolans disappeared.

Nevertheless, it is important to mention the indigenous resistance to the slave trade, land expropriation, taxation and forced labour perpetrated by the Portuguese, who did not stop. This is the reason why although Portugal had a long-time presence in the region, 'Portugal's effective administrative control over the entire colony was only achieved after World War II' (Malaquias, 2007: 29).

Along with the intentions of the colonisers (to become wealthy by taking slaves), the making of a nation in Angola was clearly threatened also by most of the Portuguese who settled in Angola in the nineteenth century being exiled criminals, called *degredados* (exiled

convicts. This refers to convicted criminals sent from Portugal to Angola from the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century). To make matter worse, the second group of Portuguese who settled in Angola in the early twentieth century (immediate before and after the First World War) 'were peasants who had fled the poverty of their homeland and who tended to establish themselves in Angolan towns in search of a means of livelihood other than agriculture' (Warner, op. cit., p. 5). I wonder these 'racially superior' immigrants with such desires could contribute to the making of an Angolan nation? Therefore the mixing of these groups with the native population produced a new group of Angolans, the *mestiços*. This calls to mind the scenario that Anderson (2006) researched, about the invasions that happened in Europe (Italy, France, Britain and German) that produced a mix of races and cultures. Conversely, in Angola instead of this being a strength, it became a threat to the making of a nation because these groups were privileged in availing of opportunities of all kinds compared to the majority indigenous natives. And the seeds of those privileges are still present in present-day Angola. Already in that time, 'the Portuguese regarded Africans as inferior and gave them few opportunities to develop either in terms of their own cultures as in response to the market' (Warner, p. 5). In the face of it, given the state of mind of the new arrivals – in making business by all means – there was no environment to perceive or even gain a consciousness to for a joint narrative.

Accordingly, 'the length and nature of the Portuguese colonial presence in Angola left a legacy which has constrained Angola's development (…) the Portuguese colonial system was based on the exploitation of Angola's human and natural resources' (Malaquias, 2007: 34). In the first period of colonialism, the Portuguese were fixed on three resources: the slave trade, coffee and oil. And as Malaquias points it, the slave trade lasted until 1870 (ibid.). The steps taken after the end of the slave trade was the consolidation of the territorial occupation because of the boom in the coffee trade in the international market. Poverty and the under-developed conditions in Portugal facilitated the arrival of more Portuguese families to take productive agricultural land from the natives. Malaquias (op. cit., p.35) notes that:

> The resulting coffee boom in turn led to further settler migration to Angola (…) favourable prospects for external trade, combined with new colonial policies for industrial regulation, agricultural incentives, labour laws, and monetary policy, led to a dramatic increase in the settler population after World War II, from 44,000 Portuguese in 1940 to 325,000 by 1974.

Sousa (1998: 119) also emphasises, in line with Malaquias, that the strategic plan of the Portuguese regime was extending Portuguese territory via overseas colonies. Sousa affirms that, before the military coup of 1974 in Portugal, Angola was flourishing in several respects (agriculture, coffee, mines and oil). However, the best opportunities were reserved for Portuguese settlers, and this was encouraged and protected by law. As evidence of this, Sousa presents some articles of the Portuguese government: the *Colonial Act* (Decree- Law N° 22465 of 11, April, 1933) and the *Statutes of Indigenous* in the context of what the Portuguese regime named the *New State*. In this respect, it is a good idea to highlight here one of those articles:

> Art.2nd It is from the organic essence of Portuguese nation to implement the
> historical task of possessing and colonising overseas territories, exercising also
> a moral influence as its right recognised by the Eastern Padroado. (ibid).

On the face of it, one can understand how convinced the Portuguese regime was in implementing, by force, its strategy of submitting the indigenous population to their will, giving them no voice, no claim and no rights. There were no other solutions for Angolans than a revolt for national liberation. Oppression, adversity and suffering always unite the members of a given community to combine their histories. The colonial past in Angola had resulted in a lot of bitterness for its inhabitants. As a result, it has opened the way to nationalism and independence.

2.2.1. The Angolan civil war

Angola was a ravaged country, where few outsiders dared to venture during its civil war (Oliveira, 2015: 1). In fact, this former Portuguese colony was disconnected from the wider world during three decades of civil war up to the death of the rebel leader of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, on February 22, 2002. Before this date, the country was like an active volcano scattering fire in all directions, with no hope of life either for animals or human beings. Living this scenario one can compare it to *Jurassic Park* (1993) or the *End of Days* (1999).

In this regard, Oliveira (2015) explains that the three decades of civil war killed up to one million people, and it was tightly linked with international dynamics, such as the struggle against colonialism, apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, the Cold War and commercial interests in exploiting oil and diamonds, which introduced many external actors: Western

oil men, Cuban soldiers, Israeli gem dealers and mercenaries from the world over. This scenario never occurred in any southern African neighbour countries (such as Zaire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo Brazzaville, Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique or Namibia) that faced decolonisation process or even a civil war.

This aspect makes Angola a particular socio-cultural case study, where scholars who are interested in it evaluate the kind of nation building that may emerge from it given so many interferences it faces from outside of Africa. Misunderstanding it may lead to a preconceived idea that the Angolan nation building process is the same as other African countries with similar 'social diseases' or challenges.

Angolans have lived in contact with people of different races, tribes and nationalities during five centuries of slavery and colonisation and three decades of civil war. This fact has deeply affected but also transformed their sense of identity and belonging positively and negatively. I will expand on this later in this chapter. In this regard, however, Malaquias (2007: 45-71) reflects how the real essence of the violence and fractured Angola nationalism. For him, besides internal disagreement among nationalists, 'greater direct external participation in the conflict, a function of the prevailing bipolarity and superpower rivalry also helps explain the nature of post-colonial violence in Angola' (2007: 71). As a social and anthropological result, one can observe in today's Angolan society, descendants of Cubans, Zaireans, Russians, Portuguese, South Africans and Namibians. Apart from its conflictual nature, this mix of races and cultures could be criticised by supporters of mono-ethnicity in the context of nation building. I shall argue in favour of inclusion of all because if they perceive themselves as being part of Angolan history for good or bad reasons, they are part of the narrative of imaging a nation that can start to be constructed given the new actual context of a social peace.

The mix of races and tribes in the new context of Angola is also an important key aspect to better understanding the stratification of Angolan society, with the emphasis on the so-called *Mestiços* (as in Malaquias, 2007, and in Oliveira, 2015). The majority of them are economically and socially more privileged than other citizens. The term *Mestiço* derives from the Angolan-born citizens as result of 'marriage' (I say marriage because it often was just abuse and rape; it was also often a result of mere conviviality between patrons and slaves, and between soldiers with refugee women) between one black man or woman with one white man or woman. *Mestiços* are the descendants of parents of different races. The 500 years of slavery and colonisation as well as three decades of civil war in Angola have

produced new sons and daughters of different colour and scattered among various ethnic communities that Angola is composed of. Differences of race are irrelevant – as noted in the first chapter – to the making of nations but important to the understanding of a post-colonial and post-civil war society like Angola's.

In view of this, Malaquias (2007: 30) asserts: 'assimilation separated Angolans from their pre-colonial identities, values, and languages while teasing them with socio-economic and cultural conditions they could never fully reach'. In this respect, the Latin slogan, *divide et impera (*divide and rule) was well exploited here. However, this strategy brought another source of conflict in post-war Angola.

It is important to note the main reasons that pushed the country into civil war were, firstly, that the leaders of the three nationalist movements (Holden Roberto from FNLA, Agostinho Neto from MPLA and Joans Savimbi from UNITA) who fought for independence wanted to claim the presidency of the new nation, with each one arguing according to his interests. Secondly, the withdrawal and defeated colonial regime strategically supported one of the contenders (MPLA) in a way to let it back later in terms of cooperation in the near future (forty years, later one can observe it in present-day Angola when analysing economic relations with Portugal). Thirdly there were fundamental disagreements in terms of ideology. While the MPLA was using the Marxist paradigm to rule the new country, UNITA was in favour of outright capitalism. Meanwhile, the FNLA was militarily defeated soon afterwards. Last but not least, reason, Angola – a very rich country in mineral resources –attained its independence in the context of the Cold War. And in view of that, the international powers (US, USSR) were interested in extending their supremacy across the world and of course in supporting militarily the Angolan armies in exchange for the country's resources and ideological submission. The neighbouring context of Apartheid in South Africa, with the African National Congress (ANC) and Namibian (SWAPO) nationalists' military headquarters accommodated in Angola, were ingredients for the cooking of an unpleasant soup, with terrible results for the Angolan stomach, (See, for example, Warner in Collelo, ed., 1989, pp. 16-46; Sousa, 1998; Vidal and Andrade, eds., 2006, pp. 289-301; Malaquias, 2007; Anand et al. eds, 2012, pp. 175-202; and Oliveira, 2015, pp. 1-50).

In terms of society, despite civil war, Warner (op. cit.) argues that in 1988, Angola had an estimated population of 8.2 million (in 2014, the official figure was 25 million), the majority living in urban areas, in my view for security reasons up to 2002. Warner argues that

'scholars often divided the population into a number of ethnolinguistic categories, but in many cases these categories had been divided by others, both Portuguese and Africans' (ibid., p. 55). In fact, the physical boundaries that divided the country in provinces were stablished by the Portuguese following the setting of those cultural categories that were registered in the first census of the population conducted by the colonisers in 1970.

The three largest group categories, the Ovimbundu, the Kimbundu and the Bacongo, together constituted three quarters of Angola's population. And it is from these three groups that the three nationalist parties emerged (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the Nacional Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) with their three nationalist armies that fought against the Portuguese for independence first and later against themselves to gain political power. Therefore, knowledge of the three parties is mandatory for any scholar who intends to study Angola from a social, economic or cultural perspective. No one can discuss the construction of the Angolan nation without mentioning these three main ethnolinguistic groups and the three political parties. Here, I present some key elements of the three aforementioned nationalist movements:

The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), one must mention the rise of African nationalism immediately after World War II in the 1940s and 1950s. Warner (op. cit., p. 27) explains that the FNLA was founded in 1954 as the Union of Peoples of Northern Angola and that its first objective was to advance the interests of the Bakongo ethnic group rather than to promote the independence of Angola. It even petitioned the United Nations for restoration of the former Kongo Kingdom. Holden Roberto, the founding father and leader of the movement, at that time based in the Belgian Congo (present-day Democratic Republic of Congo) due to important ties and alliances with the Bakongo in that country, changed the name of the organisation to the Union of Angolan People (UPA), stressing now the interest in gaining the independence of all of Angola, leaving aside the former sectarian objective. Later on, in the 1960s, it changed its name again to FNLA, with confused political objectives.

Actually the FNLA continues to be a confused political party in Angola's political environment, having longstanding, unsolved internal problems among its members.

The National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), created in 1966 in East Angola (Moxico's province), has become a mandatory military party to the continuation and end of quite three decades of civil war. It was known abroad as a democratic party that

was fighting for democracy and Angolans' freedom. However such a *flatus vocis* was soon demystified after it engaged in criminal actions against its own people in general and particularly the ethnic group associated with it. UNITA as a nationalist movement underwent a long period of political and military self-mutilation. In some periods of its history it has made alliances with the former Portuguese colonisers; in other periods, with the apartheid regime of South Africa, and yet in others, with mercenaries. All of these connections were made contrary to the wishes of its people and its nation. These historic mistakes were made under, what Malaquias terms, Savimbi's erratic leadership. Nation building under UNITA leadership could result in a mix of dictatorship and mono-ethnicism. Reflecting about UNITA's insurgency mutilations and self-mutilations, Malaquias (op. cit.) asserts:

> If UNITA's standard justification for its long insurgency – often inarticulately presented as struggle against the governing elite's monopoly on power and wealth – rang increasingly hollow due to the rebels' own transformation into a criminal enterprise, the resumption of the war cemented the general view that Savimbi's group was the worse of the two evils. (p. 91)

UNITA's historic and strategic mistakes have greatly contributed to the MPLA's (ruling party) victory on the battlefield and also in the political field. Returning – for the third time – to guerrilla warfare after Savimbi's death was a very dangerous solution because rural supporters were exhausted with it, and the only solution available in that context was to settle for a definitive peace agreement with the victorious party, the MPLA. It is important to mention that conversely to what happened to the MPLA – as I will detail later – UNITA was more a tribal, ethnic political party, at least in terms of leadership and communicative language. Umbundu (the language of the leaders) was adopted as the main language for all guerrillas. Even in present-day Angola, the UNITA leadership, with very few exceptions, is still dominated by this tendency. Desertions among UNITA key commanders and supporters from other ethnic groups (for example, the Cabindas' natives Zaw Puna UNITA's vice president, and Tony da Costa Fernandes) revealed signs of tribalism within the UNITA of Jonas Savimbi.

In this respect, I argue that UNITA's defeat at the end of civil-war also was a step back in the post-colonial nation building because everybody has to dance to the winner's (the MPLA) tune, even present-day Angola. Let us now take a quick look at the MPLA as a politico-nationalist movement.

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola – Workers' Party (MPLA-PT) was created in 1956 by Mário Andrade, Viriato da Cruz and Agostinho Neto (the latter of whom became the first president of the party and, later, the first president of Angola). From the 1960s, the MPLA stablished its military and political headquarters in Kinshasa (Zaire, present-day Democratic Republic of Congo) in Lusaka (Zambia) and in Brazzaville (Republic of Congo). This scattering of military bases strategy to fight colonial rule contributed to disunity and disorganisation within the party. Moreover, ideological and personal differences among the party leadership did not help much to focus on the main objective, which, according to the MPLA, was the liberation of the country and the construction of a new nation in the post-colonial period.

This Angola political and nationalist party, however, was formed by people from diverse number of Angolan ethnic groups (the Kimbundu, the Umbundu and Bacongo, just to name the bigger representatives), races (blacks, mestiços and whites) and languages, which can be regarded as a very good departure for *imagining a community* or a nation after a long period of strife and mourning. Agostinho Neto's two famous slogans, 'the MPLA is the people and the people are the MPLA', and 'the most important thing is to resolve the problems of the people' were very welcome for millions of Angolans, and thousands of them joined in the project in the hope that this party would be able to bring back their dreams of peace, freedom and development. The composition of its leadership – medical doctors, lawyers, academics, philosophers, ex-Catholic seminarians, musicians, artists, pastors and so forth – was seen as another positive aspect that could unify the aspirations of all Angolans.

For this purpose, reflecting on the other face of tribalism in Africa, Mamdani (1996: 183) states that 'there was a real internal difference between civil power over citizens and customary power over free peasants'. That difference, he argues, turned more on the political than on the economic sphere. Mamdani then considers the other face of tribalism with this finding:

> in the African continent, where the key institutional legacy of the colonial period is the bifurcated state, a successful democratic reform needs to straddle both spheres. A successful political reform of the bifurcated state needs to be simultaneously rural and urban, local and central (ibid, p.217).

This thesis does not ignore the fact that to discuss the construction of the Angolan nation, it is necessary to know and study these three main ethnolinguistic tribes and their three

above-mentioned political parties. However, my focus is on how broadcasting enters into it and what role has it played, and plays or may play, as a facilitator or an actor in the construction of the Angolan nation. This will be at the centre of my reflection in the next six chapters. Before I come to that reflection, it is important to look first at the media contextual background in post-conflict societies in Africa and in Angola, as I do in the next section.

Section II

2.3. PSB in post-conflict societies in Africa

The media in general and public service broadcasting in particular were not subjects of research and had not attracted much interest in Africa until the end of the decolonisation of the continent. Reasons behind the considerable delay in the development of the media in Africa included colonialism, civil wars, poverty, state monopolies, illiteracy, and absence of technology, among others. The internal conflicts and civil wars that occurred after decolonisation in many countries also did not facilitate such development. Before and during the colonial periods, traditional word of mouth was the usual means of communication within many communities in Africa, but broadcast media, especially radio, acquired importance and impact for good or bad reasons from the last two decades of the 20th century and this continues to date (see Kellow and Steeves 1998; Boateng 2003; Nyamnjoh 2005; Bosch 2011).

In modern Africa, the media, especially broadcast media, remain a vitally important public service. Radio stations are very popular, including in rural areas, while television provides another means of news and information. Meanwhile, the internet continues to develop, even if asymmetrically, in many African countries.

Okigbo (2006: 274) highlights that ethnicity, local versus foreign content, human resources and technology are the main problems facing African PSB. However, 'when Public Service Broadcasting is linked to the idea of citizenship it must logically be decoupled from the authoritarian power of the state' (Raboy, 2006:7).

Although public service broadcasting has a huge influence on African societies, the majority of the public does not benefit as it otherwise might. Okigbo notes: 'broadcasting has usually attracted the attention of African national governments, many of which are

unwilling to relinquish stations they inherited from pre-independence regimes' (ibid., p. 271).

Nevertheless, from the beginning of the 2000s to date many African countries have been experiencing a greater interaction between broadcasters and audiences through live telephone calls and debates. This has improved the mediating function of radio stations between political power and citizens. Even though such mediation is not yet visible in terms of results, citizens in many African countries have found in it a direct and privileged way to make their voices heard, and politicians seem to pay attention to it. That does not necessarily mean that politicians answer to communities' appeals, but at least through this means they are aware of what is going on in their countries.

Reflecting on the impact of talk radio in Southern Africa vis-à-vis democracy, Bosch argues that:

> 'talk radio is particularly important in African democracies, which often struggle to escape the legacy of repressive regimes in which censorship, state victimization or imprisonment is most often the direct result of individuals publicly critiquing the state' (Bosch, 2011 in Wasserman, ed., p.75).

In fact, this thesis reflects that talk radio outputs should not be a distinguishing feature of commercial radio stations alone, as in Bosch's reflection quoted above, but also a paradigm of all democratic radio stations, especially in post-conflict Africa. Addressing African communities' challenges, sorrows, worries and hopes is expected to be the trademark of African broadcasting media in the 21st century. The argument here is not to attract economic income to radio stations first, but above all to respond to the needs of listeners who struggle to have a voice in this voiceless context where they actually live. Therefore this 21st century, already known as the century of communications, is facilitating a kind of convergence of platforms in such a way that it will become more difficult to separate, in terms of outputs, what is radically commercial radio, and what is purely public service broadcasting.

Moreover, Bosch comments that 'in South Africa, and other African societies, open debate is often discouraged for a number of political and cultural reasons' (ibid). This observation makes sense if one considers that the truth is unwelcome news among many non-democratic regimes in Africa. Debates on radio stations are broadcast live with direct interaction between broadcasters and citizens, which is difficult to cut off or edit.

Broadcasters never know in advance what a caller from outside the station will say about the topics under discussion. This often results in sensitive revelations, critiques or observations that may embarrass politicians. And it may turn into 'rattling a snake and being exposed to be bitten', to paraphrase Ogola. This comment from the Kenyan Internal Security Minister was defiantly voiced in 2006, within the context of popular culture, politics and the Kenyan news media (Ogola, 2011, in Wasserman, ed., p.123).

The heir to the word-of-mouth culture on any radio station in Africa (whether private, religious, commercial or public service) should be talk radio. Bosch argues that 'talk radio in Africa has the potential to make positive contributions towards democracy, channelling public opinion and offering a space for political discussion and debate' (Bosch, 2011 in Wasserman, ed., p.75). However such a contribution may only be positive if, and only if, the people's voice is allowed to be broadcast free of censorship and menace.

Marie-Soleil Frère (2011), one of the well-known researchers on the media in post-conflict African French-speaking countries, has found that Africa media's fragilities and challenges become more evident in periods of democratic elections. Reflecting about the complexity between democratic elections and media in some post-conflict African countries, Frère observes that elections in many countries are still the major test of the media in terms of performance, freedom, impartiality and fairness.

Elections had become ubiquitous in almost all African countries since the last two decades of the 20th century. However, complaints had sprung up about freedom, justice and pluralism and the impact or interference of the media in the process. Frère makes a point when she observes:

> 'Political pluralism and media diversity are intricately connected the world over. And, in the history of any state, elections are key moments when that connection becomes very visible. They offer a unique opportunity to observe not only how political parties, candidates and leaders behave, and how the public good is managed by those in charge, but also how the public and private media position themselves' (Frère, 2011: 1).

There are certain guidelines, such as informing citizens fully, honestly and rigorously, by which the public and private media should be governed in order to ensure a free and fair political competition. In her analysis of the African context, Frère observes that those guidelines are very well known by African journalists. However, Nyamnjoh (in Wasserman,

ed., 2011: 28) argues:

> 'The tensions and pressures are even greater in situations where states and governments purport to pursue liberal democracy in principle, while in reality they continue to be high-handed and repressive to their populations. When this employing double-standards as well, by claiming one thing and doing the opposite, especially if their very survival depends on it'.

Also, peculiarities of the post-conflict electoral processes, as was the case in six central African countries (Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, Republic of Congo and Central African Republic) and which Frère discusses, did not facilitate compliance with those guidelines.

Those peculiarities are connected to the fact that the majority of countries in Africa have only experienced pluralist elections in the last two decades. Before that, the trend was to implement elections but within a single-party regime. As a result, neither pluralist nor single-party elections necessarily brought real changes. The few changes that happened occurred in conflictual contexts, such as for example: coup, death or resignation of a head of state, war and the like.

Also in terms of media, it is worth underlining that political parties and new private media in African countries were born concomitantly or even 'hand in hand' as Frère (2011: 8) puts it. Thus, private media (and here the accent is on radio stations) were often accused of being 'more interested in promoting or criticizing the authorities than in providing citizens with confirmed, verified and credible information' (ibid.). To Frère, an election period should 'reveal journalists' professionalism at a time when much is expected of the media – at a time when they also face intense political pressure, which can make their work particularly hard' (p.2). This challenge is still present in today's Africa despite debates and conferences about this subject.

Since the 1990s, broadcasting media have been highly engaged in the democratic process in many countries of Africa. However, very often they have been influenced by hybrid democratic regimes with inclinations to be authoritarian and neo-patrimonial. In such a context:

> 'the holding of elections became, in many cases, mandatory in order to maintain a good image on the international scene, even as the regimes

employed other strategies to prevent any real opportunity to bring about a political change' (Frère, 2011: 9).

As in the Kenyan context reflected by Ogola (2011, op.cit.) from the print perspective, in broadcasting these strategies also happened in pavement radio (*radio trottoir*). This 'refers to informal communication networks on the continent where the distinction between listeners and broadcasters becomes somewhat blurred, and story selection is dependent on the popularity of stories' (Bosch, p.76).

In considering Angolan PSB, this thesis needs to bear in mind its contextual background. This will be reflected in the following section.

2.3.1 The media in Angola: a contextual approach

During colonial times, Angola had almost nothing in terms of print media, except some overseas newspapers printed in Portugal and sent to the area to serve Portuguese interests.

Diamantino Monteiro,[2] a media practitioner in the Portuguese overseas territory that Angola was, recounts the long journey Angola broadcasting travelled during the colonial period of 1937 to 1975. According to this broadcaster, the history of Angola broadcasting is often mixed with the history of the ex-colonies of the last four decades of Portuguese administration. 'Broadcasting was with no doubt one of the engines of Angolan development in the last 40 years before independence, when this territory had surpassed all growth figures'.

Monteiro argues that there were figures in that period who developed broadcasting to where it has become what is today considered an excellent medium in Angola. Given its vast territory and the dispersed attempts at broadcasting, it was difficult to discover documents or significant data that demonstrate the important steps carried out to create good radio stations that covered the vast territory of Angola up to the 1970s.

At the moment, as far as Monteiro notes,[3] there is only a manuscript from 1970 written by the electro-technician engineer, Celestino de Anciães Felício, from the national broadcasting staff who were at that time responsible for the application of the Angolan

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[2] Diamantino Pereira Monteiro: *A* **história da radiodifusão em Angola. In** http://angolaradio.webs.com/. Accessed by the author on 31/7/2017.

[3] Monteiro's recent book: *Rádiodifusão em Angola, tal como a vivi, [Angolan Braodcasting, as I have experienced it]* was published in 2018.

Broadcasting Plan (PRA in Portuguese).

Monteiro's reflection covers the last 40 years before independence. During that period, he says Angolan broadcasting saw considerable development. This facilitated the mobility of broadcasters, many of whom worked in a number of Angolan cities. However, it is important to note from the beginning that Montero's narrative is confined to radio stations alone.

Broadcasting in Angola was initiated by Álvaro Antunes de Carvalho, an amateur, also known as CR6AA, after it was authorised by the colonial authorities on 28 February 1931. This radio amateur is considered the founding father of Angolan broadcasting. Álvaro's radio station was installed in Benguela province and later in the Lobito municipality of Benguela, but it had limited range. Monteiro notes that this radio station was active even in 1957, but we do not know when it stopped broadcasting.

It was also in Benguela where the project of creating an Angola radio station for the entire territory was flagged in 1935. However, the project was unsuccessful. Six years later, Angolan broadcasting took a new turn with the creation of the radio stations' associations, named as Club Radios.

A committee headed by the colonial commander, Manuel de Albuquerque e Castro, met on September 8, 1936, to establish the foundation of the first club radio. During this period, inhabitants of Luanda could regularly listen to the radio programmes of CT1-AA coming from the recently created official Portuguese radio station in Lisbon. This station was later named Portuguese National Broadcasting.

In Angola, the club radio project developed considerably from the 1940s to the 1970s, adopting the names of Angolan cities (the radio club of Lobito, Moçamedes, Uije, Huambo, etc.) or using the names of Angolan regions such as Radio Club of the South of Angola, or even adopting religious names, such as Radio Ecclesia. According to Monteiro, even though these radio stations operated in a colonial environment, there was good quality in terms of programmes and content addressing listeners' expectations. It was more entertainment than politics.

In terms of human resources, Monteiro appointed Mesquita Lemos as the head of Angola broadcast journalism: Lemos was one of the pioneers of Angolan broadcasting , who, after independence, entered Angola National Radio (RNA in Portuguese) as a journalist but also as a teacher of journalism in Angolan school radio and Angola Public Television (TPA in

Portuguese). Lemos started his long career in the club radio of the South of Angola. He remembers, in an interview in the *Africa Hoje* review, that his first day in radio as a broadcaster was when the Portuguese Captain Raimundo Serrão, at that time General Director of Lobito Port and President of the club radio of the South of Angola, had asked him to produce a special announcement to be repeated throughout the day at each break that 'the war was ended'. From that day, a new broadcaster was born, he said.

In fact, even in today's Angola, Lemos is still remembered as one of the most important broadcasters of Angolan journalism. It is also appropriate to note here that most of the pioneers and precursors of Angolan broadcasting (and Monteiro is included) were Portuguese or Angolans of Portuguese descent. Many of them had accompanied their families back to Portugal after independence and found jobs in Portuguese media.

Academics such as Carvalho (2002), on the other hand, also confirm that broadcasting (especially radio stations) started in the 1930s with the CR6-AA station as an entertainment outlet. Developments in print and broadcasting only occurred at the end of the colonial era.

Therefore, people did not benefit much from it given that the war for independence started in 1961. Nevertheless, the 1960s also saw Angolans develop the habit of listening to foreign radio stations to get informed about the country and the world. This culture of radio listening is still active in present-day Angola. The Portuguese police in colonial-era Angola, however, persecuted natives who were found with short wave radio receivers, accusing them of being terrorist supporters or *independentists*.

From 1975 to 2002 (the period of the civil war), the MPLA and UNITA set out their propagandist broadcast and print media to justify and reinforce their belligerence. The effects of such propaganda are still present in post-war Angola public service broadcasting, even though the law underlines and politicians' talk about democracy.

The country has actually one national radio station with more than 20 channels covering the national. It has one TV station divided into two channels, with same coverage as that of radio. These media are still government monopolies, even though 'the Constitution expressly provides for press freedom, emphasizing that this cannot be subject to any censorship of a political ideological or artistic nature' (Panos Institute, 2006, p. 17). On the other hand, the country has – until 2015 - four commercial private radio stations as well as three religious radio stations, and one private TV channel in the capital, Luanda.

In this respect, the context is not different from that experienced by the majority of contemporary African countries.

Following the background outlined here, this thesis now focuses on the main objective, which is to find responses from the Angolan public about the contribution of Public Service Broadcasting to the construction of national belonging and national identity in the context of post-war Angola. In the next chapter, I present some details on the methodological aspects of this thesis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter is aimed at understanding the extent to which there are different kinds and levels of social interaction and interrelationships between Angolan Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) and its audiences nationwide.

The thesis' analysis deals basically with matters of social description and an explanation of the variance in the logic of social research that is a way of establishing casual relationships (PSB and the imaging of Angola as nation by its audiences) and evaluates how this relates to social scientific analysis (see Rose and Sullivan, 1996: 5). Data analysis is the means by which we test our theories about the social world and attempt to specify the nature of the relationship between the observations our theories allow us to make (pp. 6-7). In other words, it is a matter concerned 'with explaining variance, with explaining why there is variability in some particular characteristic in a population or sample which is of theoretical importance to social researchers' (p. 7). It is about the effects of PSB on Angolan social life as received and perceived by audiences through to the whole of society. 'Social research, therefore, is about social behaviour, rather than individual behaviour, and it seeks social explanations of behaviour' (Mann, 1968: 2).

The research was conducted so as to discover the role of Angolan PSB as a contributor to the construction of the Angolan nation in a post-war context. Therefore, as per Pole and Lampard (2002: 5), 'providing answers to the questions will help to establish a clear reason for the research and also begin the process of identifying a focus for it'. However, such answers must be based on clear criteria. In the case of this thesis, the focus is on the Angolan Public Service Broadcasting audiences' perceptions of *News at 8pm* (on radio and TV) and *Domingo a Muangolé,* an Angolan public television talk show.

After reflecting on the contextual history of Angola and its broadcasting background (Chapter 2), this chapter's purpose is to explain how the methodologies can be used in such a way that the objectives of this thesis can be understood.

3.1. Research objectives

The main objective of this fieldwork was to find responses to the two initial questions:

1. What does the Angolan public think of the contribution of Public Service Broadcasting to the construction of national belonging and national identity in the context of post-war Angola?

2. Does Angolan public service broadcasting address the needs of its public or some notion of public interest, and how can this be seen in the case study programmes in particular?

    a. Do flagship public broadcasters, national television, national radio and, especially, *News at 8pm*, address national needs and respond to the expectations of audiences and their understanding of Angolan society?

    b. What is the agenda of national identity and belonging presented by the television programme *Domingo a Muangolé*, and how do audiences receive and perceive its output?

A detailed questionnaire[4] was used to better facilitate discussions among participants and the outcomes led to a wider understanding of the differences and similarities of opinions between groups from different backgrounds. This was possible to do because of the criteria established beforehand to ensure having participants ready to address the above-mentioned questions.

3.2. Choice of case studies

It is important to explain the reasons why I decided to study and carry on research on *News at 8pm* in the Angola public service radio (RNA) and on the Angolan public service television (TPA), on one hand, and, on the other hand, why I decided to study and research the public television talk show programme, *Domingo a Muangolé,* in the context of Angola nation building in this post-war society. This may bring to light important but opaque aspects of Angola national identity. And this is what I attempt to explain next.

3.2.1 *Telejornal* and *Jornal das 20h*

The *News at 8pm* bulletins, known as *Telejornal* on Angolan television and *Jornal das 20h* on the Angolan public radio station, were selected as case studies because they represent a

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[4] The detailed questions used for the group discussions are contained in the appendix of this thesis.

privileged space in which adult Angolans can be informed about the country and the world. The fact that many adults spend all day away from their homes working on farms (in rural areas) or in paid employment (in urban areas), as well as the heavy traffic encountered by early evening commuters, especially in the capital, Luanda, all help make *News at 8pm* the best space within which Angolans can be informed. Not unnaturally, it also constitutes the space chosen by the government in officially informing the country about important issues.

Men and women aged between 18 and 25 and living in urban areas other than Luanda watch *News at 8pm* only two to three times on average a week and seldom follow the radio news. Some of the reasons for this that came out of the discussions were that public service broadcasting is too repetitive (see the detailed arguments in Chapters 6 and 7).

3.2.2 *Domingo a Muangolé* TV show

Domingo a Muangolé (meaning *Sunday Angolan Style*) is a televised Angolan talk show. It was chosen here as a case study because it was set up by PSB managers to present the Angolan national identity. It provides a mix of entertainment and information for young and adult people, containing discussions, dance, food making, traditional rites and reportage. Many Angolans watch the programme, either to learn or for leisure purposes: it is broadcast on Sundays at 6pm.

I decided to record samples of this programme over the same period of time as I recorded *News at 8pm* on PSB (see details in the Qualitative Content Analysis and the focus group methodologies below). This programme output is relatively different from the *News at 8pm*. While PSB News addresses real stories (current affairs) happening daily in a given community, TV and radio programmes are built on themes that might be current and interesting to audiences. The latter may play a double role of informing and educating audiences. Besides, they may also be building up to attract the attention of audiences to a particular issue happening in a given society. The *Domingo a Muangolé* samples were recorded in the same period as the *News at 8pm* samples to give an idea of whether this TV programme, designed to address themes of national identity and belonging for citizens in the country and abroad, was accomplishing that role in the year of the 40th anniversary of independence. The purpose here was to gain a wider understanding of the outcomes of the group discussions on this talk show programme (see details about recorded samples criteria in QCA methodology below) from the interpretation of the recorded samples. It is also

important to note that participants were asked to have their say about this public television talk show (see the outcomes in Chapter 8).

3.3 Methods

The thesis has adopted a qualitative research triangulation method: using interviews (with journalists to gain a perspective on the elitist idea of Angolan nation-building in Angolan PSB, see Chapter 4); basic qualitative content analysis (to better interpret recorded PSB samples, see Chapters 5 and 8); and focus groups (to perceive audiences' expectations of PSB *News at 8pm* and *Domingo a Muangolé,* see Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

The few investigations carried out so far by sociologists and journalists in the Angolan media field (see, for example, Carvalho (2010) and Vunge (2012) put more emphasis on the direct observation of PSB performances *vis-à-vis* Angolan society rather than facilitating Angolan audience members to express their views about how they perceive their PSB performing in aspects that interplay with the construction of nation in this post-war society. Some reasons may lie behind this vision, such as the fact that many Angolans seems to be distrustful of freely expressing their opinions about PSB because of the recent history of the civil war[5] and in particular the last two decades before the end of civil war (1980s and 1990s),[6] when Angolan people rarely had a voice in their media. So, in the group discussion in this thesis, many participants seemed to perceive the media as objects for privileged citizens (mostly politicians) or well-educated people.

This thesis is an attempt to fill this gap, and so the aim is to emphasise the audiences' perspectives.

3.3.1 Interviews

Before Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA), the individual interview method was used, interviewing five journalists. For ethical reasons the real names of three of them were hidden and even changed because what was important here was to let them feel free in explaining their work and the choices they make to produce and broadcast stories in the

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[5] The Angolan civil war started in 1975 and ended in 2002.

[6] In this period, Angolan PSB was to some extent overtly committed to supporting the ruling party in the civil war, on the one side and, on the other, the rebels of UNITA's radio station, *Vorgan,* did the same, as explained in Chapter 2 of this research.

News at 8pm, known as *Telejornal.* However, the other two gave explicit permission to use their real names. Miguel Manuel and Teixeira Cândido both said it was a pleasure for them to be cited in an academic work such as this thesis, and they were happy to be mentioned by name as their views were already very well known in the Angolan PSB. I believe this to be a good opportunity to understand some of the Angolan journalists' reasons for the ways they address the nation and also to learn about the contextual environment of their daily work and what their final output is for *News at 8pm.* Interview is, by the way, an important tool to find out clear explanations for recurring behaviour or social phenomena in a given community. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 123) explain that:

> 'In the interview knowledge is created "inter" the points of view of the interviewer and the interviewee. The conversations with the subject are usually the most engaging stage of an interview inquiry. The personal contact and the continually new insights into the subjects' lived world make interviewing an exciting and enriching experience'.

Even though Angolan PSB audiences' perceptions and expectations are the focus of this thesis, interviews with some PSB journalists, I think, help to have the best picture of the role of these media in building the nation in post-war Angola (see insights in Chapter 4).

3.3.2 Qualitative content analysis (QCA)

Schreier (2012:1) argues that 'QCA is a method for describing the meaning of qualitative material in a systematic way'. It is done 'by assigning successive parts of (…) material to the categories of (…) coding frame. This frame is at the heart of QCA, and it covers all those meanings that feature in the description and interpretation of (…) material'. Before approaching any audience, I first decided to observe (watching and listening) the programmes *News at 8pm* and *Domingo a Muangolé* on Angolan PSB to gain a better and deeper understanding of them in order to be comfortable in interpreting the narratives later on when using the qualitative content analysis (QCA) method.

In view of this, the first process was to implement the data collection method by recording 28 samples from *News at 8pm* (14 samples *Telejornal* and 14 samples of *Radio Jornal das 20)* and 10 samples from *Domingo a Muangolé* programmes on the Angolan public service television over six months (1st September 2015 to 4th February 2016). I decided to record an acceptable number of samples, I analysed them all and I edited them down. I dropped

repetitive and irrelevant stories. This was useful to me later when selecting the 10 most representative and most important samples of *News at 8pm* and the 5 samples of the *Domingo a Muangolé* TV show in terms of them containing more elements of nation narration, nation building, national identity and belonging, as my main purpose was to have more elements of analysis that could be widened and reinforced later on from the contributions of the participants in the focus group discussions. 'That's because the purpose is our guiding star. If we follow it, it keeps us on track' (Krueger and Casey, 2015: 139).

a) Recording data scope and collection samples criteria

Six months was to me an acceptable period of time to gain an idea of how Angolan PSB *News at 8pm* and *Domingo a Muangolé* address the nation. I decided to observe this PSB output within the period of 1st September 2015 to 4th February 2016 to analyse how important events relating to the construction of the nation were being narrated. These included activities, events and current affairs relating to the official ceremony of National Hero Day (17th of September), the beginning of the legislative year, the 2015/2016 ceremony when the head of state delivers a speech about the state of the nation (October), the 40th anniversary of national independence (11th November), with the inauguration of the new National Assembly building, the discussion in the parliament on the annual budget 2016 (October – December), the head of state's traditional address to the nation at Christmas and the New Year (December), the national commemoration of the massacre of Angolans of *Baixa de* Cassanje, (4th January; this commemorates when thousands of Angolans were killed by the Portuguese in 1961 for refusing to work on the Malanje province cotton farms) and, finally, the commemoration of the beginning of the armed struggle against the Portuguese for the independence of Angola (4th February).

I believed that within this period, PSB could report facts narrating the nation, national identity and nation-building, stressing the country's history, sorrows, challenges, hopes and perspectives. And this could be done by the country leaders, politicians, academics and civil society or citizens at different levels. Media on these occasions and, especially, *News at 8pm* and *Domingo a Muangolé,* as my chosen case studies, could be privileged spaces to report activities, ceremonies or current affairs linked to those meaningful national events.

To be more specific, attention was paid to specific months, such as September 2015, when Angola as a country celebrated the national heroes of independence, as an attempt to perceive the extent to which PSB plays a role in helping citizens to have their say in their

imagining of a nation in a way narrated by PSB opinion-makers or the other way round. Also, November 2015 was a good period for recording some samples, given the events broadcast on PSB that marked the 40th anniversary of independence, since the nation is in some way linked to collective memories (see Chapter 1 of this thesis) imagined by members of a given community or a country. Moreover, the lives of citizens in contemporary societies are also often affected by national budgets and, in the case of Angolan PSB, the national annual budget of 2016 was debated a lot on public radio and TV *News at 8pm* during the months of October, November and December 2015 because of the decrease in the price of oil (the main Angola exported resource) in the international markets. Recording samples with outputs addressing the amount of money allocated to national reconstruction, education policies, health challenges and how the money should be spent gave the idea of how Angolan post-war nation is being imagined. It was in view of that that I decided to record samples from October to December 2015. Additionally, the beginning of the new year, 2016, a year before a general election and the retirement of President Dos Santos after serving 38 years as head of state, has given hints around recording some PSB samples to perceive some challenges in terms of what idea of a nation is being designed in Angola if one considers the changes occurring in this post-war society. From the commemoration of the massacre of *Baixa de Kassanje* (4th January 2016) and the beginning of military fighting against the Portuguese (4th February) no new relevant aspects in terms of nation-building were found in the recent stories narrated in the PSB output, and so these events were not entered into the selected samples to be interpreted according to the qualitative content analysis criteria explained here.

It is important to mention that for recordings, the criterion was to be attentive to the radio and TV headlines, especially on working days (Monday to Friday). Usually, Angolan PSB highlights relevant news stories in the headlines, and broadcasters are more productive on those working days, following the government agenda. Weekends are generally the less productive days for Angola public service broadcasters. Apart from political or social debates broadcast on Saturdays mornings (9am to 12pm), the output is music and sports. Knowing this PSB practice helped me to plan my recording samples, listening or watching what elements of nation building, national identity, belonging, national reconstruction and development might come up in a given TPA or RNA News at 8pm edition that deserved to be recorded.

However, for the *Domingo a Muangolé* talk show, the criteria were different, since this programme is broadcast only on Sundays evenings, from 6pm to 8pm. For this reason, I

preferred to record some samples consistently every month to gain an idea of how one edition was connected to the next and within them, how a given item or scene was made into a regular occurrence or not and among the regular ones, how they were addressed and linked. This helped me to better decide the most representative samples and, within them, what the themes with elements were that narrated or represented Angolan national identity in a QCA interpretation. Later, then, as a second step, I could evaluate the audiences' perceptions that would arise from the focus group discussions.

b) Is QCA an appropriate method for broadcasting output?

This research employs qualitative content analysis from samples of recorded data to evaluate and provide an idea about the way Angolan national identity and the nation is presented, and perceived both inside and outside of *News at 8pm* (radio and TV) and in the public television talk show, *Domingo a Muangolé*.

Schreier (2012: 2) argues that 'QCA will be an option if you have to engage in some degree of interpretation to arrive at the meaning of your data'. Hence, data 'does not have a specific meaning. Meaning is something that we, the recipients, attribute to the words that we hear or read, to the images that we see'.

This thesis is an attempt to analyse samples of what was said about nation, national identity, and belonging on Angolan PSB in the period before, during and after the celebrations and commemorations of the above-mentioned country dates and events (from 1st September 2015 to 4th February 2016) and important scheduled country activities, and most of all, what and how audiences perceived from this content.

'Qualitative research is interpretive in three ways: it deals with symbolic material that requires interpretation; different interpretations of the same material can be valid; and it deals with research questions exploring personal or social meaning' (Schreier, 2012: 21).

QCA analysts, then, are observers of society. Observing is 'experiencing social phenomena at first hand. Observation is about being there. It can be as much about hearing, feeling, enjoying, fearing, interpreting, talking and sharing as it is about watching' (Pole and Lampard, 2002: 70). It is a human activity that occurs between an observer (a human being) and the observed (animals, plants, objects or even other human beings) to let the observer make a judgement, to interpret in order to inform our opinions or our decisions. However, Pole and Lampard (2002) argue that in the context of social science research, observation cannot be understood only in the way of what can be seen in ordinary lives.

Schreier (2012) emphasises the importance of context in the QCA research method as she argues:

> qualitative researchers often try to capture as much of this context as possible, for instance by going out into the field and observing, or by asking their participants to tell them about their lives. The context of an event is part of that event (p. 22).

Samples recorded from Angolan PSB demonstrate a contextual output in Angolan society and so have to be understood in that context. Of course, although contextualised, there are elements of content broadcast on Angolan PSB that interplay with other aspects of the daily lives of citizens that are connected to them.

The method used here was one of watching, hearing, recording and taking notes, but keeping in mind the 'guiding star', which is the main purpose of this thesis: the role of PSB in the construction of the Angolan nation from audiences' perspective, as detailed above.

The intention in recording these samples was above all to have an idea of what PSB produces and to what extent such produced outputs deal with issues and aspects related to the building of a nation. Broadcast content is, in fact, public phenomena that anyone can hear, watch, write about and record, to learn and also to form opinions from it.

However, out of ordinary observations comes the scientific process of collecting information, which makes observation very demanding and complex (Foster, 1996). In his *observing schools* reflection, Foster emphasises the fact of attributing meaning to what is observed. To come up with such a result, Pole and Lampard assert that 'the observer is part of what is going on and is attempting to understand from inside. The perspective is one (…) which stresses the importance of context and direct experience' (2002: 71).

I tried to be involved over six months with what was broadcast by Angolan public service broadcasting, specifically in its *News at 8pm*. From September 2015 to February 2016, I recorded samples of *News at 8pm* (on radio and TV) and the *Domingo a Muangolé* TV programme.

The narratives of Angolan politicians, civil society members and citizens around the above-mentioned events in the face of the actual context of the country constituted a window for analysing whether there are important elements to the imagining of a nation in the constructivist perspective (Renan in Bhabha, 1990; Gellner, 1983; Bhabha, 1990; Billig, 1995; Anderson, 1996), as reflected in the first chapter of this thesis.

The choice was to consider among the recorded samples the most representative stories in Angolan television and radio *News at 8pm* stories, as well as samples of the *Domingo a Muangolé* programme for qualitative content analysis. The intention here was to write one chapter with samples of *News at 8pm* and another chapter with samples of *Domingo a Muangolé* talk show using QCA which included interpretation, as detailed in Chapters 5, and 8 of this thesis.

3.3.3 Focus group

This step considers aspects about, choices made, concepts, criteria for taking part, group locations, gender of participants, and group participant similarities and differences.

I started by making contact (January 2015 to February 2016) with people and setting up dates in order to organise 18 focus groups in 9 different locations across 5 different provinces of Angola.

The next step was the selection of two groups of samples: *News at 8pm,* first, and *Domingo a Muangolé* samples second, to be analysed separately according to the most representative themes and in two different chapters (Chapters 5 and 8). In the case of the TV show programme, *Domingo a Muangolé*, I organised the material into two sections: one reflecting on (through themes) the most representative issues that arose from the selected samples and the second reflecting on the contributions of the participants to group discussions in terms of their perceptions and reactions.

As a result, this process culminated with the gathering of opinions and the ideas of participants who attended the group discussions in March and April, 2016.

I understand that the focus group, as an important tool in qualitative research, works well 'when participants feel comfortable, respected and free to give their opinion without being judged. The intent of the focus group is to promote self-disclosure among participants' (Krueger and Casey, 2015: 4). When organising group discussions, I wanted to know what people really thought and felt about the role that Angolan public service broadcasting plays in their daily lives as a contributor to the construction of a post-war nation.

A focus group is accepted by some scholars as a preferred qualitative method for data collection and a facilitator and generator of opinions (see Morgan, 1988; Morgan and Scannel, 1988; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Rose and Sullivan, 1996; Krueger, and Casey,

2009, 2015). In their reflection on the focus group method, Krueger and Casey, for instance, highlighted some advantages and challenges of being part of a group. Being drawn into a group planning scenario, feeling praise for being invited, being part of a decision-making process, brainstorming, and learning and sharing are some of the experiences that people appreciate. However, they advise that groups can also be painful experiences that are unproductive, and time-consuming.

The long trips I endured, driving on some of Angola's bad roads, coupled with the reluctance of some people to accept my invitation to discuss this subject, made for, in the first instance, a time-consuming process. However, meeting people of different backgrounds and the sharing of their opinions and interest about Angolan PSB was a kind of reward for the sacrifice, because I learned a lot from it. Nevertheless, this study is aware of the challenge in using this method:

> Focus group isn't just a bunch of people together to talk. A focus group is a special type of group in terms of purpose, size, composition, and procedures. The purpose of conducting a focus group is to better understand how people feel or think about an issue, idea, product, or service. Focus groups are used to gather opinions. (Krueger and Casey, 2015: 2).

In terms of the group discussions, one of my purposes was to cover the contextual issues related to the challenges and intentions presented by the 18 groups, in which members discussed their perceptions of the role *News at 8pm* and *Domingo a Muangolé* play in their society so as to evaluate whether public service broadcasting is a catalyst or not for the imagining of nation-building in post-war Angola.

At the end of the field work and so as to organise all the focus group material, I started to transcribe the audio record material, organise the field notes and translate most important data of the 18 groups about News at 8pm from Portuguese to English. In doing this, I selected the most representative and important (mistrust, access, disconnections, expectations) contributions and organised them into themes and later organised them according to at least two levels of reflection (see Chapter 6: Addressing audiences' access to Angolan PSB and Chapter 7: Reflecting on audiences' mistrust of *News at 8pm*). This was an attempt find comprehensible responses to the departure questions of this research: what does the Angolan public think of the contribution of PSB to the construction of national belonging and national identity in the context of post-war Angola, firstly, and, secondly, whether TPA and RNA *News at 8pm* address the needs of its public (the detailed

questionnaire is contained in the appendix).

The important and most representative contributions from the *Domingo a Muangolé* TV show were analysed separately. This method helped me to better interpret audiences' perceptions of and reactions to this TV programme. It also opened a way to identify similarities and differences in terms of the contributions between groups living in rural areas and those living in urban locations.

There were some strengths and weaknesses I had to bear in mind during the fieldwork, in conducting the interviews and, at the same time, taking notes. 'The practical strength of focus group lies in the fact that they are comparatively easy to conduct. In many circumstances, the research can be done relatively cheaply and quickly. This is not to say that all focus group research is simple' (Morgan, 1988: 20).

This research was, in fact, not simple at all. There were difficulties such as taking notes, recording and moderating the debate and, at the same time, making telephone calls to confirm people's participation, appointment times and public locations to meet. What was most important was finding a convincing strategy to help participants feel comfortable in expressing their opinions in a group discussion. Angolan people are more or less open to expressing their opinions to the media individually. However, getting them to express critical opinions in a group, especially in rural areas, was not an easy task at all. One of the examples of these difficulties was when I asked the name and age of each participant. It took time for them to understand that the data was just to facilitate the debate and not for publication in any newspaper or radio station. In Cubal, a municipality of Benguela province, for example, I had to sign a paper about the purpose of this research, which is solely academic. It was only because of this agreement that reluctant participants accepted to take part in their focus groups. Some reasons behind this reluctance were: the fear of addressing some sensitive topics such as politics because of future reprisals; some of them were not comfortable expressing their opinions in Portuguese; and the presence of neighbours of different political party persuasions was in some way unnerving. Apart from these preliminary difficulties, the discussions were sometimes heated. In some instances, discussions were, to some extent, emotional, open and friendly and productive.

'The fact that group interviews can produce useful data with relatively little direct input from the researcher may be a distinct advantage, especially in comparison to other interviewing techniques' (Krueger and Casey, 2009: 21). However in terms of the weakness of the qualitative method, 'the researcher has less control over the data that is generated'

(ibid.). In my case, taking notes and recording the discussions at the same time was a very useful strategy.

I decided to add reflective remarks, such as participants' eye contact, laughter, shaking of heads, signs of sadness in their faces and jargonistic expressions, while jotting down field notes, not just of what participants were sharing but also the examples they were presenting to better explain their feelings *vis-à-vis* the Angolan PSB performance. This helped me to better understand the context of their contributions. In relation to this, Miles and Huberman (1994: 66) assert that 'this technique improves the usefulness of field notes considerably. The researcher, in this context, is simultaneously aware of events in the field, and of his own feelings, reactions, insights, and interpretations'. Therefore, in the context of this thesis, Krueger and Casey (2009: 6) note that each person's viewpoint has specific elements that provide qualitative data in a focused discussion that help to build understanding of the topic of interest.

In order to take advantage of individuals' viewpoints within the groups, I organised the 18 groups into 6 to 8 participants each, divided according to age as follows: 18 to 24, 25 to 49 and 50 years and above.

a) Group sizes and locations

Group discussions were conducted in three urban locations (Luanda, Benguela and Huambo) one municipality, Waku-Kungo (in Cuanza Sul's province), which has relatively good access to public service broadcasting, and one village, Kunhinga (in Bié province), where many people are totally disconnected from public service broadcasting. The range of groups provided a diversity of opinions and reasonable voices in the specific locations. Gender was taken into consideration in all locations, as explained below.

In terms of effective size group planning, as mentioned above, I made some choices between six participants who would be considered a small focus group, while ten would be a large one. 'Smaller groups give each participant a greater opportunity to talk, but they also place a greater burden on each person to carry the conversation (…) by comparison, large groups place less responsibility on each participant, but they also provide less opportunity to talk' (Morgan and Scannell, 1988: 72). Based on Morgan and Scannell's perspective, I formed groups of six in some places and in others, I formed groups of seven or eight. Discussions lasted for between 90 to 120 minutes to allow people to have an acceptable time to express their opinions.

One of difficulties I faced in organising the groups was of replacing one participant at the last minute due to an unexpected call or activity in Benguela. The solution was to find another person, explaining to them the criteria, and this delayed the discussion beginning time. To get around this situation in the other groups, I prudently made up the groups earlier with at least seven confirmed people. In case one did not make it, we could still discuss the issue with six people. However, in some cases, even though only 8 people were confirmed for a group discussion, participants brought other friends who would also want to participate. In those cases, I had to negotiate with them in a way to let them understand that the group size could not be bigger than eight people.

Another difficulty was to close off the debates. Some people, such as the participants from Prenda and Zango, in Luanda and Cubal in Benguela, were very comfortable about arguing and arguing again. And so I used an Iphone alarm clock to convince them that the time was up. The last difficulty was insufficient recording space on my Ipad to keep data. To solve this problem, especially in rural areas, when the Ipad was full, I used an Iphone, and at the end, I transferred all of the audio files onto a computer.

The purpose of this fieldwork was not to do research in the majority of the provinces of Angola. Distance, time, financial issues, bad roads and difficulties in communications are the main obstacles in doing fieldwork in this country. Collecting a huge amount of data from all parts of a given country or all its communities is not always a guarantee of fieldwork success. In view of this, my decision was made to search for answers to the above questions in the provinces of Luanda, Cuanza-Sul, Benguela, Huambo and Bié, as they are the most representative locations of the direct impact of PSB over three decades of civil war as well as for the new phase of PSB looking at this period of reconstruction after the war. Hence, the choice of these five locations, from the 18 provinces that compose Angola, was made for historical and contextual reasons that would help to understand the challenges remaining around the idea of a nation in a post-war context and what role Angolan public service broadcasting is playing in such a context. These provinces represent several aspects that could become a paradigm for the other 13 to help gain an understanding of how the nation may start being *imagined* and the impact of public service broadcasting in the daily life of the majority of Angolans.

Many people have sought refuge in these provinces for security reasons. Moreover, 15 years after the end of the war, many people said in the group discussions that they did not want to return to their original towns and villages. This was another reason that led to this

choice. Luanda, the capital of Angola, and Benguela, on the south-west shores of the Atlantic Ocean, are the most representative of the chosen five locations. In these provinces, I found people of diverse tribes, ethnicities, races and languages. The decision was made to organise some groups in the centres of the cities, others in the peripheral townships and others in rural areas. This helped to form an idea of how public service broadcasting is perceived in the daily lives of the members of those communities, on the one hand, and, on the other, how their problems and challenges were being addressed by the most-watched and listened to public service broadcasting *News at 8pm* programmes on radio and TV.

Huambo and Bié are the central provinces of Angola. People from these two provinces have suffered more than others in the last ten years of the Angolan civil war. Huambo, 700 km from Luanda, is actually the fourth most populated province after Benguela, Huila and Luanda, according to the latest figures from the Angolan National Statistics Institute (INE, 2016). I decided to carry out fieldwork in Huambo to perceive the extent to which the nation is being or can be *imagined* there after 15 years of peace. What are the challenges for citizens in that part of Angola and how do they perceive and receive *Telejornal* and radio *News at 8pm*?

One detail needs to be mentioned here: Bié is called the martyr province of Angola because of the great number of people killed there during the civil war. The city was encircled by rebels and bombed by government planes for almost a year (1993). Nobody could leave and no one could enter the city.[7]

It was in a Bié village where this research found a group who were totally disconnected from public service broadcasting and other media. Nevertheless, it was very interesting to facilitate group discussions with people who had lived there during the war and were now discussing their daily lives in a time of peace.

Cuanza Sul province got the attention of this research because, although its city is only 400 kilometres from the capital, Luanda, its municipalities have not progressed that much in terms of infrastructural development compared to the other four provinces in this study: Luanda, Benguela, Huambo and Bié.

The choice of organising two focus groups in Wako Kungo was made because it is one of the most famous municipalities of Angola in terms of agriculture and farming. I sought to

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[7] More details about Bié may be found in the contributions provided by participants in groups 9 and 10, in chapters 6 and 7 of this essay.

understand how participants perceived public service broadcasting and if PSB was addressing their daily stories, their major challenges and their contextual lives in an agricultural environment and, if so, how it was being done?

b) Gender of participants

As mentioned above, this thesis has considered the gender aspect of the research questions. Almost 90% of the women and men invited to participate responded positively and were present in the group discussions. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 71 years. Farmers, students, professors, police agents, soldiers, lawyers, businessmen and women, and unemployed men were some of the categories of people that participated in the discussions. The majority of the groups were mixed (men and women), and the diversities of their backgrounds (origin, profession and experience) were taken into consideration. This was done in order to achieve a diversity of opinions. However, in Kunje, a village in Bié province, I separated the women from the men to allow the women to be free and comfortable in their statements *vis-à-vis* their husbands, brothers and traditional authorities. In that province, the women's group spoke first and the results were very interesting, especially in relation to these totally disconnected groups.

It is important to note that education and literacy were considered in this research: 16 of the 18 groups who attended the group discussions had or were attending medium and higher-level education classes. Participants in these groups brought very interesting contributions to the debate, whereas two groups (one in Wako Kungo and another in Bié) were composed mostly of illiterate people. The Kunhinga women's group could not express themselves in Portuguese, but in their local language, Umbundu. Therefore, I asked for the help of a translator. Despite this, participants from the illiterate groups had strong opinions about what they got and what they perceived regarding Angolan PSB, especially radio. However many of the disconnected participants were part of these groups.

Conversely to the major trend, where we could mix men and women, young women in Cacilhas, Huambo province, Wako Kungo, in Cuanza Sul province, young men in Benguela province and young men in two townships in Luanda asked to not be in mixed groups because, according to them, a better discussion would emerge from men-to-men and women-to-women conversation. Here too the results were very good. Young women in Wako Kungo said it was assumed they would be nervous about discussing issues in relation to their community and the public service broadcaster's *News 8pm* programme because men were perceived to know more about the news than women. One group of young men in

Benguela and another in Luanda alleged on their side that men-to-men discussions on social issues broadcast by the public service broadcaster were more interesting than if they had occurred in a mixed group.

c) Criteria for taking part in group discussions

The participants were informed about the purpose of this fieldwork. They were also informed that the discussions would be recorded with a tape recorder and notes taken on an iPad, and some pictures would be taken to facilitate translations and quotations in the process of the writing up of the data. However, for ethical reasons their real names and identity were not revealed. At the beginning, people were reluctant (as I mentioned above) but after a few initial minutes of discussion, they were more active in the debate. This was also the reason why some groups discussed the questions for more than 100 minutes. However, our focus was on the essential aspects of the debate: the audience's perceptions of the role of PSB.

In order to take part in these groups, participants had to fulfil the following criteria:

1. To freely accept the invitation;

2. To be aged 18 years or above and to accept to discuss the questions within their fellow same-age category;

3. To have an acceptable knowledge in expressing opinions about the contextual situation of the people living in their communities, city, township, municipality or village;

4. To have an acceptable knowledge of Angolan public service broadcasting in order to discuss openly *News at 8pm* and the *Domingo a Muangolé* TV talk show;

5. To discuss the proposed questions in a public space, such as a library, hall, school, public garden or restaurant, since they were calmer spaces for facilitating the recording and note taking, and would facilitate an agreeable conversation;

6. Participants totally disconnected from Angola public service broadcasting were asked to list the reasons for their lack of connection and how they were informed about their community and the stories happening in their country.

I made sure that those participants fulfilled the above-mentioned criteria so as to facilitate the emergence of the essential elements of my researched subject in the 'product writing',

as it is a form of writing which has a particular audience (colleagues, a funding body …) in mind (Pole and Lampard, 2002: 249).

d) Group participant similarities

Groups in the cities (Luanda, Benguela and Huambo) and its surroundings shared basically the same major challenges: unemployment, electricity shortages, the lower quality of education their children got from public schools, poor healthcare, robberies and assaults in their neighbourhoods, lack of a water supply and life being generally expensive for all. However, the majority earned a monthly salary. Families of many participants in these groups had established their homes in those cities for security reasons during the war. However, they were no longer interested in restarting life in their former towns of origin because of a lack of motivation and a regard for government's policies, which were – according to them – more likely to be focused on the main cities than rural areas. Despite the diversity of ethnic origins, participants said conviviality among the people in the cities was very good.

In all the discussions, participants affirmed that ethnicity was not a problem in their communities. Participants also said they were opposed to a small group in the government, the ruling party and the Angolan army which had become very rich and interfered in the PSB's work while the majority of voiceless people faced poverty at all levels.

What was common to all participants from rural areas was that they had at least one radio set per family and in most cases, it had become the principal source of information because it was cheap and easy to afford. Groups in rural areas affirmed that they had the radio as a companion in the late evening for leisure and health counselling.

Participants in the rural areas of Cubal, Wako Kungo, Kunje and Cacilhas, and in the surrounding suburb of Benguela said they faced higher poverty. There were no water canals and no electricity links. Their children walked three to seven kilometres daily to attend schools. In my trips during this fieldwork, I could see many pupils aged between 5 to 14 years walking along the roads carrying plastic chairs with them so that they would have a seat in the public school classrooms. Participants said that that was the real picture during all the academic years in these 15 years of peace, although PSB said little or nothing about it, they argued. Besides that, there were hundreds of thousands of children who could not yet attend school because there are no more places in the public schools. They said that many families have to make additional efforts to put their children into private education

programmes. However, participants in the group discussions said that even those who attend school, are disappointed because of the quality of education their children get. They hope a new era will come in terms of access to education for all.

e) Group participant differences

Unlike their counterparts in the urban areas of Benguela and Huambo, participants in the capital, Luanda, face a more serious problem of water supply and waste. As a result, epidemics of diseases such as yellow fever and malaria affect more people in the suburban communities of Luanda than the suburbs of other mentioned cities.

On the other hand, participants in Luanda often have more than one TV set and all participants in these focus groups had TV and radio channels through dish satellites (DSTV) as an alternative to Angolan public service broadcasting. In terms of financial possibilities, participants in the capital said they had more than one source of income, which allowed them to purchase more than one TV and to pay DSTV to access more news channels. In addition, many participants in these groups affirmed that they had access to social media and used it often for exchanging news and commenting with colleagues and families.

The majority of the participants in urban areas other than Luanda said they had just one TV set for a family and, as a result, some generational conflicts occur because, while children and young women want to watch novellas and men, football, the elderly are more focused on the news. Youths often prefer to let parents watch the news while they looked for available alternatives in public places (pubs, restaurants, markets, shops) or in neighbouring houses. Although they use mobile phones, the majority are not yet familiar with social media (Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, Viber and others) for financial reasons. Access to internet is very limited for some people although most of them affirm they had heard of it.

The totally disconnected group have no TV or radio and know nothing about social media. The reasons for such a disconnection are a high robbery and assault rate, poverty, illiteracy, and the lack of a public service broadcasting signal in their areas. The public service broadcasting's signal is very weak and has to be searched for during the rainy season. The common way for these people to be informed is by word of mouth.

More than 90% of participants know about *TPA* and radio *Nacional de Angola* and the TV news at 8pm programme, known as *Telejornal,* and the radio news at 8pm, called *Jornal das*

20. Participants were all able to discuss the contextual issues of their communities and their provinces. In the mixed groups of rural and suburban people in this thesis (Cubal, Zango, Wako Kungo), women took the lead during the discussions. One of the reasons for this, as we will see, is the fact that in those localities female participants were more educated (participants were nurses, teachers and civil servants) and they seemed to share among themselves at work issues related to the social and political daily lives of people, on the one hand, while, on the other, the majority of these women only had access to PSB, which is free of charge. In group meetings held in centre cities (Benguela, Luanda, Huambo), men took the lead. In this last case, although women had also attended medium-level education and some of them, higher education, they seemed to be disconnected from *News at 8pm*, although they had sufficient knowledge of it. The fact that women in the cities had some other source of income than their fellow participants in rural areas allowed them to purchase DStv to access international channels, especially the *novela* channels from Brazil. This TV output is also broadcast during the peak time of 7pm to 12pm. However, men were more committed to watching *News at 8pm*.

3.4 The researcher's role in the field

Once locations and times for the group discussions were agreed, although with the proviso of recording all discussions on the above-mentioned devices (a tape recorder and iPad), my focus was on note-taking. There are different kinds of writing (proposals, plans, product writing, field notes and so forth) and even in those cases where a final research purpose is the same, there are some specific differences (see Pole and Lampard, 2002). I have first used a process of writing that took the form of notes, the jotting down of some ideas and questions. However, I focused more on field note taking (with some abbreviations) that incorporated essential descriptive information about what was happening during the discussions, together with a number of questions and some interpretations, which helped to focus the observations and related them to other data (for example, the PSB recorded samples). Pole and Lampard named this 'real-time fieldnotes' (p. 248-249). After each discussion ended, I managed to immediately translate it and write it up in more detail by completing the note-taking process, since essential details of what had come out of discussions (the names of those who said what, the aspects all participants agreed upon and on what aspects they disagreed and why) was still fresh in the mind. The reason was that if some essential details are missed, it would be very difficult to go back to the field and

gather the group to repeat the experience. It is this method that Pole and Lampard describe as 'reflexive fieldnotes' (p. 249). In a similar way, after the discussion, I re-checked the devices to make sure that the recorded data was in a useable condition.

The language used in the group discussion was Portuguese, which is the *lingua franca* of Angola. However, an exception was made for two groups in the village of Kunje, Bié province, where the majority of participants did not speak Portuguese fluently, although some understood it. I hired a translator from Umbundu to Portuguese. To facilitate the discussion and the translation of the material, I recorded on the tape recorder and the iPad at the same. The two devices were used to ensure that if one device was full or did not work, the other would work. The same experience was used in all group discussions in order to facilitate the translation of essential material from Portuguese to English.

3.5 Writing process

The publishing of scientific findings in qualitative research has increased significantly since the 1980s (Flick, 2002). In such an academic context, text is no longer a simple instrument to register data and to interpret it as an epistemological tool. Text has become above all a mediated and communicative instrument of knowledge. Writing is a crucial part of social science (Flick, 2002: 241). Adopting Wolff (1987)'s perspective about the importance of writing qualitative research, Flick reminds us that text is the only pre-eminent instrument for facilitating the possibility of observation and the objectivity of phenomena in social science. In view of this, writing is relevant to qualitative research in three aspects: 'to present the findings of a given project researched; as departure point to evaluate the procedures that conducted to those findings and consequently its results and finally as departure point to reflections about the global position of the research' (ibid: 242).

As a result of these findings, the next chapters have been compiled into themes: the first is an elitist idea of the nation circulating in Angolan public service broadcasting, as presented in Chapter 4; the second is an attempt at qualitative content analysis as a result of interpreted samples from PSB as detailed in Chapter 5. The accessibility of audiences to PSB, the challenge of mistrust of Angolan public service broadcasting, and the reflection about Angolan national identity on the *Domingo a Muangolé* TV talk show may be found in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 as the most representative and recurrent aspects that came up from the group discussions. First, issues combined into themes are above all connected to the main

purpose of this thesis, which is the contribution of Angolan Public Service Broadcasting to the building of post-war Angola as a nation.

To sum up, in all group discussions, participants did not suggest the ending of public service broadcasting. They considered PSB as a vital instrument for post-war Angolan reconstruction. Discussions in almost all groups were focused on how Angolan public service broadcasting has to be transformed and democratised to respond to national needs and challenges.

Chapter 4: African governments' interference in public service broadcasting: the case of Angola

Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to look at issues related to propaganda, censorship, self-censorship and secrecy in PSB news in Africa in general, taking Angola as a paradigm. It will consider some academics' and scholars' perspectives firstly, and, secondly, look at the contribution of Angolan journalists.

This thesis is more focused on the way the nation is usually narrated and addressed in the news reported at 8pm by public service broadcasters according to the perceptions of the audiences. However, before we look at this, it is useful to have a glimpse at the role and influence of public service broadcasting in Africa as a whole to develop a better understanding of the Angolan PSB in the face of government interference.

4.1. PSB in Africa: influence and interference

In many African post-colonial countries, public service broadcasting services are known as state broadcasting. In Angola, however, they are referred to as PSB by academics, politicians, civil society leaders, media students and in the Angolan republic constitution of 2010 (see, Article 44, n.3, p.19). And so throughout this thesis I name it PSB.

Public service broadcasting is seen as an appropriate tool to unite people, to form an identity for them and to build a nation. However, the role and the freedom of PSB in developing African countries are controversial. Countries such as Zimbabwe, Algeria, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, just to name a few, there are many examples of imbalances in news and current affairs in favour of governments on the one hand, and threats to and arrests of broadcasters on the other hand (see examples in Barton, 1979; Maier, 1996; Mytton, 2001; Street, 2001; Chomsky, 2002; Njogu and Middleton, 2009).

Reflecting on media and identity in Africa, Zeleza (in Njogu and Middleton, 2009:19) argues that the media 'can promote democracy, development, nation building and inclusion

as much as they can sustain xenophobia, ethnicity, authoritarianism, exploitation, conflict and exclusion'. During its history, Angolan public service broadcasting has often shown up the darker side of the media (Collelo, 2012; Panos Institute, 2006).

Nonetheless, I should mention that public service broadcasting in developing countries of Africa highlights attitudes and practices that may often create conflict between what is considered a state's agenda setting and the real issues of countries. The challenge is how to distinguish state or government service broadcasting from the real concept and definition of public service broadcasting, as detailed by Scannell, (1989; 1996) and Raboy, (1996) in the second section of the first chapter.

Public service broadcasting or state broadcasting in Africa may be perceived from a cultural background, but also from the transformation in progress since the end of the colonial period in the 1960s to date. Nassanga (in Njogu and Middleton, 2009: 50) looks back to African history and cultures to point out that word-of-mouth communication, which was the principal way of getting informed and informing other people, gave way to writing and later to electronic media (especially broadcasting). And this change in Africa occurred thanks to the arrival of Christian European missionaries from the 1500s onwards, who spread the culture of writing thanks partly through the establishment of missionary schools across African continent. In that process, the gender aspect was imbalanced because boys and men profited from the opportunities offered than girls and women, for cultural reasons. The 'Oromedia', as Ugboajah (1985) terms the speech-based African channels of communication, remained highly credible and distinctive, unlike electronic media, which can be elitist, vicarious and urban (Nassanga, in Njogu and Middleton, op. cit.).

There is praise rather than concern among some African scholars regarding the advent of the culture of writing and mass communication. However, with regard to this, concerns are raised when content from public service broadcasting in analogic or digital platforms and private broadcasting through dish satellites spreading to most of countries are analysed.

In contributing to this reflection, Njogu (2009: 124-137) brings to light an important point on the changes happening in the African culture of communication behaviour that was usually characterised by 'word of mouth' communication, arguing that an oral culture has been an important method for developing self-understanding, creating relationships and creating a balance between the body and the environment. Through oral narratives, communities were able to pass on values, attitudes, knowledge and modes of practice to generations (Njogu, 2009: 124).

Broadcasting platforms have developed strategies in many African countries contextualising and rethinking new ways of storytelling to audiences at all levels (advertisements, soap operas, songs and proverbs, for example).

There have in fact been encouraging broadcasting initiatives to increase knowledge around important subjects that matter in today's Africa. Those initiatives may help to waken individuals' view of the self and the environment. For Njogu, 'collective efficacy becomes possible through approaches that put people at the centre of social change interventions' (ibid: 125). In view of this, from Njogu's perspective, the intervention of the media in today's Africa 'may lead to a process of dialogization which, in turn, may contribute to action with concomitant consequences for the individual and society' (ibid: 126).

This African scholar also emphasises two important levels of media intervention in Africa: the first is that the media may promote changes among individuals and communities, 'informing, motivating, facilitating and guiding'. And the second is that media strategies have a direct influence on communities and their setting: 'They can contribute to behaviour modification at the individual and collective levels (Njogu, 2009: 127). From this perspective, Njogu encourages media initiatives that help change behaviour which are a necessary condition for social change. The emphasis here is on media content in matters of health and education in Africa to fight illiteracy and diseases. Within the perspective of this thesis, public service broadcasting is still in the front line in the actual context of this continent as a privileged media platform to accomplish those objectives. However, while this thesis does not ignore progressive contributions from social media in some African countries, overall they still enjoy low usage.

In modern day Africa, broadcasting remains a vitally important public service. Radio stations remain popular, including in rural areas. Television provides another means of news and information, and the internet continues to develop, albeit more in countries such as South Africa or Egypt than others.

Broadly speaking, although PSB has a huge influence in African societies, the majority of the public does not benefit yet as it might. Political interference continues to delay important PSB reforms, and here it is appropriate to re-emphasise Okigbo's (2006: 271) observation: 'Broadcasting has usually attracted the attention of African national governments, many of which are unwilling to relinquish of stations they inherited from pre-independence regimes'. Also, 'local versus foreign content, and human resources and technology are the main problems facing African PSB. Local versus foreign input in many

African public televisions is one of the aspects most regularly criticised by citizens. International input dominates most television content, especially that from the USA' (Okigbo's, 2006: 274). It is this that Nassanga (op. cit.) describes as 'strangers in a mirror'. Producing local public service television and radio is still expensive. As an alternative, public service broadcasters often re-broadcast or link their channels to foreign ones in order to have content for their daily or weekly schedules.

The fact is most of these programmes do not satisfy many among African audiences because of their disconnection from the real needs and expectations of citizens. What matters in public service television is not the quality of foreign contents but the importance and impact of these among African audiences.

'Most of the local input in African TV relates to sports coverage, discussion programmes, and quiz shows, which are easy to produce' (Okibo, 2006: 275). Yet many African countries' and Angola's PSB, to which this description certainly applies, are fully funded from national state budgets.

'In Uganda, Africa Health and Development (AHADI) are collaborating with Central Broadcasting Corporation (CBS), and the Population Secretariat to develop a soap opera and magazine programme on adolescent sexuality' (Njogu, 2009: 132). There are also initiatives such as the entertainment-education programmes that follow a clear social learning theory, seeking to engage communities in dialogue through the reconfiguration of behavioural patterns within families and communities, as in the cases of the broadcasting programmes, *Mambo Bomba* in Tanzania and *Zimachitika* in Malawi. These initiatives help to reformulate cultural practices simultaneously in drama and in practice, and this should also involve the issue of female genital mutilation. The fact that this cultural practice was challenged over the years by the broadcasting media in Africa has helped to seriously change or at least decrease such practices in many communities across Africa (ibid: 134). Broadcasting may also approach and encourage African civil society, governments and citizens in general to promote women's more active participation in social, cultural and political affairs.

In terms of interference Street (2001) points out journalists' anxieties about how they will pay for their daily expenses as a principle issue for them in many countries. In Africa, however, there are more reasons to fear challenging the established order. 'In Algeria, journalists risk their freedom and even their lives to report stories. Journalists are assassinated or face government censorship' (Street, 2001: 103). In fact, the reports about

persecution of journalists by government institutions or military forces in Africa for broadcasting sensitive stories are many. The Committee for Protection of Journalists (CPJ) through its affiliates and journalistic associations in Africa denounce every year such cases[8]. Attitudes of this kind do not occur in Africa alone. Elsewhere, in under developed and developing countries, the phenomenon raises concerns in terms of censorship and self-censorship.

'**Censorship** is the most obvious form of state control (…) and can take a variety of forms, and it does not necessary require direct intervention' (Street, 2001: 104-105). Cases of censorship, as Street puts it, may be understood from the Taliban, the Islamic militia which banned all television, cinema and music in Afghanistan in the 1990s. Another kind of censorship may be found in Algeria, where the government own a majority of the print houses to block the press from printing their newspapers without incurring huge debts. In Zimbabwe, the law providing for a maximum of seven years' imprisonment for the publication of false stories that cause alarm among the public (Street, 2001: 105) is another technique for blocking freedom of information. However, it is right to mention that censorship is an old problem for humanity, not for journalism and broadcasting alone, but one which arrived at the dawn of the media age, after Gutenberg press was invented in the 1400s. For example, in the name of orthodoxy, the Roman Catholic Church disallowed some books[9] from being published or reprinted out of fear of spreading misinformation among the faithful. There are many other examples of this kind of action in human history.

What matters here is the fact that even though the global age in which we live nowadays brings great opportunities to promote democratic values, implement human rights principles, to which the majority of countries in the world have signed up, and freedom of expression, censorship is still present in the public service media of many developing countries[10] and even in some Western developed countries. Instead of freedom of

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[8] Recent CPJ concerned with developments in trial against Angolan journalists may be found in : https://cpj.org/2018/04/cpj-concerned-with-developments-in-trial-against-a.php. Accessed by the author 11 June, 2018.

[9] Some books about theology, morality, archeology had been censored in the history of the Catholic Church. An index of censorship may be read here https://www.jstor.org/topic/religious-literature/?refreqid=excelsior%3Ae888a1dc13c02f13b3963cf121a878f1, assessed by the author, on the 10 Jun, 2018.

[10] In Angola for instance, while the government did not employ any technical censorship tactics to limit online content, the president publicly condemned social media during his New Year speech in January 2016, threatening to impose restrictions on platforms for allowing citizens to criticize the government. In August 2016, after this report's coverage period, the National Assembly approved a set of bills to create a new state-controlled regulator called the Angolan Social Communications Regulatory Body. Local analysts said the bills will enable the government to control and censor critical information posted on social media or elsewhere. Details in: https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-net/2016/angola. Accessed by the author on the 10

expression, sophisticated and ultramodern techniques of censorship are created and supported by powerful individuals, groups and governments putting forward diverse reasons for their actions, such as it being 'socially correct'. But the real objective is to 'kill' stories that could harm private interests even if they should be broadcast in the interests of the public. In such a context, investigative journalism in countries like Angola finds many barriers that are not easy to overcome.

Street (2001: 107) argues that liberal states in contemporary societies use other forms of censorship to shadow important stories in order not to become known. 'If journalists know nothing, there is little need to censor them'. This is what Street names as *secrecy*. For him, the policy of secrecy varies from country to country. The USA's constitution, for example, allows journalists to access any official sources of information except when it may cause harm to national security. However, in many cases, although the freedom to access official sources of information is written into the country's constitution, it is not a guarantee that politicians will allow journalists access to their daily work.

The case of Europe is generally similar to that of the USA. 'Press freedom in France is also protected in French law, allowing infringement only in case of defamation, bad taste and national security. However, national security can be interpreted in many ways. And misinterpretations also occur. Arguments fly when journalists and politicians discuss what in practice in classified information should be considered as secret and what should not. The UK, by contrast, says Street, has traditionally operated a highly secretive system' (Ibid). There are also barriers that maintain the regime of secrecy in first world democracies. In the case of the United Kingdom, Hennessy (quoted by Street, 2001: 107-108) observes that 'the restrictions on access to information are compounded, for instance, by the oath of office taken by ministers in which they are bound to keep secret all matters committed and revealed'. Therefore, 'the law on secrecy was even used to prevent publication of the costs of refurbishing the Lord Chancellor's official residence' (ibid). Street emphasises that 'British civil servants are bound by the Official Secrets Acts (1911, 1920, 1989), which make it an offence to release documents into a public domain, even documents which are not themselves officially labelled secret' (ibid: 108). The outcome of this is that some civil servants have been persecuted (for example, famous cases include that of Clive Ponting in 1985 who leaked material in relation to the Falklands war, and Sarah Tisdall in the case of the movement of Cruise missiles). As Street notes, some were found not guilty while others

were imprisoned.

From the cases quoted above, it is difficult to argue in favour of the truth and full freedom of the press even in countries with more than a hundred years of democracy. 'The UK system may be peculiarly restrictive, but all states, however liberal, have secrecy laws and other regulatory devices which are designed to restrict the flow of information' (Street, 2001: 108). The rulers and governments often use secrecy strategies to avoid the immediate consequences of their policies and using the cloak of national security, important matters that could be revealed in the public interest are hidden to accommodate the private interests of individuals, political parties and business people.

On the face of it, the access by journalists to official sources of information becomes hard, unjustifiable and strategic. As a result, journalists are often forced to speculate about stories not thoroughly researched and audiences become confused. As Street notes: 'in the absence of a freedom of information act, journalists have no right to government material; they also enjoy little legal protection if they wish to keep secret sources of such information' (ibid). In contemporary societies, secrecy works often more in the self-interest of individuals and government of a given country rather than the public interest. This can create a kind of disconnection with important daily narratives essential to 'imagining' a nation.

Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that 'in the struggle of power and influence, information is a key resource, and the value of information is inversely proportional to the extent of its dissemination' (Street, 2001: 109). Secrecy, although important in terms of justice, in relation to ongoing investigations and in the case of national security (in this time of heightened awareness of terrorism attacks) secrecy is often used by governments as shelter for corruption, bias and crimes of many kinds, perpetrated especially by civil servants.

In Africa, elites often accommodate themselves to a culture of silence in the face of propaganda. Analysing the reason why some people prefer to be silent rather than speak out on matters of public interest, Bird (2003: 104) argues that 'often people fail to acknowledge moral concerns not because they have over looked problems but because they have not seen relevant issues clearly reliable'. And for this reason 'moral blindness', as he names it, results in emphasising certain features or failures in excess to give enough attention to others.

Propaganda in the context of public service broadcasting often receives support from

moral silence, deafness and the moral blindness of elite members of a given community. Bird argues that people affected by these 'moral impairments' are like those who possess weak consciences. In the context of business, Bird asserts that such people are neither amoral nor immoral, because they possess moral convictions, which they may discuss privately. Hence 'the voice of conscience within them seems timid (…) and slumbering' (ibid: 143). However, what are the causes behind mute conscience both in business and in PSB? Bird's (ibid: 146) response to this question points to cultural beliefs and symbols and current economic philosophy (a focus on rational self-interest) as the main causes. These beliefs mean the inevitability of particular circumstances regarding the role of legal action and, finally, the cultural ethos of tolerant and expressive individualism. For these causes, Bird suggests that 'we can and must find ways of cultivating the growth and expression of our consciences, utilizing and expanding upon the cultural expression available to us in our own particular, historically contingent circumstances' (ibid: 153). Bird goes further to argue that there is another solution to individual factors leading to the muted conscience: 'if we genuinely hope to understand and hope to reduce the extent of moral blindness, deafness and seeing, we must also inquire about those factors that most decisively affect their moral dispositions and competencies' (ibid: 154).

4.2. Angolan PSB nation narration: influence, interference and propaganda

The research carried so far helps in understanding how Angola's identity, a post-civil war country, is presented and narrated by public service broadcasting 40 years after independence, providing credence to the idea that job protection and caring for journalists' futures are some of the main reasons preventing public service broadcasters from largely not presenting elements connected to the Angolan nation as it is being constructed and as it is happening in the daily lives of its population.

There are varied reasons behind the interference of the government in the PSB. The general secretary of the Angolan syndicate of journalists, Teixeira Cândido (2015, in *Igualdade de oportunidades,* Social week, 2016: 115-117) has denounced the imbalances in Angolan public service broadcasting which, in turn, creates disparities in terms of access to

news among Angolan citizens. For him, the right to information written in the Angolan constitution (No. 2, Article 41, and in the press law, No. 7/06, of 15 May) is not yet a fact in the daily lives of the majority of citizens because it does not give access to information for people in order to be informed. Angolan public service television is still a luxury, as Cândido notes, and only affordable by a few citizens (those who can financially afford to have alternative source of electricity) given that there are permanent power shortages in the homes of the majority of people. Even the capital, Luanda, is one of the main obstructive elements denying the majority of Angolans the right to access this public service broadcasting. Angolan public service radio station holds up the monopoly of short wave nationwide, even though it does not yet cover all parts of the country. Cândido argues that 'the quality of news broadcast by Angola public service radio upsurge critics among citizens due to absence of contradictory point of views, debates, plurality of ideas in important politic, social and economic content news broadcast' (2015: 116). Government and parliament delay *sine die* to approve a law allowing the creation of community radio stations in the country although it was been discussed some years ago between government and civil society. The syndicalist reaffirms this: 'the right and access to information in Angola is not yet totally a fact because not all have access to it' (Cândido, 117).

As a contributor to this reflection, journalist Reginaldo Silva, denounced a vacuum in the Angola public service broadcasting. For him, many Angolans are still excluded and underrepresented in the news and even excluded from regular contact with Angola public radio and television. There is, according to Silva, serious interference and propaganda production by the Angolan government and the ruling party in public service broadcasting:

> To me, the main concern and threats of these inequalities is the great imbalances in the way that political and social protagonists are addressed in Angolan public service broadcasting, where government, the ruling party and all their supporters dominate the privileged news airtime in public broadcasting according to their will. This turns the public broadcasting to saturation where propaganda and institutional marketing complete absolutely such a privilege. (Silva, 2015: 126).

The source of these imbalances, says Silva, is Angolan public service broadcasting, which continues to be totally controlled by the government. Content analysis as result of six months of observation and recording samples of Angolan public service broadcasting news for the purpose of this thesis helped to get a good perspective on that picture and elicit

details of it, as presented in the next chapter. Reginaldo Silva, also has commented that in Africa, Angola is probably the country that has invested the most financial resources in public service media. Despite its weak public media, covers more parts of the country than other private media company. The challenge is to provide access to news for all citizens, not to censored news broadcasts in the government's interest but news in the interests of the public. 'My opinion is that such huge financial investment could only make sense if Angolan public service broadcasting fitted satisfactorily to what is expected to be a standard of public service media, which would have regulatory articles in a media law. This has never been approved to date' (ibid: 127). As a possible solution to stopping the state and the government promoting propaganda in the Angola public service broadcasting, Silva proposes the reformulation of the Angolan public media in order to prevent governments and the ruling party from taking total control of public service media.

The Angolan ruling party has created a committee of ruling party journalists that is very active in public service broadcasting. The question is how these media professional can work in the Angolan public service broadcasting without engaging in self-censorship? This strategy mixes professionalism and political favours with serious ethical concerns. Apparently, no-one can accuse political stakeholders of obstructing freedom of expression in public service media. However, from the content analysis done in our research, one may understand that the kinds of stories broadcast by some journalists in the Angola public service media have the seeds of self-censorship out of fear or because it accords with the objective of their particular interests rather than the public interest.

Cândido's argument may help to understand it, when he asserts:

> *'It is easier for instance to send a reporter to Portugal to report presidential and legislative elections than to send a journalist to Kuango municipality of Lunda Norte which is 600 to 700 kilometres from Luanda. TPA managers seem to not see it as priority. And you know why? It is because they are not interested to this kind of reportage. When journalists go in those* regions *the trend is to bring to light problems. And those problems represent negative aspects to the government that rules the country. TPA and RNA journalists only slightly address critical issues from rural regions when a governor or an administrator of a municipality talks about it'* (Interviewed by the author, April 16th, 2016, Appendix, III, n.5).

Most states with PSB in contemporary society have tended to censor the media in one or another way. Street makes an important point, however, when he observes: 'to say that all

states censor is not the same as saying that all states censor equally. They do not. There are systems in which censorship is institutionalized and extensive, other where it is more covert or ad hoc' (2001: 106). In the case of Angola, however, one can note the mentioned trends that are very active in public service broadcasting, as journalist Kaholo (real name hidden for ethical reasons) evaluates it:

> *'There are no clear criteria because we have to cope with a kind of imposition from the News director. Telejornal's coordinator edits stories from the provinces or from the capital Luanda and after a meeting with editors, stories are submitted to News Director for corrections. And that was specially the headlines (no titles as it should be done by journalists) but promoting headlines that better represent the country. To let you with an idea of it, TV News at 8pm had to be edited until five minutes (7.55pm) before broadcasting. Very often presidential statements are given straight forward to presenters without any contact with the News editor and coordinator. Those stories usually come from the TPA News director who at the same time is also civil servant to the presidency. News at 8pm was roughly according to what the Head of State wanted'* (Interviewed by the author April 20th, 2016, Appendix, III, n.4).

However another journalist, Nguemba (real name hidden for ethical reasons), whom I spoke to denied any government interference in his daily work:

> *'I personally have no episodes that could be seen as interferences of political power in my daily work. As journalist and contributor to this public service such interference had never happened. However it is important to state that anyone involved in a television production has to be aware that there are procedures and requirements of owners to be observed. In the case of TPA certainly there are defined lines or requirements to be observed. These requirements define the public interest of this country. Telejornal, in such a way, was a product of a given reality. However that does not mean political interference and I cannot cite concrete examples that I did not see'* (Nguemba, interviewed by the author, May 9th, 2016, appendix, III, n.2).

This journalist's statement may to some extent suggest that the Angolan PSB's owner is the government rather than the Angolan public. 'Angolan State guarantees the existence and independent functioning of a highly competitive public service broadcasting of radio and television' (Angolan Constitution, 2010, art.44, n.3, p.19). However, even though journalist Ngemba's justification *('anyone involved in a television production has to be aware that there are*

procedures and requirements of owners to be observed') may be apparently right, some journalists and even politicians who would like to pass a message to PSB have to be to some extent polite and practise self-censorship to have the door remain open for future interviews (in the cases of interviewees) or to keep their jobs (in the case of broadcasters). An example of this can be seen in this BBC report on Angola: 'Self-censorship is commonplace and independent journalists are regularly monitored and harassed by state agents'.[11]

One of the self-censorship results is often silencing the truth by maintaining secrecy on matters of public interest. After a long period of slavery and colonisation (1482–1975) and about three decades (1975–2002) of civil war, Angola has become 'an industry of secrecy' of all kinds. Secrecy was used and is still being used as a form of subterfuge to attain a given group's objectives. This may be argued either in respect of colonialist governments, post-colonial government and rebel movements. The Angolan media in general and public service broadcasting in particular were hostages of political powers and contenders. Colonial, post-colonial governments and rebel broadcasters could only broadcast what politicians wanted in terms of propaganda. Proof of this was the interview with rebel commander Jonas Savimbi (TPA, September, 1992, *News at 8pm*) in the context of the first democratic electoral process, when he stated: 'We (UNITA) have attacked the central oil refinery of Luanda. In the time of war, we have carried out such an action, and we have denied it because diplomatically it was inconvenient. Now in time of peace, we may state that we were the ones who did it'. In fact, *Vorgan*, the rebels' radio station denied any actions that could jeopardise the rebels' propaganda of what they were fighting for. The distance between secrecy and lies is very close and the consequences for audiences in terms of public opinion may be confusing.

In the last year of its civil war (2001) I was news editor in chief and news executive director of the Angolan Catholic radio station, Radio Ecclesia (at that time, it was one of only two independent radio stations in Luanda). The real story was that UNITA rebels had kidnapped 62 teenager students from an ADDP (a Norwegian NGO) primary school in Caxito's district, 60 km from the capital. A week later, after pressure from the international community, churches, the European Union and NGOs, UNITA soldiers delivered the children to the Catholic mission of Ambaka, 400km from Luanda. The rebels gave a detailed list of the children's names and ages and they also gave a letter from their commander to the parish priest with strict recommendations to present the teenager pupils

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[11] A story about self-censorship in Angola was reported by BBC: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13036740. Accessed by the author on 11 Jun, 2018.

to the Bishop of Uige's province. We broadcast the story on the news at noon, with a live interview with the parish priest who had received the students in Ambaka's district. However, on the same day, government soldiers asserted that the rebels were in Ambaka and had left the 62 children in that Catholic parish, healthy and safe; they came to Ambaka's district with helicopters to fetch the teenagers to the capital. Angolan public service radio and television announced on the *News at 8pm*: 'after eight hours of battle between the rebels of UNITA and the government army, the latter has succeeded in freeing the 62 teenager students kidnapped three weeks ago in Caxito'. The TPA then presented a live picture of children getting out of the government's helicopters. However, any attentive citizen could ask: how come not one of the 62 teenagers had been wounded, killed or disappeared during eight hours of gun fire in an intense battleground between rebels and loyalist soldiers of the government? The Angolan public service broadcaster ignored this simple research question to better inform their audiences. Rather, it preferred to pursue and obey the government strategy, which was based on propaganda and lies.

In view of this, national audiences were confused. Who spoke the truth? The independent Catholic radio station which broadcast at first hand the story or Angolan public service broadcasting, with more coverage in the countryside? As an independent radio station, we advised colleagues in the Angolan public service broadcasting and the Angolan army spokesperson that our source of news had been on the ground and that it would be shame to lie over the story. It would be better to correct it. They refused to do so. Then the Norwegian ADDP's director organised a press conference and clarified that the 62 students had been left by the UNITA rebels in the care of the Catholic parish priest of Ambaka district.

After that press conference, the Angola public service broadcasting did not mention the story anymore. Similarly to this story of pure propaganda, many others have also occurred. Pearce's (2015: 127) reflection on evaluating the role of Vorgan and Angolan PSB during the publication of Angola's first general elections (1992), in terms of his political identity and conflicts in central Angola, may be an appropriate example of this.

Jowett and O'Donnell, however, consider that 'propaganda is not necessarily an evil thing. It can only be evaluated within its own context according to the players, the played upon, and its purpose' (1992: 271). For these authors, there are three kinds of propaganda: the white, the black and the grey. When government uses broadcasting to deliver messages in order to prevent the spread of diseases or terrorism or to promote solidarity for victims of

a natural disaster or catastrophe, in Jowett and O'Donnell's perspective, it is good propaganda, that is, white propaganda. With regard to this purpose, Street (2001: 110) adds that 'the state is expected to issue propaganda for the public interest'. However, in the Angolan context, executives and the government in general often use broadcasting to envelop critical stories and to highlight their performances as good civil servants, even though reports on corruption and bad governance from independent media and international institutions shadow their activities. This thesis would suggest that what Jowett and O'Donnell describe as white propaganda could be considered as promotional or marketing for social causes. The reason is that from its beginnings in the First World War, propaganda is more linked to lies and to negative concepts rather than to positive ones.

Opposite to the promotion of social causes and national security is the bad propaganda. According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1992: 15), such propaganda "is usually considered as black propaganda because it covers and uses false information. In fact the word disinformation is a cognate for the Russian *dezinformatsia*, taken from the name of a division of the KGB devoted to black propaganda'.

In Angolan public service broadcasting, there are many ways for the state to deny access to real information. And among them is managing PSB coverage and distributing information selectively according to the government's interests. Street (2001: 109) makes a good point when he states: 'the corollary of secrecy and censorship is propaganda. The selective release of information is indeed to protect and promote the interests of those in power. It is a relatively small step from this blatant promotion of the state and its leaders'. The journalist Kaholo's reflections when interviewed for the purpose of this thesis reveal an interesting aspect of propaganda in the Angolan PSB:

> *'our Telejornal main objective is the protection and promotion of the Angolan State specially the President José Eduardo dos Santos. We are committed to promote the leader who never was tired; a leader who had a clear vision, evident and magnanimous. (…) We broadcast an Angolan economic growth in two digits, a country with no crisis; a nation in process of reconstruction at all levels (schools, hospitals) and a better live that Angolan people will benefit. And so it is the superficial wellbeing we broadcast nationwide'* (Kaholo, April 20th, 2016, Appendix III, n.4).

Propaganda is a kind of 'preferred food' for many countries' leaders (as was the case for President Mobuto in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nazi Germany, Yugoslavia under President Milosevic, and the former Soviet Union, to name a few). 'Where the state owns

and controls press and broadcasting institutions, it can use them for propaganda purposes (…) even in liberal regimes it is possible to identify state attempts to use mass media for propaganda' Street (2001: 109). Journalist Cândido terms propaganda as *administrative journalism* in Angola:

> *'TPA and RNA produce what I name as administrative journalism. (…) If you are an observer of Telejornal you will acknowledge that a meeting of any ambassador with the Angolan head of state has always priority. It becomes a headline. A story like this seems to be more important than an identity office 'flooded' by people fighting to have access to national identity documents. The destruction of houses of citizens by heavy rains and an accident of vehicles killing ten to twenty people, for example, are set in second plan if compared to simple meeting of an ambassador with the Angolan President to let him know that his time in our country has finished. I call it administrative journalism (...) composed by administrative news such as: ministers' counsel has approved anti-corruption law, a minister will inaugurate this or that infrastructure, minister X will travel overseas'* (Cândido, Appendix III, n.5).

Bad propaganda or propaganda *tout court* is a setback for a post-war country aiming to reunite its citizens and to develop after a long period of civil war, as Angola seems to desire. This thesis agrees with Mytton's (2001: 231) reflection on media occupations in Sub-Saharan Africa, when he asserts that 'when independence was achieved, the media quickly became instruments of power in the new states. They were believed to have an important role in the very creation and shaping of the new states'.

That the Angolan media could face serious interference from the regime was a certain possibility from the very beginning. In the book, *The press of Africa: persecution and perseverance,* Barton (1979: 182) reflects on Portuguese Africa from the perspectives of fascism to Marxism. The author narrates a conversation he had with an influential member of the MPLA, who expressed serious concerns about the press in Angola: 'there is a strong feeling in the party that because newspapers were so much a part of colonial oppression they, too, should now be oppressed. Against this there are the intellectuals who believe the press must be preserved, and so far they won the day'.

When asked about the content of the newspaper, the Angolan Marxist assured Barton in these terms: 'educated people will find them no more edifying than educated Russians find *Pravda* and *Isvestia*. But they will serve a greater good in getting across to the masses the national message of unity" (ibid). This Angolan ruling party member added: 'it is better to have a bad newspaper than no newspaper. After all, a bad newspaper can improve' (ibid).

This picture illustrates well the context in which Angolan public service broadcasting operates. When I asked Nguemba: 'What criticism then have you ever heard from your audiences?' the response was very defensive:

> *'The problem of public service broadcasting is to let open the idea according to which it is always connected to political power. This may also be understood as a stigma. Sometimes people perceive that the fact that PSB belongs to state it voices government agenda. I do not think likewise. The critics we get are that TPA does not tell the truth; Telejornal does not tell the truth. However I often ask myself what that truth means? When we narrate facts people often judge us from the truth criteria. I do agree with a say from an American media professor when he states: 'truth is only true in the ears of who wants to listen to it'* (Appendix III, n.2).

Relativism about what truth is or not is to some extent very philosophical, deserving another reflection. For this thesis, however, it is worth to say that in the context of Angola PSB seems to be a hostage to political power where broadcasters dance to whatever music politicians intend to play on public service radio or television. Journalist Kaholo's reflection on this purpose contradicts Nguemba's argument:

> *'What often happen is that TPA has not its own plan. Telejornal journalists are not encouraged to think about stories to broadcast. Directors' choices are more inclined in having the Angolan government agenda to make Telejornal guidelines from it. An example of this is when TPA receives an invitation that ministers' council will meet. TPA directors are more focused in making arrangements to attend this kind of event. Many stories from rural areas, even though we know them, are not considered important. Things happen according to what TPA directors want'* (Kaholo, Appendix III, n.2).

Journalist Kaholo's observation above is also the general idea of Angolan journalists, students, political party leaders and civil society.

Very few people could be consciously happy that their country's media are bad, like in the example of the Russia *Pravda* newspaper quoted in the above example happened in late 1970s. However it is still the case in present-day Angola, as journalist Kaholo explains:

> *'my discussions with TPA News director were often about it. The trend is to broadcast project that will be implemented and not facts. To me stories that did not yet happen are not news and in such perspective do not deserve to be broadcast because they may not happen. We broadcast stories such as: "we will have power electricity from Lauca dam in 2017".*

> *Stories like this are pretty and apparently interesting to broadcast. However we are told to not broadcast stories about bad roads, power electricity shortages, scarcity of water'* (Kaholo, Appendix III, n.4).

Another journalist, Jimu (real name hidden for ethical reasons) also confirmed weaknesses in PSB news. Answering the question whether there was independence in the Angolan Public Service Television (TPA), they affirmed that their freedom was very limited. They had freedom to search for news content and align it with news narrative by 8pm. However, whatever news they found out and edited, it had to be circumscribed within the rules of the government. All news had to be broadcast according to the government's established limits.

> *'I cannot broadcast any story presenting the negative side of it even though from one interviewee, if that aspect may cause some harm to the ruling political power. I have to take simple criticisms of a story but immediately highlight more the future good solutions to it. If a given story has no solution yet from the regime, we cannot broadcast it'* (Jimu, interviewed by the author, May 16th 2016, Appendix III, n.1).

In such a context, journalists in the Angolan PSB must act as engineers; they must be creative in broadcasting at a very low level the negative aspects of any story. This task could only be easier for academics or professors at a good faculty of media, in order to give a better meaning to it. Such journalism, said the interviewee, excluded immediately, for instance, any poor woman selling bananas on Luanda's streets from having her say of what her daily life was like on public television.

Jimu also clarified the reason why *News at 8pm* in the Angolan public television always started with an Angolan president's story, no matter whether it was important or not, rather than the most important story of the country in any circumstance. *'To start the news at 8pm with a presidential story has its root in the sense that Angola as a country has a leader and all events have to turn around the leader. It is in this way we define the stories we broadcast'.* There is one newsroom in the Angolan public service television (TPA), as Jimu explained, specialising in reporting, editing and broadcasting presidential stories. Reporters working in that sector were prepared to deal with presidential stories because they had access and knew well the presidential agenda.

> *'They produce what critic members of Angolan civil society and opposition parties name as the 'cult of personality'. However, inside our TV newsroom, we name it 'the supreme*

sovereign institution of Angola' that deserves the right to open all our Angolan public television News at 8pm.' (ibid)

Journalist Kaholo also confirmed it when I asked him the reason why *News at 8pm* always starts with presidential stories:

> *'That is because TPA has a special desk of journalists working every day to narrate the country from Presidency and government perspective. (…) the head of state is the first and most important person of the country and because of this, he must be always the focus and headlines of TPA's telejornal. In the case that the presidency had no relevant stories worth of broadcasting this team of journalists had to search stories to convey and draw attention to the head of state. In my view this is a strategy to strengthen the president's personality who needs more the media to be promoted than to promote himself through the work in behalf of the Angolan people'* (Kaholo, Appendix III, n.4).

Jimu noted, however, that he came from a different school of journalism, one that saw journalism differently to this one. *'However I am in Rome and I must be Roman'* (which means he is in the Angolan public service television and so he has to act according to the TPA rules). *Any broadcaster who tries to act differently would be aware that his job could be lost in a moment,* he added.

If this is the context, how can this broadcasting medium honestly narrate the daily happening of people in this under constructing nation? Jimu looked at me seriously with a smile and said:

> *'We narrate a real nation in the perspective of hope and promise and not in the perspective of what is really happening. We do journalism of not raising problems, a journalism of announcing solutions, a journalism of selling hope, a journalism of promises. This is the reason why our News at 8pm starts and finishes using words such as "'government will do, it will happen, we will have more water and power electricity, we are now prepared to do…"' and the like.'* (Jimu, Appendix III, n.1)

The interviewee concluded that this was more a journalism of empty promises rather than of what was really happening in the everyday lives of Angolan people. Jimu also analysed the muted consent in the Angolan PSB:

> *'For instance, it often happens that there is a challenging story that could be broadcast in the public interest but we TPA prefer silence. However, since we acknowledge that there is now a*

solution by the ruling power to it, even though the story has happened some days or weeks ago, because independent media have already broadcast it, we TPA can now talk about it, highlighting the government solution to it.' (ibid.)

The interviewee went further to explain that often they censor even government statements:

'Any minister or any government's stakeholder may denounce things or criticise stories or even express himself against some wrongdoing of the regime in an interview. If as a PSB journalist, I realise that what he has said may compromise him and the regime and he may be sacked for it, I censor those words, broadcasting only the good side, and I call the interviewee to explain that if that declaration is broadcast he could be in trouble. And he thanks me for this job. Unfortunately, this is the journalism we do in the Angolan public service broadcasting.' (ibid)

In the face of these revelations, one can see that Angolan PSB is not yet playing its full role of helping the building of a nation in this post-war society. There is a long way to travel in this perspective.

Asked about the way Angolan public television deals with its audiences, Jimu said that journalists in PSB had access to figures from an independent statistics institution. Marktest is a recognised enterprise that conducts statistics on Angola media and communications, with an emphasis to broadcasting. According to its study, the only two Angolan national television channels (TPA and TV Zimbo) broadcasting from Luanda compete with each other. However, while the independent TV Zimbo broadcasts on closed platforms by dish satellite, the national public service television, TPA, broadcasts on an open platform with an analogue signal. Therefore the government allows an open platform signal for TPA alone. Marktest observed however that in terms of news at 8pm, the independent television channel, TV Zimbo, takes the lead. *'Zimbo news has more audience',* said Jimu. Nevertheless, Jimu affirmed that TPA is making a great effort to make its news content at 8pm more interesting, with stories that TPA bring to light, but always with the warranty that government has a solution to it. If not, there is no way to broadcast it. The choice of the subjects to broadcast is based on the criteria of announcing solutions even though these will not happen. *'We are warned to never put the country in worry or in trouble in a sense of announcing disgraces and with no solutions'.*

For technical reasons, there is no guest giving contrary views live during the *News at 8pm*.

The fact is the broadcast room has two chairs only: one for the presenter and another for just one guest. The studio was built that way, said Jimu. If people paid attention during the *News at 8pm*, they would observe that the presenter and the guest are both in the same studio. In contrast to live news, in recorded stories, there is no contradictory points raised. Reporters do not give voice to anyone who could say something different or the opposite of what a governor or minister has said. Jimu confirmed it:

> *'In this context, in fact, we do not also have contradictory voices. All the times that a story is linked to political, journalistic rule of contradictions become difficult to attain in TPA. That story becomes sensitive to editing and to dealing with. The reason behind this attitude is not because the journalist adopts self-censorship. It is because we are not permitted to do so. If one of us tries to do it, the input will not be broadcast and he may be sacked. As you know none of us wants to lose his job.'* (ibid)

Kaholo also contributed to this when I asked him: 'Why you did generally not have a contradictory point of view in the News you broadcast?' *'That is not possible because the plan is to let audience know that government activities are all good'* (Appendix III, n.4).

The fear of losing their job seems to block good initiatives for professional journalists in Angolan PSB. To the question 'why do journalists accept it?' journalist Cândido asserts:

> *'In one hand is to protect their job. In the other hand is because the country is politically tied. Managers, news directors either from TPA as from Private TV Zimbo are member of the Angola government. If you enter in contradiction with them you are sacked with no daily bread for your family. In such a context between speaking and silence professional journalists in TPA and RNA prefer silence. This attitude is rewarded with a house, a vehicle and healthcare'* (Cândido, Appendix III, n.5).

Besides that, Jimu says there is freedom and the rule of contradictory viewpoints in programmes like *Ecos e factos* (sound and facts), broadcast at 6pm. TPA broadcasts many social stories happening every day and obviously in the interests of people. Unfortunately, said the interviewee, at the time it is broadcast, it gets very little audience. Another TPA programme with contradictory viewpoints is sport. Jimu remembered how the Angolan national president of the football confederation, a general in the army, was strongly criticised by his colleague in a live TPA debate because of the poor results of the national football team. However, what happened in those two exceptional programmes does not happen in the privileged space of the *News at 8pm*. The script used on *News at 8pm*, said

Jimu, *'is full of rose petals'*, praising the President of Angola from beginning to end.

If this is the actual picture of Angolan PSB, might TPA change in the coming five to ten years? Sambu Jimu's answer is absolutely yes.

> *'There is an interest from politicians in the ruling party in a sense that TPA has to be more open. There is pressure for TPA to broadcast live the parliamentary debates plenaries; there is pressure to have more initiatives in reporting national stories and to facilitate the journalistic rule of contradiction in our news, inviting guests from different political parties'* (Jimu,appendix III, n.1).

Jimu recognises critics from audiences according to which TPA is now a little bit open due to the pressure from its independent competitor, TV Zimbo.

> *'We have opened the Mais opinião (More opinion) TPA programme at 5pm. We knew that our competitor would open a similar programme and so we took the lead so as not to lose our audience. Yes, we have copy from them (TV Zimbo). In a similar way we, TPA, increased debate programmes, broadcasting them on the same timetable as theirs to compete with them. As a result, we now feel that audiences watch our debates. The fact is when we do not perform well, social media criticises us with many comments through Facebook, WhatsApp, Viber and so on, which means they watch our debates'* (ibid).

Apart from this, Jimu recognised that Angolan PSB did not yet represent good journalism because broadcasters were not allowed to give voice to guests with different points of view and were not even permitted to open *News at 8pm* with an opposition party leader who had an important story in the public interest.

> *'PSB News at 8pm "must" start with a sovereign institution's story: from the President of the Angolan Republic, the head of State; the president of the Angolan national assembly, the parliament or a minister, even though the story is less important to our audience'* (ibid).

Finally, TPA has new equipment for the purposes of editing and reporting. However, its signal to audiences is still on an analogue platform. Moreover, there are some regions of Angola (in the east and south) that are totally disconnected because people living in those areas do not yet receive the Angolan PSB channels.

Conclusion

To conclude, the censorship, self-censorship and secrecy that accommodates propaganda in the Angola public service broadcasting and in most of Africa's PSBs are often the result of fears manufactured from muted conscience and moral silence in the face of the truth. To rephrase Bird (2002), when reflecting on the muted conscience in the practice of ethics in business, it is also accurate to state that in matters of public service broadcasting, as far as ethics are concerned, there is also moral silence, moral deafness and moral blindness.

However in terms of challenges for Angolan PSB, Nguemba attests that:

> *'as a journalist the major challenge is continuing to be a professional journalist thinking of this country every day. This aspect is, in my view, improving with results in the near future. I want to be in a condition of serving Telejornal and my country as professional journalist. This can only be attained doing well my job based on the journalism's criteria of objectivity, impartiality and exemption. While I perform likewise within the framework of these principles I will be happy of doing well my job even though the evaluation of it depends on the audiences'* (Appendix III, n.2).

On the other hand journalist Cândido underlined the need of presenting to audiences what is really happening in the country as the major challenge for PSB:

> *'for me if Telejornal could show problems happening in rural regions of the country, Angolans could perceive how different the reality is? However it did not happen likewise. This is the reason why people complain that Telejornal did not address what is really happening. As a result they do not believe in Telejornal'* (Appendix III, n.5).

Excuses in not telling the truth are real facts when one observes the actual context in which Angolan public service broadcasting operates. Job protection, the hope of getting a promotion and good salaries and avoiding reprisals speak louder according to Angolan public broadcasters I spoke to. There is also silence from sources for news that could help fight for social justice, development and the construction of the post-war nation that Angola seems to be. And while people expect PSB to serve the citizens and educate them in values such as justice and peace building, what is perceived from content analysis as revealed in the next chapter is the trend of using PSB to serve private interests.

Ellul (1965: 52) advised long ago that people should not be victims of propaganda for two reasons. The first is: 'we shall not be victims of propaganda because we are capable of

distinguishing truth from falsehood', and the second is: 'we believe nothing that the "enemy" says because everything he says is necessarily untrue. But if the "enemy" can demonstrate that he has told the truth, a sudden turn in his favour will result'.

Analysing our interviewees' reflections above, one can see that although Angola as a country has succeeded in overcoming war, PSB is still an instrument of propaganda for the winners, spreading an ideology that is no longer adjusted to the contemporary context. However, despite this shadowy picture, it is possible to reshape and transform the actual Angolan instrument of propaganda, as the Angolan PSB is often considered, to a real Angolan public service broadcasting as a positive instrument to help the building and development of the Angolan nation.

Contrary to PSB's negative impact as a mouthpiece of propaganda it may play a psychological role in terms of therapy in people's minds if these instruments are reshaped to the actual context and needs of Angolan citizens. Nowadays, many citizens among the new generation of Angolans receive a lot of information through social media and DSTV platforms. These alternative media bring to them a critical sense of what is happening in the country and abroad. The proof of it is the way they perceive Angolan PSB (see the participants' arguments from Chapters 5 to 8) at the beginning of the 21st century.

After getting the say of journalists, it is very important to evaluate the contents of Angolan PSB in order to understand how audiences receive and perceive it. This is what is set out in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Nation narration in Angolan PSB's *News at 8pm*: a qualitative content analysis

Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to reflect on the discourse of nation and national reconstruction as broadcast on Angolan Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) a decade and a half after the end of the civil war. Angolan Public Television (TPA in Portuguese) and Angola National Radio (RNA in Portuguese) *News at 8pm* is a paradigmatic example for this analysis given the fact that it is a privileged space (see more details in Chapter 3) through which the majority of Angolans are informed and by which the Angolan government addresses the most important news about Angola's communities, regions and the world.

The chapter seeks to understand and reflect on who (whether citizens or elites) speaks about the nation on those public broadcasters, what nation do they refer to, and who is included and who excluded.

To attempt an answer to the above questions, this chapter purposes to analyse some themes as outcomes from selected samples recorded in 2015, according to whether a story brings or is expected to bring interesting elements to the narration of the nation, national reconstruction, elements that address the public interest and development and also seeks to understand the idea of the nation that the Angolan government projects abroad (see more details of the criteria adopted to make this choice possible in Chapter 3). Another focus of this chapter is to find an acceptable interpretation of the narrative of nation-building according to the contexts of the chosen samples below. In doing so, this chapter intends to contribute to a better understanding of the reasons behind some points of view of the participants in group discussions held as part of this thesis (as detailed in Chapter 6).

TPA and RNA *News at 8pm* programmes are structured as follows: an announcement of the time, and an announcement of the programme, followed by headlines and the introduction of the PSB team (editor, technician and presenter). The recorded samples for this research are analysed together in this chapter because, although they are different media, based on the material recorded during my fieldwork, the news agenda-setting content is more or less the same. Angolan public radio and TV evening news bulletins are broadcast at the same

time of 8pm. People have to make a choice whether to follow the news on the radio or TV or change from radio to TV from time to time according to the interest of audience members.

The Angolan radio and TV public service have the same owner (the state, as represented by the Ministry of Social Communication), which appoints the managers and defines the editorial policies. This fact also determines their agenda setting. For a better understanding, the chapter focuses more on the narrative (discourse) from the samples rather than from managers' or broadcasters' performances or behaviour. In the themes below, I have also paid attention to which medium a given sample was broadcast from and what the country context was for a given story to allow a better analysis.

5.1. The nation in TPA and RNA *News at 8pm*

Output from the RNA and TPA recorded samples seems to present the Angolan post-war nation as in a process and already overcoming its major post-war problems. The government project of the nation is promoted as certain, successful and in progress even though it is still just a potential dream that is not based on people's day-to-day lives. The following sample, in which I also present the format of RNA and TPA *News at 8pm,* may be an example of this:

> ### Sample 1
>
> Jingle: It is 8pm; this is Angola public radio station broadcasting from Luanda.
>
> Presenter Amílcar Xavier (PAX): Angola good evening. The headlines:
>
> 1. MPLA political bureau evaluates a macro-economic revised memorandum 2015 and the credit funds from China.
>
> 2. The National Bank governor says Angola will attend an IMF and World Bank meeting and will focus on the need for changes in the management of these institutions.
>
> 3. FACRA has 250 million USD to support national micro and medium projects.
>
> 4. General African attorneys meet in Menongue, in the south of Angola, to discuss poaching in Africa.
>
> 5. The national football team, Palancas Negras, will be in Johannesburg tomorrow.
>
> Good evening Angola; this is RNA *News at 8pm*, on Tuesday 1st of September 2015. Estevão Borges is the editor, the technician, Gerson Diogo; the news on your radio is presented by Amílcar Xavier.

Jingle….

Presenter Amilcar Xavier (**PAX**): Good evening! The manager of the Angolan active risk capital fund (FACRA in Portuguese), Augusto Segunda, states there is $250 million (US) to support micro and medium enterprise projects. According to Augusto Segunda, initiatives linked to economic diversification and export development creation are a priority for this institution that is coordinated by the Angolan Ministry of the Economy; the whole story is presented by reporter Lopes Canhina (RLC).

RLC: FACRA has $250 million ready to support micro and medium enterprises. FACRA's manager, Augusto Segunda, informed the public about this fund during the award ceremony for the winners of the third technology talent edition, a competition promoted by INFRASAT. Segunda said the priority for accessing that fund is for projects linked to the national economy's diversification.

Augusto Segunda Digital Registry (**DR 1**): The FACRA is covered by $250 million or its equivalent in Angolan national currency (Kuanza) to support project diversity. However, it is important to add that FACRA does not invest in technology projects alone but also in the industry (RNA, *News at 8pm*, on September 1st, 2015).

2015 was a wake-up call for Angolan government executives to start to look for alternative revenues to deal with the decrease in the price of oil on the international market. Agriculture and industrialisation in sectors other than oil had become a priority for the country. A government public speech before the oil international crisis seems to not pay enough heed to cyclical changes occurring in the oil sector. The above sample, which was one of the main stories on this public service radio on the September news edition at 8pm, although used as a format for many other similarly recorded stories broadcast by Angolan PSB, may be proof of this. The matters addressed in this sample are of interest to the public because the majority of Angolans are farmers and so policies to develop the agricultural sector and industry might benefit many citizens. However, who can directly access this fund and under what conditions? Angolan national reconstruction, from the Angolan government stakeholders' perspective, needs alternatives to financially sustain its people; however, the way forward seems unclear.

FACRA's manager asserts that 'initiatives linked to economic diversification and exportation development are a priority'. This government initiative seems at first sight to be interesting in the context of national reconstruction although the speech seems to not detail which and how national citizens may access this fund? *News at 8pm* seems not to underline the context in which FACRA was created, nor how it was developed and the main objectives of it. The story seems to just give hints about FACRA and does not tell audiences even what procedures or requirements there are to access this money and the

amount one can get from this fund, or what the reimbursement methods or timings are? These details seem to be important for audience members who may be interested in starting up their own project in the context of national reconstruction. Therefore, in a time of financial crisis, it is good to provide solutions for people to respond to their needs.

In addition, $250 million USD is a considerable sum of money in the context of this post-war country. And so, it deserves an additional explanation to let PSB audiences know the mechanisms or criteria of development and sustainability that encouraged the Angolan government to secure that sum of money. This PSB narrative did not emphasise such elements either by asking their interviewees or by *News at 8pm* analysts giving audiences more details on FACRA's funding.

This sample may then give a first response to the above question of who (the elite) speak about the nation and what nation (from the elite's perspective) they are talking about? The Angolan elite's vision, although possible, and worthy may not be necessarily realistic, at least in the short and medium term. Apart from these reasons, the Angolan elite's vision, as expressed in this sample, seems to take its lead in Public Service Broadcasting.

In addition, expressions such us: *develop economic diversification … exportation … industry … technology* emphasise the idea that Angolan PSB very often is focused more on addressing the elite vision (dream) of nation-building, which is different to that of the majority of Angolans struggling to find solutions to their basic needs (water, education, health, security, jobs). In this sample, potential beneficiaries of this fund are absent or may be excluded, based on one of the initial questions posed at the beginning of this chapter. One of the challenges is how Angolan PSB could help facilitate these two visions in a way that would combine the narrative of the Angolan nation in the process, since both are important, even though at different levels, for nation building?

5.2. PSB and nation as an initiative and creativity

Angolan nation-building is addressed in PSB through some initiatives that encourage innovation and creative mechanisms (PSB News samples sometimes address initiatives around the construction of railways, encouraging tourism, improvements in the agriculture sector) that might help find a solution to local challenges in the context of the post-war society. However, those initiatives will hardly become a reality if citizens are not

encouraged to invest in knowledge as a scientific resource in a way that contributes to nation-building. Initiatives such as the one in the sample broadcast by RNA (see Appendix IV). Since 2013, public polytechnic high schools in Angola have organised from time to time technology exhibitions and competitions to encourage creativity among students from provinces where engineering courses are run. Organisers usually look for sponsorship of this event from the oil companies operating in Angola with the support of the government and Public Service Broadcasting. The objective is to identify new talent.

An example of this is the Angolan Public Service Radio that has co-sponsored a students' competition with the help of INFRASAT, a satellite enterprise. This seems to be an encouraging initiative for engineering students and for this post-war country. It may help dormant inventors to awaken their skills and the new Angolan generation to believe that if they study and work hard, they may achieve their dreams. Initiatives like this may be a sign of the positive role that PSB plays in nation building.

This generator avoids pollution and may help poor rural communities to power electricity, with no need of any fuel or oil to function (Student Candjango, in RNA, Appendix IV, sample 2). Although such an invention has debatable issues in terms of originality and so forth, students with this thinking seem to be aware of the environmental challenges of our contemporary world, although living in an underdeveloped country. Therefore, this is also a prospective aspect to consider: that PSB plays an important role in letting citizens in every corner of the world know that common problems such as environmental ones have to be addressed no matter what context human beings may live in. Pollution is no longer a matter for developing countries alone. Toxic waste, the burning of forests and fuel consumption, just to name these few, are issues affecting everybody in the world directly or indirectly. In view of this, the environment is often a concern and a matter of hot debate in the media, even in underdeveloped societies.

In addition, from this report, I can perceive through PSB that some post-war Angolan students seem to acknowledge some challenges that embarrass citizens in rural areas of this country, such as the scarcity of electricity. Their creations with regard to fuel and oil as is narrated in this sample bring to light the fact that science is also a matter of the context of where a given scientist lives. PSB seem to touch on the expectations of its audience in co-sponsoring this initiative for it brings to light the real difficulties of Angolans in rural areas (Chapter 6). The point is how often are stories like this broadcast on *News at 8pm*? Therefore, the time given to this story in this edition of the news seems very brief if

compared to samples addressing politics, as one will see in samples 8 and 9 later in Appendix IV. Proof of this may be what some participants in group discussions (see Chapter 6) asserted in this thesis when they said that Angolan PSB very often does not address stories in the public interest and when it happens, they are put into a secondary place and narrated briefly.

The second winner of this competition is a team of two telecommunication institute students (Tiago Muindo and Isabel dos Prazeres) with a domestic mobile phone project whose objective is the protection of human life. Although the story seems to be interesting, the narrative did not make it clear enough how a mobile phone can protect life? The creators of this invention seem to have not had enough of an opportunity to explain their creation as was the case with the first winner (Candjango, see Appendix IV, sample 2), to give the audience a better understanding of their creation.

On the other hand, questions about the criteria adopted to select the winners, who might be eligible for this competition and the mentioning of other creations presented to this competition do not get complete answers in this sample. Given that it is the announcement of the winners, there is a missing PSB narrative containing explanations to clarify the above-raised questions that could help audiences who have heard the report for the first time to learn more about it.

5.3. Communications in nation narration

Interpersonal communication in Angola is very active and is still part of the Angolan cultural narrative. People communicate face-to-face and this habit facilitates the narrative of their daily lives. Word of mouth is a kind of daily bread for the majority of citizens. This might be the reason why telecoms enterprises make good incomes in Africa in general and in Angola in particular, where the culture of live voice communication is vibrant. Concerns about how to build communications platforms in Angola seems to be an interesting story for Angolan PSB audiences and part of nation-building in post-war Angola.

From independence (1975) to the end of civil war (2002), the Angolan government had a monopoly on country telecommunications as was the case during the Portuguese colonial time. Angolan Telecom, a public enterprise, was the only provider of land and mobile telephone services. In the context of the civil war, communications in the country were very limited and tightly controlled. The sample 3, (see Appendix IV), as PSB presents it,

seems to be opening things up and to be giving telephone and communications access to private enterprises in a way that will benefit more citizens.

However, this is generally how market economics is presented, and the language used by the Minister of Telecommunication, who considers the initiative to be beneficial to the entire people of Angola, might not be the real picture. PSB *News at 8pm* did not question the minister more about the real advantages of this project for common Angolans. The narrative seems to provide a clear link with marketisation in the context of development. By broadcasting the story as it is, PSB *News at 8pm* seems more to promote such private marketisation rather than having been aware of citizens' needs.

Sample 3 about a new telecom platforms project was featured as the main lead in TV *News at 8pm* on October 1, overtaking the National Budget story. 'National State budget for 2016 was analysed today (…). I will come back to this story later. Now let me first tell you that telephone operators in Angola may get a license for fixed-line telephony and TV cable' (TPA's presenter Ernesto Bartolomeu, Appendix IV, sample 3).

Although the placing of a story on the agenda of a TV or radio news programme may be debatable because of its subjectivity (as reflected for example by Gans, 2004), the telephony story in this sample seems to have been given the lead as it apparently addresses the public interest in nation narration. The sample highlights the need for all to get access to telecommunications in the actual context of post-war Angola.

However, when reading the following statement from Angola Telecommunications' Minister José Carvalho da Rocha (MJCR): 'What we want is to see the market as customers who are able to access (from our mobiles in our pockets) the internet, calls, and TV signals, all on just one device' (see Appendix IV, sample 3), the impression is that it is more a wish than a fact. And in the short term, it is more a good news story for telecommunications enterprises than for citizens. Business people interested in investing in telecommunications seem to be the direct target of this story, even though later on citizens with financial means may also indirectly benefit.

The sample seems to fit well with people in developing and developed countries, and the Angolan government often (see Chapter 4) tries to sell this picture of developing country to citizens and to the world. However, when reflecting on related issues – extreme poverty, power shortages, considerably high levels of illiteracy – it is not easy to accept that the majority of Angolan PSB audiences are focused on purchasing mobile phone devices that

will have all services on them. This is to recall the above-mentioned question, which is: What nation does the Angolan elite talk about? It is a good idea to imagine Angola as developed country in the future with all these services, but also it is important to bear in mind that those telecommunication services might be available if basic conditions (to fight illiteracy, poverty and the like) improved, which seems not to be the case for this post-colonial and post-war Angola. Therefore, this country's development project seems to be more narrated by PSB *News at 8pm* in the perspective of an economy sustained by the Angolan political elites' vision of the nation, looking more from the outside (a developed country's success) but paying less heed to the real conditions of the country in seeing how to strategically turn the page of underdevelopment.

The will to add more telecommunication operators to achieve this objective is perceptible but unclear if, in the meantime, one considers who are or will be the official operators of the airwaves: how will this be done in the context of power shortages and poverty? MJCR asserts:

> *'What will happen is we will have three big telephone companies providing all these services with global licences. As a result, we'll move in the near future TV and radio broadcasting on the analogic system to broadcasting digitally with a large bandwidth, allowing more speed and more accessibility to the internet and this is what we, as citizens, need'* (Appendix IV, Sample 3).

The above question may have no response while the desire to lower the price of services and gain fast access to the internet and so forth seem to require more details for *News at 8pm* audiences: *'What we want in fact is quality of services and the prices of them to be more attractive to our people'* (ibid). This is one of the general wishes that is good to dream about, but with some essential details (i.e. how to do it) missing. PSB *News at 8pm* seems to prefer not to take advantage of their analysts or opinion makers to fill the gaps in a way that would give audiences more elements to better understand stories such as this one. Again, responses to questions like how this is going to be achieved and who might be the agents of development for this project remain non-existent, from what one can read in this narrative. News also has the function of explaining shadowy aspects of a given narrative in the perspective of its audience. And that seems to be one of the biggest expectations from public service broadcasting as an official means of communication (as noted by Scannell, 1996).

Few Angolans have the option of purchasing 'sophisticated' mobiles as a good tool to

communicate and to conduct business on a micro scale. From that perspective, this story may attract PSB audiences in a way that addresses their expectations. However, if one interprets sample 3 in more detail, one may perceive that this story belongs to more of an elitist idea of the nation if contextualised within the challenges of actual post-war Angola where basic and necessary conditions for the majority of PSB audiences have not yet received an acceptable response from the government.

The Water for All project, for instance, (see Appendix IV, sample 4) is one of those basic but fundamental needs of people and is rarely addressed on PSB *News at 8pm*. When it happens, those without a voice are generally absent in the narrative.

Water scarcity in Angola was among the most mentioned subjects by participants in group discussions to this thesis. Therefore, this topic brought and still brings real and emotional concerns in pretty much all of Angolan post-war society. Water continues to be a headache for the Angolan government since decolonisation (1975). Although full of rivers and waterfalls, Angola has not yet set up a successful national project in a way that would sort out the challenges that block access to water for all.

I have selected this sample because it is by far the one most in the public interest in the context of nation-building in post-war Angola. Nations are also constructed from the joint narratives of members of a given society through sharing their daily happiness and sorrows.

The point of this sample 4 is not the lack of water alone but also how the government and its stakeholders have dealt with it and for how long? This sample also gives an idea of one of the aspects rooted in the foundation of a national reconstruction from the PSB audience's perspective: to address stories connected to the daily lives of people. In fact, water has proven hard to provide in a country full of rivers. How does the Angola government narrate this story through PSB? The following statement is from the state secretary of water:

> At this time, we support about 3,400,000 inhabitants in varied implemented projects either through the opening of water holes that we call artisan holes or through small cisterns already concluded (Angolan State Secretary of Water).

Although 3,400,000 people seem to be a considerable number of citizens, it is very few if compared to the approximately 26 million inhabitants that Angola actually has.[12] The narrative does not inform PSB audiences how many inhabitants Angola has or where they

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[12] See data from Angola INE, 2016.

are in a way that would provide an insight into how this project is been conducted to respond to the need for water by that number of inhabitants in diverse locations (Appendix 4, Sample 4).

Also, despite the numbers advanced by the state secretary of water, expressions like about 3,400,000 … various implemented projects … artisan holes … small cisterns seem to be vague in responding to this very serious country challenge. A state secretary of water is expected to master precise data in a live PSB interview to give detailed information to audiences about this important issue of his field of management and maybe knowledge. It is not enough for instance to state that 'there are small tanks, water holes and pipelines' (ibid). It is also important to know where (which regions, towns and provinces) the government has decided to place small cisterns, where it has decided to open holes and why it has been done in this way? Is it because of the characteristics of that locality or region? Is it because rivers are too far away to link pipelines from them to people's villages and cities? Is it because of a tight budget or that it was an easier way to provide water? And what is the quality of water in those cisterns or holes? The state secretary of water's words did not seem to answer these questions. The narrative seems to generalise important aspects of this story while giving some figures.

Water for All (2012–2017)[13] is a big country project, receiving the sponsorship of partners other than the Angolan government. Pipelines were fixed in many suburbs of some of the Angolan cities, as well as some rural areas of the country to provide water, but the result was, in many cases, empty pipes.

The project was one of the flagship projects of the ruling party campaign for the 2012 general elections in the country. The expectation was high but the results debatable.

> Three years have passed since (the beginning of the Water for All project in 2012 and when this interview was conducted, and the narrative seem to praise the achievements of the project but is silent about what was not accomplished. Neither does it express concern about what has to be done. The only idea left as a way forward in this interview is: 'We do have 2,774 points for water completed and we have 344 points of water in progress, and we'll open 490 when the economic conditions are right'(State Secretary of Water, Appendix

[13] Details of this story are at: https://www.makaangola.org/2012/08/agua-para-todos-cisternas-para-a-elite and http://www.angop.ao/angola/pt_pt/noticias/sociedade/2015/6/31/Angola-Projecto-Agua-para-Todos-beneficia-porcento-populacao,812005fc-39d6-4d52-acfe-c385489ad12f.html; accessed by the author on 16/2/2018.

IV, sample 4).

Where are the completed water points located, in what region are those 344 points in process and how many people are benefiting from it? These are, in my opinion, important questions for PSB to ask and responses to these could help clarify what the 'Water for All project' is about. This narrative seems not be directed in this way. How can PSB's audience members verify this? An idea of how much money was spent in total from 2012 to the date of that interview or in each category (holes, cisterns) of water provision points are useful information that PSB *News at 8pm* could provide to PSB audiences, but the narrative does not bring the programme in such a direction.

Besides, the beneficiaries of water points seem to be absent in the narrative. Could they not have a say in this story? The only one who seems to be allowed to express his view about the story is the state secretary of water. The narrative does not even mention whether the points of water to be opened nationwide had the agreement or cooperation of local authorities and the people who will benefit from them. This information seems to be important for delivery in the context of this narrative.

To sum up, this PSB sample 4 gives the idea that elite people in the government decide when, where and how a public good (in this case, water outlets) might be located while the beneficiaries remain silent. It is in a context like this that one may find another clue to answer one of the questions I have posed in the introduction to this chapter: who is excluded from Angolan PSB's discourse of the nation?

Related to the previous sample's interpretation is the narrative of the voiceless (children) that is worth mentioning here (see the complete story in Appendix IV, sample 5). However, even here too, those with social responsibilities are more accountable on the *News at 8pm* than those in difficulties. Broadcasters seem to address on some occasions audiences' expectations but from the perspective of those in power and with less or no feedback from audiences.

The Social Assistance and Reinsertion Ministry (MINARS) was created by the Angolan government immediately after decolonisation in 1975. Its mission is to lead and coordinate the government's social policy for vulnerable people, protecting their rights, promoting their development by implementing basic social policies and social assistance. Since the decolonisation process, Angola has witnessed various waves of refugees from rural to urban areas and even to neighbouring countries (DRC, Zambia and Namibia) for security

reasons as a result of the civil war. Entire families were dispersed and, as a result, street and abandoned children have become a challenge that the Angolan government has attempted to deal with.

The narration of the visit of the MINARS minister João Baptista Kussumua, in sample 5, was done in the context of his job of verifying how his representatives in Cabinda province implement the MINARS mission.[14] The sample reveals the real situation of institutions that care for children in the northern province of Cabinda, highlighting some challenges and difficulties.

'We need money to maintain and purchase social equipment for our public children's institutions.' This petition from a Cabinda children's public institution worker announced in the public TV *News at 8pm* (Appendix IV, sample 5) may be interpreted as a sharing of the daily lives of people in need, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, it may attract solidarity nationwide to that cause. In this sample, one may have an idea of the work being done by some people who care for the future (the children) of this country. However, the petition could be clearer if this worker could describe this equipment (medicine, clothes, food and the like) rather than asking for money. Enterprises, corporations, embassies or single people who usually contribute funds to these kinds of institutions are often likely to purchase goods by themselves rather than to give money. Nevertheless, the idea expressed in this sample is an aid to a vulnerable sector of Angolan society (the children).

The MINARS Minister asserts that: *'problems that sector members have presented may be found solution'* (Minister Kussumua, Appendix IV, sample 5). Questions such as, what solutions are there? If the Minister is the one in the government who manages the budget allocated to that sector and says 'maybe', it means he is not sure that there are available solutions. Who should give a correct answer?

These questions seem important in this narrative, and could be addressed to the MINARS Minister, but the broadcaster seems to not address them. Even though the excuse seems to be *'I just want to remind you of the context of competency issues. These are issues that have to be sorted out within local government'* (ibid). However, this is the same government team working for the people's wellbeing. Is there secrecy to let audiences know what tasks are committed to the MINARS and those deserved to local administration straightforward? Otherwise, why should the minister visit a province? Moreover, the minister argues that *'Mrs. Katembo, the*

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[14] http://www.minars.gov.ao/Institucionais/Missao.aspx; accessed by the author on 18/2/2018.

provincial governor (…) will, of course, list the raised questions during my visit' (Appendix IV, sample 5). If this is the case, it means that the provincial governor has to let the minister know what needs there are and the last word will come from him, who, in fact, has the responsibility to decide what to do. Very often, politicians' speeches on PSB are glib phrases to give audiences a ray of hope that there is work being done rather than presenting a clear solution.

For Minister Kussumua, as TPA detailed it, solutions for the overall challenge that MINARS faces in Cabinda province '*depends on the expansion of attendant equipment for young children, continuing support for the landmines clearance process, the training of technicians for social service, monitoring and evaluating of programmes and projects, as well as production and coordination of help to communities'* (ibid). These are very good general solutions, but with no clear commitment given. The narrative does not say who will implement such an expansion programme, how continuing support could be carried on by what means, when technician training could happen and what sector will be in charge of monitoring and evaluating the programme. The conclusion seems to be unclear. There are positive words addressing possible solutions for Cabinda's children's institutions in this sample, but they are imprecise.

However, the narration brings out elements of nation-building with all its wonder and in this perspective, PSB, even though it provides insufficient coverage, seems to accomplish its role as a facilitator between the government and its audiences.

5.4 The Angolan elite's idea of nation-building in PSB

Stories narrating nation and national reconstruction were present directly or indirectly in almost all of the recorded samples from Angolan public service broadcasting. However, the creators of the nation (the people, the common members of society), from their *will* and awareness seems more running in profile or secondary plan if compared to the physical infrastructure projects conceived by the Angolan elite that are in the first schedule of TPA and RNA *News at 8pm*. Post-war national reconstruction appears more in the ruling party narrative as its own business.

The Angola Popular Liberation Movement (MPLA), the ruling party which has governed the country since gaining its independence (1975) from the Portuguese colonialists, has become a powerful political and social institution in the last four decades. Decisions made by MPLA Political Bureau always have a strong impact on the lives of citizens because it

decides policies, and suggests laws and strategies to be implemented by the government. The head of state is at the same time the president of this political party, where key ministers in the government are also members of this ruling party institution. The MPLA bureau political members meet often in a year either to make important decisions about the governance of the country or to discuss the internal problems and challenges of their political party.

Given the impact of their decisions in Angolan society, Angolan PSB gives ample time to MPLA meetings on *News at 8pm*. However, some civil society members (as discussed in Chapter 6) consider it an exaggeration. Sample 6, although I have shortened it (see Appendix IV), is a good example of the ruling party's influence on Angolan PSB, at least in terms of marketing their idea of nation-building in post-war Angola.

MPLA Political Bureau meeting outcomes are usually made known through communiqués broadcast on Angolan PSB. It is difficult to discover, however, who said what or to get any additional explanations besides the official text read by broadcasters. Very often no additional comments are made by PSB opinion makers to give PSB audiences more details of it. The text below is an example of this:

> *Participants discussed the party's internal matters and the governance of the country. And in this last aspect, MPLA political bureau members discussed the executive macroeconomic memorandum programme for 2015 and the operational plan for the available China credit funds. Political bureau members encouraged the Angolan government to continue implementing the housing national programme as well as the fight against hunger and poverty plan to gain Angolan people's wellbeing* (Appendix IV,sample 6).

The communiqué seems to generalise important aspects of Angolan people's daily lives, such as the governance of the country, the credit funds from China and the implementation of a national housing programme. What aspects of the country's governance were discussed; who said what?

Since 2010, the Angolan government has launched a nationwide plan of house building: condominiums and residences to sell and rent to citizens with stage payments to be made over 20 years. Thousands of Chinese workers are working on the project, with the credit fund from China mentioned in this PSB sample. However, the process of access has raised serious concerns among citizens who paid in full and did not get their residences within the specified time. Other citizens have been on a waiting list for long periods.[15] What timings

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[15] See all related aspects of purchasing a house or a flat from the Angolan government at

for the housing plan are there, and how is it running in terms of its targets, transparency, difficulties and so forth? These and other related questions may find no response in this narrative. Even though a story cannot narrate all of those aspects given the short time (an hour) to accommodate all the chosen stories for this RNA *News at 8pm*'s edition, important stories that are in the public interest, as this one seems to be, could be made clearer with the help of opinion makers that usually comment on the news on Angolan PSB.

On the other hand, a macroeconomic memorandum, as mentioned in this sample, discussed the 2015 annual budget at the end of 2015, which seems to be an outdated topic. Budgets are normally created at the end of the previous financial year and implemented at the beginning of that year, in this case, 2015. In view of this observation, it would be a good idea to discuss a memorandum for 2016. One of the reasons behind it may be the fact that in the last few years (2008–2015)[16] the Angolan government has presented, through PSB, two national budgets in the same year. The first was done (at the beginning of the year) as provision for expenditure and the second (four to three months before the end of the year) to rectify the previous national budget because of the increase in the oil price (from 2008 to November 2014) in the international markets. If this is the case, as it seems to be, PSB missed an opportunity to explain those decisions to its audiences through its opinion makers. The communiqué under analysis does not give this explanation and may be confusing. Another aspect that seems to be secret in this narrative is the amount or percentage of the operational plan being funded by the available Chinese credit funds. It is also a role of PSB, in the interest of its public, to help audiences to understand China's credit fund means in terms of the country's debt.

Based on the overall interpretation of this sample 6 and others similar to this, even though MPLA is the party that supports the government, the sample leaves the impression that decisions taken by MPLA Political Bureau members could well be made by the government ministers' council members rather than by the party's members. In the context of this thesis, it is obvious that there is a public interest for this story to be broadcast by PSB and to respond to the expectations that Angolan audiences attach to it. However, generalisations in many stories of public interest seem to leave audiences with less information about important aspects of them that have a direct impact on their lives. PSB specialists commenting on news like in this sample are in many cases also strategic

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http://www.imocandidaturas.co.ao; accessed by the author on 15/2/2018.

[16] These two budgets per annum can be seen in the official state newspaper, *Diário da República,* from 2008 to 2015.

initiatives to fill gaps.

Conversely, when addressing stories connected to the presidency of the country, public broadcasters seem to thoroughly address all details of them in a way that promotes the head of state and his staff activities. The time given to stories from the presidency seems too far exceed that given to stories narrating the everyday lives of ordinary Angolan citizens. Sample 7 (see Appendix IV), which was the first TPA headline in this *News at 8pm* edition, was chosen to demonstrate the kind of discrepancies that arise when compared to previous ones as well as some shadowy aspects of the elite's idea of Angolan nation-building as broadcast by Angolan PSB.

One can be appointed and sacked in the Angolan government at any time, and PSB is usually the herald of the republic's constitutional rights. Nominations and sackings, according to what the Angolan public service broadcaster lets us know, only come from the head of state. Apart from the fact that stories from the Angolan presidency are usually headlines on Angolan PSB, this sample introduces to audiences some new presidential staff members with parallel functions as those of ministers in service.

An example of this came from the new itinerant ambassador:

> 'My challenge is to maintain the Angolan external political dynamic. We know that our country has succeeded in being known as a peacemaker and democracy promoter and this has become clearer in the ongoing United Nations general assembly meeting happening now in New York, where Angola is receiving much praise from diverse country members as a promoter of peace' (newly named itinerant ambassador, Carvalho, Appendix IV, sample 7).

This phrase demonstrates well one side of the picture that the Angolan elite presents to the world through PSB in terms of nation-building. I also know that Angola is often referenced near the bottom of lists of less democratic countries in international reports, such as Reporters without Borders.[17] There are aspects that are improving, but also many others (freedom to strike, freedom to criticise government acts) that until end of 2017 were being repressed.[18] However, *News at 8pm* seems not to address these elements to give audiences a better understanding of how the entire story is related to the Angolan external policy

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[17] See https://rsf.org/en/angola; accessed by the author on 16/2/2018

[18] See, for example, the case of 17 young people accused of rebellion against the state arrested by the Angolan government, at: http://m.portalangop.co.ao/angola/pt_pt/noticias/politica/2016/0/2/Angola-Tribunal-Luanda-retoma-julgamento-dos-revus,e34e2d41-f7a3-493d-9757-12411aaf28fd.html; accessed by the author on 16/2/2018.

expressed in this narrative.

Another element that emerges from this story is that in terms of PSB's role, this sample seems to address elements connected to the nation and national reconstruction awareness. But elite members' views of the country seem to dominate the narrative. Therefore, PSB seems to exalt the quality of the newly appointed itinerant ambassador as a good promoter of democratic values without challenging him with questions that could help audiences to clarify what the new itinerant ambassador will do and how his job will be different from that implemented by the Foreign Affairs Minister and the ambassadors under his leadership. Instead, *News at 8pm* introduced their news analyst to praise the individual qualities of the elected ambassador, as narrated here:

> 'ALC has arrived at the TPA as an analyst of political affairs of *News at 8pm* and he was quite good in commenting on stories happening in the country and abroad. His education and the solidity of his arguments made his name known as a reference point in the TPA newsroom, from analysis to debate (…) with a good knowledge of various briefs. And because of his university role as teacher, ALC helped TPA audiences to better understand the twists and of international politics' (TPA reporter Vladimir Sousa, in *News at 8pm,* Appendix IV, sample 7).

Even though that might not be the total picture of what TPA audience members said about this ambassador. He is also known as a promoter of the republic's President and the ruling party's reputation even though their performances are poor. Luvualu's public defence of the Angolan president, when he asserted that 'the oxygen we breathe in Angola is also a victory for peace,'[19] may be just one among other positions taken by this opinion maker of TPA in support of the Angolan elite. And so PSB *News at 8pm*'s emphasis seems more to promote the person rather than the job he might accomplish in the name of the Angolan nation in construction.

5.5 The nation as addressed by Angolan leaders in PSB

Independence Day is a good opportunity to perceive and evaluate the Angolan elite's idea

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[19] https://www.makaangola.org/2017/04/luvualu-o-oxigenio-do-camarada-presidente; accessed by the author on 16/2/2018.

of nation-building and future projects attached to it. The Angolan head of state rarely addresses the nation except on two occasions, Independence Day and the New Year. His address is repeated several times on TPA and RNA to allow Angolans hear it. Ceremonies marking Independence Day are signalled by inaugurations of public infrastructure to give an impression of the post-war nation being rebuilt and in progress.

A day before the celebration of the 40th[h] anniversary of Angolan independence (1975-2015), many activities were organised. The inauguration ceremony of the new building of the National Assembly was one of these activities. Similar ceremonies had also taken place in other Angolan cities in the days before, in November, the independence month.

The new National Assembly building was inaugurated in the presence of many heads of state and executives from many African countries, who were invited to this occasion to show to the world how Angola was improving in its process of national reconstruction after the end of civil war. However, the circumstance of this ceremony may be an important key to interpreting sample 8 (see Appendix IV) and this is what I will attempt to do next.

This sample starts with praise for the Angolan head of state as a promoter of this new parliament building, which dignifies the country. However, the speech does not mention the protest by civil society members who questioned the priority and urgency of such infrastructure for PMs, whose cost was $185 million[20] from Angola public funds while millions of people suffer from no hospitals, and thousands of children have no classrooms or schools. Apart from this, Angolan people are mentioned in several parts of this narrative as beneficiaries.

Overall this president's speech leaves the impression of emphasising important aspects that are generally linked to elements of nation-building, as seems to be the case here:

> 'I hope members of parliament working in this new building will be an example and inspiration to the new generations (…) to see in this house the long journey and great sacrifices made by the Angolan people in the last 40 years, to build up a united Angolan nation, in peace, reconciled with the political and cultural diversity of our people, the human wealth of our social mosaic, with equity' (Angolan President of Parliament, Fernando Dos Santos,

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[20] See detailed data on this building at http://24.sapo.pt/noticias/internacional/artigo/angola-inaugura-novo-parlamento-na-vespera-dos-40-anos-da-independencia_19910311.html, accessed by the author on 19/2/2018.

Appendix IV, sample 8).

However, PSB *News at 8pm* could help audiences to better understand this Dos Santos' perspective to let them know through opposition MPs what they think of this vision? Even though the big new building may help to do a better job in the new Angolan democratic environment, it is also worth noting that PSB gives a voice to opposition party members in the parliament or even independent opinion makers to have their say (comments, reactions) on this speech, because 15 years after the end of civil war alone may not be sufficient for the Angolan new generation to acknowledge the history of this country since the end of Portuguese colonialism; neither does it imply on its own the construction of a prosperous and united Angolan nation.

The Angolan National Assembly president also argues that: 'There are irrefutable proofs to elect this building as a pluralistic space for debate on ideas and action to live in freedom and communion, transforming our plenary as the first political debate space that dignifies and strengthens our Angolan new democracy' (ibid). The reasons behind the president of the parliament's belief that the parliament building is a pluralistic space are not given in his narrative, even though it is commonly known that the parliament is a place for debating ideas. Conversely, feedback from opposition party members in the Angolan parliament again is missing here. And PSB's failure to promote balanced aspects in stories like this presented in *News at 8pm* seems to have been noticed. One of the most claimed proofs, therefore, is that the ruling party MPs block TPA's and RNA's right to broadcast live MPs' plenary sessions,[21] and so this narrative could be an opportunity for Public Service broadcasters to allow some opposition MPs have their say as a reaction to this speech. However, there is no evidence of this in this narrative.

The narrative of the nation as presented by Angolan public service broadcasting on Independence Day deserves all citizens' attention because it touches on important elements of national identity and belonging, as stated by a country representative. The Angolan head of state's speech is an interesting one, worth academic reflection.

The Angolan head of state's speech on Independence Day usually attracts PSB audiences of every kind inside the country and abroad. This kind of speech is expected to point the finger to where government intends to lead the country. Obviously, this expectation has grown greater forty years after decolonisation, to hear from the leader what the country has

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21 See the story at http://www.dw.com/pt-002/angolanos-querem-transmissão-das-sessões-parlamentares-na-rádio-e-tv/a-40726689; accessed by the author on 19/2/2018.

gained so far, where it stands in terms of development and satisfaction of people's important needs and what the president perceives of his people. PSB plays on such an occasion a big role as the facilitator of such a speech and comments from it. Is it possible to identify in the above narrative some of these expectations? This is what we try to understand and interpret.

Sample 9 (in Appendix IV) from TV *News at 8pm* on Angolan Independence Day deserves some details in terms of interpretation given the fact that it is on occasions like this when great discourses of nation and national identity are delivered by politicians and civil society members, being facilitated by PSB.

According to Schreier (2012: 2) 'Qualitative Content Analysis, QCA, in most general terms will be an option if you engage in some degree of interpretation to arrive at the meaning of your data'. In the following reflection for this thesis, I attempt to interpret how the Angolan President's discourse reflects the reality of Angolan society and at what level. Sample 9 is at certain points ideological, with social representation. And it has an impact on Angolan society. However, such impact may or may not necessarily be good.

> 'From our resistance, we won independence because our fight and our hope for a new future were our strategy to finally attend peace in 2002. The peace came to stay definitely. Our country has entered on the road of stability, security, national reconciliation, democracy and tolerance' (Angolan President Dos Santos, 11 November, 2015 Appendix IV, sample 9).

The overall discourse of the Angolan President under analysis here seems to put more emphasis on global than local aspects of independence when one analyses expressions such as *solidarity and multiple help received from abroad, cooperation* and *innovation* (ibid). When, however, at a certain point of the discourse, the President underlines *resistance* as a key strategy to conquering peace and development, this may be partially true if limited to the fight for independence (1961–1975), when nationalists from three representative Angolan ethnic groups fought Portuguese colonialists for the independence of this country and let Angolans decide their own future. However, this President's discourse, live, on Angolan PSB refers to how *it was that strategy which led the country to achieve peace in 2002* (ibid). At this point of the speech, from a public service broadcasting analysis, it may have some shadowy aspects that deserve a better explanation, first of all, because the discourse does not mention that there were two different military conflicts that the country had to face. The first conflict was to fight a common enemy, which was Portuguese colonialism. For this

fight, as mentioned in the second chapter to this research, there were three Angolan movements (FNLA, MPLA and UNITA) ethnically organised, which fought separately a common enemy (colonialism). The second military conflict was in the context of the civil war (1975–2002). The three armies (see details in Chapter 2) fought among themselves until two of them were defeated (FNLA and UNITA) and the winner (MPLA) introduced democracy as a post-conflict solution to better govern the country. Here too the Angolan president addressed *resistance* as a strategy; however, Maier's (1996) reflection on 'Angola: promises and lies' is a clear example of resistance as strategy to achieve a civil war produced deep wounds and the death of society, and which may remain for years in the imaginations of Angolan citizens. And so, a strategy to fight colonialism is not the same ideologically as that carried out to resolve domestic conflicts. Nevertheless, it is worth acknowledging that the construction of the narratives of the nation always happens through some memories that are recalled and become central in the narrative of nation creation, while others are left behind, forgotten or excluded, what Hall (1997) describes as processes of 'symbolic violence'.

Based on all these elements of nation-building presented here, public service broadcasting's role in informing and educating their audiences seems very important.

Even though resistance may be used in a context where no other alternative solution is possible, the 'praise' of resistance as a strategy to resolve conflicts has to be taken with caution. However, expressions such as *resistance, combat and attack* in discourses reproduced on Angolan public service broadcasting by the Angolan government and its ruling party is still present 15 years after the end of civil war. In view of this, one may ask to what extent PSB *News at 8pm* helps audiences to better contextualise such linguistic expressions, especially for those citizens among audiences who 'yesterday' were on the other side of the conflict (i.e. the former rebel soldiers) and today, existing together as one national army (Angolan Army Forces, FAA) and how this linguistic expression through PSB may help build up a post-conflict nation? In all of this reflection, it is worth mentioning that forgetting and exclusion (intentional or not, as noted by Bhabha, 1996) always happen in the narration of the nation across the world, and Angola is part of that.

In the Angolan president's discourse broadcast by Angolan TV, there were few references to the contribution of other local participants who fought for the liberation of Angola (i.e. key members of opposition parties) but ruling party and its heroes helped by the countries represented by the above-mentioned guests. This (whether deliberate or not) omission may

represent an important aspect of considerations in terms of peace and stability that the president's expression, *'the peace came to stay definitely',* may represent as a guarantee of social peace and development. However, different comments from *News at 8pm* independent analysts, civil society members or an opposition party were absent.'We are a people who are open to innovation, to cooperation and to progress, determined to develop and attentive to our rights' (President Dos Santos, Appendix IV, sample 9).

Reflection on the innovation aspect in President Dos Santos' discourse may be considered in the context of a wish. And here too an opportunity should be given by PSB News at 8pm to independent citizens from diverse strands of Angolan society to comment on the challenges of innovation in this post-war society. This is because innovation can be a result of many factors, such as good education and a good healthcare system. Governments focused on innovation promote the creation of industries, scientific academies and other technological mechanisms that produce knowledge and researchers who help to guarantee development. Angola when this discourse was delivered (2015) had thousands of children and teenagers who do not attend any school because of the scarcity of schools and teachers.[22] Power shortages, as mentioned by the focus group participants (see Chapter 6), are a problem for everybody, even in the capital of the country, Luanda. Although there are hundreds of rivers across the country, the Angolan government struggles to provide water to all homes in the main cities and the solution to this, seems not to be near. The health system is very weak[23] and disruption in providing medicines to public hospitals has resulted in deaths of many children under five.

In the technology field, the scarcity of internet providers and the considerable levels of illiteracy are still obstacles to innovation. Although one has to acknowledge that this country has just experienced 15 years of peace, for the reasons advanced here, innovation at the moment is still underdeveloped, where there have been some initiatives. That is the digitalisation of banks and some public administration buildings can be considered a good start.

On the other hand, Angola is open for cooperation with other peoples and nations. Since its independence, the country has sent students to Cuba, Russia and many other former Soviet communist states. Regrettably, the result of this cooperation has been less than

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[22] This is still the real situation to date, as reported by the minister of education, Mpinda Simão, in *News at 8pm,* TPA, on February 5, 2017.
[23] Yellow fever has killed more than 50 people, as per the report of the Angolan Minister of Health, José Vandunem, 2016, TPA news at 8pm.

expected. The party has been more important than citizenship and the contribution of former students who returned back home did not necessarily result in innovation and progress. This is another debate that Angolan PSB could facilitate in terms of nation-building and perhaps suggest a national database to let the country know how many scientists and researchers this country has, where they are and what they do.

It is interesting to affirm that Angolans are 'determined to develop and attentive to their rights', as the President analyses it. However, this discourse does not yet fit with the daily lives of public institutions. The right to popular demonstrations or rallies, for instance, although written into the country's constitution, is rarely upheld, as stated above. The government uses different strategies to scatter any group of citizens who try to demonstrate and often it does not let people manifest their disappointment on certain occasions. Angolan PSB often prefers silence to broadcasting what may cause instability in the perspective of the government. In so doing, although the political discourse may touch on aspects that citizens might want to listen to, the gap between discourse and practice is still significant.

The Home Affairs Minister, Bournito de Sousa, in his discourse praising President Dos Santos' address in the sample being studied in this thesis, asserted that:

> 'Angolans reject in this way initiatives that disturb the regular electoral process like that of the Arab Spring, which happened in other countries in the north of Africa, that had transformed those countries for the worse and let us not accept such an illusion even though apparently democratic and how its promoters and protagonists present themselves' (Appendix IV, sample 9).

This reflection from a Home Affairs Minister may contain hints of menace and intimidation for Angolan civil society. One of the clues from Home Affairs Minister Bounito de Sousa's statement is that rallies to denounce corruption, money laundering and incompetence occurring in the government cannot happen in the account of the country's stability. Another way round 'the winner (government) takes all' and all (citizens) have to keep calm and quiet. The discourse seems to demobilise civil society and opposition parties so that they will not claim their rights as citizens, which turns into a contradiction to what was said by the Angolan president in his speech: Angolans are 'determined to develop and attentive to their rights' (sample 9).

On the other hand, how can the minister affirm that Angolans can reject the initiatives that

disturb regular democratic processes. Which Angolans is he talking about? It seems that Minister Burnito presumes what Angolans citizens think about it and, furthermore, he represents the will of voiceless citizens. Talking in the name of citizens and in the name of the nation on African PSB is one of the strategies used by governments to silence inconvenient voices. If one connects this discourse aspect of the Angolan home affairs minister to the control of PSB by the government in many African countries, Carver and Naughton, (1995: 1) might be right when they assert that 'radio is still the most effective mass medium in Africa'. They advance the fact that poverty and illiteracy make alternatives, such as television and newspaper, inaccessible to most Africans (…), adding, 'the press is generally published in the capital and hardly distributed outside the main urban centres'. This is the reason why 'in many countries of Africa governments tolerate a critical independent press while maintaining tight control of radio, which has a much wider reach'. There is both a symbolic and a practical link between radio and political power in Africa, as Carver and Naughton analyse it. For very good reasons, they argue, 'radio station is always one of the first targets for anyone planning a military coup in Africa'. The minister's speech reveals how uncomfortable the Angolan government might be in freeing broadcasting from political censorship and promoting democracy on Angolan PSB.

The above considerations on the discourse of the Angolan president, José Eduardo dos Santos, and the home affairs minister, Burnito de Sousa, do not attempt to discover what is right or wrong. This thesis attempts to find the coherence between what is said and what happens in reality. In the context of Angolan nation building vis-a-vis the contribution of the public service broadcasting role, it is important to know how audiences perceive the nation from PSB content.

Conclusion

The interpreted samples in this chapter show elements of nation-building present in all of them. The key idea is that the Angolan nation is moving from darkness to light, from war to peace, from poverty to prosperity. Problems and challenges are presented in a way that they are overcome with new projects, creativity, diplomacy, investment and the strengthening of democracy. However, the daily lives of the majority of Angolan society

members, who struggle every day to survive, seem less narrated and exposed. The Angolan elite's (the head of state, ruling party politicians, MPs, ministers) idea of the nation seems dominant in all samples. Angolan nation building, according to this idea, is a good way of reconstruction and development.

On the other hand, Angola TPA's and RNA's agenda setting, at least from the above-presented samples, seem to follow the politicians' agenda and give it enough space and time in their privileged *News at 8pm* programme. In this perspective, elite members seem to be better prepared to narrate the nation under construction on Angolan PSB. Common people are, at best, absent and silent in nearly all narratives, except for two students who spoke about their inventions (sample 2) and a worker at the public infancy institution in Cabinda (sample 5). All interventions are covered by the elite. And even among this group, those who speak are the ones connected to the regime which has led the country for the past 40 years. This could constitute an imbalance for PSB, which is expected by audiences to be facilitators of the narrative of nation-building in post-war Angola.

The reasons behind this apparent exclusion of ordinary people in the samples under analysis in this chapter are not exposed. However, professionalism, the strong interference by Angola's political power base and censorship may be among those reasons. Therefore, exclusion becomes evident when a given story connected to a given public good or the nation (i.e. in samples of the president's speech on the 40th anniversary of independence, telephone access, the Water for All project) omits a *vox pop* that would be appropriate for PSB audiences to gain an idea of it. However, what comes up is only an elite point of view.

What do audiences perceive from the job carried out by Angolan PSB *News at 8pm*? What idea of the nation do audiences learn from *News at 8pm*? This is what I attempt to reflect on in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Defining audiences' access to Angolan PSB

Introduction

This chapter attempts to explore audiences' access to Angolan public service broadcasting, in how it interplays with news content, and what the elements are, that connect to the building of a nation. This chapter is also an attempt to understand the perspective by which

Angolan audiences perceive their PSB as a catalyst or not for the building of their national identity and national belonging after three decades of civil war in this country. For this reason, the daily lives of people make sense when reflecting on the role of PSB. In this context, it is pertinent to mention Scannell's (ibid., p.145) meaning of 'dailiness broadcasting' when he argues:

> Our concern (…) has been and is with broadcasting and its concerns: the care-structures of radio and television. I began, in Social History, with a historical reconstruction of production; more exactly, of how broadcasters went about the business was to be. (…) they found that their job was to make programmes for audiences.

Based on Scannell's perspective above, audiences are the reason why broadcasting programmes are produced. If this principle is ignored, any broadcasting output may, in terms of objectives, result in defeat.

This chapter looks first at arguments explaining PSB's technical difficulties in rural areas that prevent audiences from accessing their signal. Secondly, it attempts to highlight other aspects shared in the focus group that are seen as a blockage for audiences' access Angola PSB, ranging from electricity shortages to poverty and robberies. The third purpose of this chapter is to bring to light arguments that opposition party members and civil society dissonant voices hardly have any access to PSB to have their say, as discussed by participants in almost all the focus groups. The last aspect to be reflected on in this chapter is minorities' lack of access to PSB because of language, illiteracy and the absence of content related to their interest in the Angolan Public Service Broadcasting's *News at 8pm*. Before coming to the above mentioned aspects, I first reflect about what 'access to information' means.

6.1. Defining access to Angolan PSB from audiences' perceptions

Access to information has become an increasingly vital need nowadays since the Information Communication Technologies (ICT) revolution began in the last few decades of the 20th century. Searching and accessing news to get informed or at least to be updated about what is going on at the local, national and international level of the contemporary world may apparently be a fashion, but it is also more than that. It has become one of life's basic needs. As a result, change in all domains of today's human society (social, political,

security and the like) in this global era happens rapidly.

By *access,* this chapter means the facility and availability for Angolan audiences to be connected, have a voice, and even have views taken into consideration by the Angola public service radio's and television's live or recorded contents. That also means to be involved, to get informed about issues of public interest with priority given to local news that addresses national issues (domestic politics, social challenges in the communities, healthcare, education, security, transportation and the like), which may change, improve or interfere with the daily lives of Angolans. Such occurrences are like 'unwaved flags' (Billig, 1995) that interplay with the imagining of a nation, specifically in the post-war Angolan context of looking to rebuild in the long run, step by step, a sense of national identity and belonging incorporating developmental aspects of our contemporary world.

'Audience' and 'public' are two of the most used words when referring to broadcasting media targets. For Sullivan (2013), 'the term audience is one we use quite frequently in our everyday conversation, but it is one that has a multiplicity of meaning'. This can be recognised when one realises that there are audiences for cinemas and workshops, or for the speeches of kings, presidents or popes in national, international, religious and, even occasionally, ceremonies and commemorations. Academics such as Higgins (2008) have already advanced useful ideas on this reflection, employing the expression 'public' in the way it is used in this thesis for audiences. The concept of the public has raised and continues to raise considerable debate in academic fields, either in politics, law or media studies.

Judges, for instance, pronounce their sentences in the name of the public. Politicians present themselves in a race for a presidency (for example, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in 2016) in the name of the public. Media news productions, in turn, often present sensitive stories to be broadcast 'in the public interest'. However, there are often hidden interests in law, politics and the media, and these are only a few aspects of human life. 'Public' is a fundamental concept through which, with which and for which nations are built up, laws are made and media content is produced.

This thesis draws on Higgins' (2008: 4) perspective, according to which 'our concern is more with the dynamics of the relationship between publicness and media'. Higgins explains that the best way to express a relationship with the public is in maintaining responsibility for the public interest. US Public Service Media (PSM), for instance, as Higgins observed, does not have as great a force as UK public broadcasting; however, 'the

attachment to public service and the principles of objectivity and balance this entails accords the United States PSM an element of prestige' (ibid., p.8). The US public broadcasting act of 1967 declares that the 'public interest requires television and radio to be developed for institutional, educational and cultural purposes, and notes that ensuring that the public interest is adequately served by broadcasters should be a concern of the federal government' (ibid.). Therefore, those purposes are considered by some academics and PSB founding fathers (for example, BBC founder John Reith and his team) as a fundamental contribution to the construction of a national identity and belonging.

For Scannell (1996: 166), 'publicness is always already indicated as that which is familiar, for that is the mark of the availability of things as common, public things. Such availability rests upon their being open for use in any way that matters by beings who are themselves open to their useful availability'.

Angolan public service broadcasting, according to the contribution from focus group participants to this thesis, seems to go more about the business of following the government agenda in producing content, showing to its audiences how the government is performing its governance role rather than the issues most in the interest and reflecting the needs of the public. It is this aspect that Joaquim, a 33-year-old newspaper editor in Luanda province (FG17, March 19, 2016) contributed to his group, stating that *'What often Angola public television (Televisão Pública de Angola, TPA) broadcast are more news for the public rather than news in the interest of the public'*. This means that PSB's priority is perceived by audiences as giving them what broadcasters think to be important rather than their real needs.

Furthermore, Arlet states that:

> *'Because of economic crisis and yellow fever epidemic we face nowadays I do carefully turn on my TV to watch News at 8pm every day. However, the headlines pass as quickly as normal and these issues are unfortunately very briefly addressed.'* (Arlet, 36 years, hospital laboratory technician, in Cubal, FG no. 4, March 3, 2016).

This claim sheds light on the way that people are aware that local news is expected to be well addressed and developed with detail on Angolan PSB. This is one of the reasons why people turn on their TVs. If the most wanted stories are not thoroughly addressed, as seems to be the case when one looks at Arlet's claim, there might be a need for things to be clarified in terms of access to the most wanted news on the Angolan PSB. Additionally, Oliveira (2015: 201- 218) argued about this trend of Angolan PSB in the context of what he

terms 'post-war' Angola on how PSB behaved during the 2012 general election campaign:

> The other parties were allowed free rein during their (extremely brief) televised air time (…). The ruling party left nothing to chance. Outside their air time, the opposition parties barely featured in the long procession of MPLA propaganda that passed as TV news coverage. While the public channels were predictably sycophantic. (p. 202)

Most of the focus group participants who contributed to this thesis underlined this point, emphasising the fact that the government's agenda is generally a top priority in PSB's coverage and that the ruling party's activities, although less important to the daily interests of the nation, take up the major part of the privileged air time of *News at 8pm* both in radio and television.

6.2 Partial national coverage an obstacle to accessing Angolan PSB

Angolan public service television and radio could be powerful instruments in the reconstruction of society, with an important role to play in helping to build good and strong post-war Angolan communities. In most Angolan regions, especially in the main Angolan cities (Luanda, Benguela, Huambo, Bié and Kuanza Sul), where this research was carried out, people wish to watch what they call good TPA (PSB) output, so as to be informed and educated, and to better acknowledge what is happening in their communities and so participate in the construction of their post-war cultural identity.

For a better understanding of such a context, it is also good to emphasise that from the ashes of civil war (1975–2002), the remaining Angolan citizens and the new generation of this post-war society seem, according to what I perceived from the group discussions, to be greatly interested in receiving PSB's *News at 8pm* output in their homes as a privileged platform through which they might be better informed.

Audiences from provinces others than the capital, Luanda, are the most eager to receive Angolan PSB content. The first reason for this is the fact that PSB is better equipped to address local issues that interest the daily lives of Angolan audiences. Angola PSB has more access to official and privileged sources of news that interest Angola audiences than any other media group in the country. PSB has access to the presidency, to any Angolan government institution, the police, the Angolan army and the regional and local

administrations. Angola public broadcasters have sponsored space with the government to travel abroad with the head of state or government staff to other countries. They have the means to access any rural area in the country and have the technological means to interview any citizen or community because they have reporters and provincial representatives in all 18 of Angola's provinces. The second reason for this positive expectation is that there are very few or even no alternative broadcasting services in the rural regions. Public service broadcasting is the only open and free-of-charge broadcasting platform in the country. This is also why public service radio is the most popular PSB for rural audiences. Therefore, even in urban areas, there are no media that can compete with the state-sponsored PSB at all levels (technical, salaries, facilities, coverage and access to official sources of news just to name a few).

Despite the above-mentioned facilities, PSB is still a disappointing public media project to the Angolan audiences, according to participants in groups 6, 14, 15 and 17. One of the claims from the group participants to this research is that, unfortunately, not all regions are served by Angolan PSB, as journalist Jimu explained in Chapter 4. Angola PSB continues to work on an analogue platform (in many steps of their production), either for radio and television. Their antennas in many regions can only cover the central cities, and so many citizens in municipalities far from those centres cannot yet enjoy PSB content, even in 2017, a decade and half since the end of civil war in 2002. During field research, I saw in some villages TV antennas in high trees. People such as Rodrigues said: *'the higher the antenna was above a given house, the better the possibility one could succeed in getting a good TPA signal'.* From the explanation given by Mr. Rodrigues, 45 years, ex-soldier (FG n. 10, March 11, 2016) in Kunge's village of Bié's province, one gets an idea of how much some rural audiences wish to watch TPA.

Scarcity of news in rural areas is also a challenge for teachers. Primary and secondary school teachers are often invited by a local administrator to work in rural areas where thousands of pupils have no schooling for the lack of teachers in post-war Angola. However, the majority of teachers do not want to go to those regions. One of the main reasons for this is that in many rural areas, there is no access to PSB or mobile telephones. Julieta (38), a teacher (FG n.5, March 3, 2016), explained the anguish of her colleagues who are appointed and transferred by the Angolan Ministry of Education to regions and villages far from their homes. She noted:

> *'The Cubal district faces a scarcity of information. Many of us live in a kind of exile from*

information. The reasons behind this situation are power shortages, the local radio station antenna being out of order and the like. Last week, I was in the village of Yambala, and I was telling colleagues of mine that our Cubal local public service radio station was out of order. They were upset about it. They had spent more than a week without information at all. When they are back home, they search for information, asking colleagues and neighbours to update them about what has happened during the week in their communities. Sometimes they buy newspapers that are out of date; other colleagues make an effort to watch repeated news stories broadcast during the week just to be up to date.'

To justify the delays in the Angolan PSB signal reaching all regions of the country, the Minister of Social Communication, José Luis de Matos, asserts that there are not enough funds to purchase more equipment to cover all of the country with Angolan RNA and TPA signals. The solution for the minister is to achieve such an objective step by step based on the financial situation. However, in 2017, a year of a general election, the Angolan Minister of Social Communication, said that in terms of the quality and expansion of the signal for Angola public service radio and public service television in the entire national territory, the objectives were being implemented and his ministry would continue to pursue them.[24] This statement is in line with the 2013-2017 national development plan.

However, as discussed in group 7 (Wako Kungo), group 10 (Kunje, Bié), and groups 15, 16 and 17 (Zango, Viana, Luanda), the prosperous oil period (2008-2014) in the country could have helped in the solving of this problem and in improving PSB coverage and its technical aspects. If that was not accomplished, as Mr. Orlando, 39 years, ex-soldier in Kunje, Bié (FG no.10, March 11, 2016) argued, *'PSB and the country's communication development system got less or no importance in the Angola government's priority agenda'*.

According to the Angolan National Statistics Institute (INE, 2014), the majority of citizens of Angola are young, and from these figures, it can also be seen that the majority of Angola PSB audiences are young, even though diverse. In view of this, Orlando argues that *'there is a challenge for public service television and public service radio to address, include and adjust the interests of this young generation in the privileged PSB space of News at 8pm'* (ibid). However, that argument suggests that the language and content of daily news in PSB have to be carefully considered and adapted to that context.

This thesis has already, at different levels in the above chapters, mentioned the importance

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[24] Minister Matos' speech delivered in the 12th ordinary consulting meeting of the Angolan ministry of social communication, in *Jornal de Angola*, 16 June, 2017.

of the revolution in information and communication technology (ICT) in contemporary society, visible in the way academics and researchers in this field reflect on it. Diavita, (43) businessmen, Luanda (FG 14, March 19, 2016) considered that *'a post-war reconstructing Angolan society and its national reconciliation objectives need the contribution of PSB to help solve common issues in the public interest of all members of this society'*.

Angolan authorities on their part seem to acknowledge this important aspect of the global era. One signal of this is that, according to the Angolan Minister of ICT, Jose Carvalho da Rocha, the government is paying (to Russia since 2013) for the construction of the first Angola satellite (Angosat), which may accommodate some mobile communications and other important aspects of the country's ICT, and enable Angola PSB services to improve their signal in a way that better serves the citizens in all regions of Angola by the end of 2017.[25]

If one focuses on the group discussion (i.e. in group n. 17) about poverty in the community, satellite services will not be the end of the matter of PSB accessibility as the problem of extreme poverty is still present in the lives of the majority of citizens. That is another barrier to people accessing not only DSTV services but even TV and radio sets to avail themselves of Angola PSB free of charge. This is an argument made in the group discussions that will be looked at subsequently.

6.3. Poverty and robbery as barriers to accessing Angolan PSB in the post-war society

Poverty is an old problem in all societies, always presenting new challenges, even in the contemporary society of the 21st century. In this section, I argue that any kind of poverty – economic, moral, intellectual, cultural – is an obstacle to human development and to the success in the construction of any nation. Some Angolan academics (see, for example, Malaquias, 2007; Carvalho, 2008; Oliveira, 2015) have extensively published work about such issues in this post-war society. Poverty in Angola encapsulates all the above-mentioned issues. However, based on the contributions from the focus group participants, this issue is mostly centred on economic poverty, which, in fact, creates the other types of poverty listed here. Oliveira described well the reasons behind economic poverty in post-

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[25] Minister, Jose Carvalho da Rocha's announcement. IntervieId by Cândido Bessa in: http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao/politica/infrasat_rentabiliza_satelite, accessed by the author on 7 June, 2017.

war Angola, addressing the asymmetric distribution of national wealth between the Angolan littoral cities and rural regions of the country. The middle-class constituency of the Angolan regime gets a disproportionate share of the wealth to the detriment of the poor. A good argument made by Oliveira in this regard is: 'the state distributed private goods, not public goods, through party channels rather than through administrative channels. The overarching objective was to consolidate the MPLA's grip over Angola in perpetuity' (Oliveira, 2015: 206). That can be seen to a certain extent and confirms a claim from some focus group participants who argued that access to Angola PSB is more available in the way of promoting a kind of '*parti*cracy'[26] rather than *demo*cracy. People who argue in favour of the ruling party (MPLA) and its government are more likely to access and be interviewed by public service broadcasters than those with critical voices. Even in the academic field, lecturers often use such a strategy[27] to attain political objectives, as discussed by participants in FG. n.14. This was also confirmed by a public observation made by journalist Reginaldo Silva (see also Silva's arguments in Chapter 4, on propaganda).

Group discussions (in Benguela, Bié and Luanda) brought to light facts that demonstrate how often goodwill alone cannot sort out the problems of accessibility to Angolan public service broadcasting. Participants (in FG n. 9 and n. 10) in Kunje, Bié, said the fight to put bread on the table for family does not allow for the purchase of a radio or TV set, although they acknowledged the importance of news at the local and national levels as an essential part of their daily lives. According to participants in the above-mentioned groups, extreme poverty is a handicap to accessing DStv channels almost all participants in rural areas of Angola. Given the fact that Angola was economically improving over a 13-year period (2002-2014) because of the high price of oil in the international markets, PSB could have produced more features, documentaries and reportage on how such money had been used on the reconstructing of the country. Malaquias's (2007: 118) reflection on the post-colonial state, however, criticises the high level of corruption in Angola. For him, several African countries are implicated, 'with Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola providing extreme examples of patrimonial states' and being ruled by kleptocratic regimes. And a high level of corruption is among the main reasons for extreme poverty in post-war Angola. Quintas, 55, a farmer in Kunje, Bié province, said in his group discussion that as

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[26] This means the Angolan ruling political party is seen as a first priority and nation and citizenship come second.

[27] That is to praise the ruling party in public speech through PSB, supporting government deeds even though they are wrong.

he had no radio or TV, the only solution to being able to watch *News at 8pm (Telejornal)* was to go to a neighbour's house from time to time. *'I do watch News at 8pm in a neighbour's house. They are very kind and let me get in to watch in their homes and so after news very often I discuss about it'* (Mr. Quintas, FG n. 10, March 11, 2016). This short statement gives to readers an idea of how people are keen to get informed in the rural regions of Angola. However, poverty seems to restrict access to information.

It will take time for many Angolan families to overcome extreme poverty. The majority lost everything during the three decades of the civil war. Therefore, if corruption continues to be a serious problem in the country (as participants to FG.10 in Kunje, Bié, mentioned) and the price of oil (the main exported resource) continues to decrease, the number of people complaining such as Mr. Quintas will increase and social violence may arise. To add, the consequences of poverty in post-war Angolan society is one of the subjects that audiences to whom this thesis tried to give voice expect to hear most in Angolan public service radio and television.

Television and radio sets are valuable and privileged objects in the post-war communities of Angola, with an emphasis on the peripheral suburbs of main cities and in the rural communities. The above-mentioned extreme poverty does not facilitate the majority to purchase radios and television sets. Nevertheless, unemployed young men are keen to get a good TV and radio in their homes. Participants to focus groups 9 and 10 in Kunje, district of Bie's province discussed this phenomenon, saying that some used violence to steal TVs, radios and video players from neighbours' homes either to sell or to have them for themselves. As a result, these practices bring violent conflicts into the community.

'I have no television or radio; both devices had been stolen twice and I have had a close escape from death because of it. And so I decided to not purchase it anymore. To get informed, I depend on the neighbours' word of mouth,' said Délcio 47, a farmer (F.G, n.10, March 11, 2016). Manico, 69, also a farmer, confirmed the phenomenon and said the robberies of TV and radio devices are very aggressive in their community. He was also robbed and so decided not to have a TV or radio set at home. For that reason, Manico and his wife do not follow *News at 8pm* anymore, they get information verbally from neighbours. However, Jerônimo, 59, farmer in the same group discussion, said that although he was also robbed, he normally joins his elder son to follow *News at 8pm* so that they can hear it together and comment on important news. Ezequiel 51, a farmer and another participant (FG n.10, March 11, 2016), also renounced owning a TV and radio set for the same reason and just relies on friends to

get informed about the country and the world. As much as rural audiences want to watch *News at 8pm,* people prefer peace and security with no TV or radio devices than being in danger of being assaulted because of the need of getting informed.

Robbery also came into the discussion in Benguela province, highlighting the fact that the Angolan police do little to fight against it and PSB rarely broadcasts such issues on News at 8pm. Young male participants in focus group one (FG.n.1, March 2, 2016) passionately discussed PSB's mute attitude, revealing the fact that there are increasing cases of robbery reports in their community, which is one mile from Benguela Airport. Lack of security is the most worrying aspect of living in that community. According to participants to FG n.1, robbers are generally young men who assault others with the objective of taking from them any valuable goods in their possession. The police are not there or come too late, after the perpetrators have disappeared, said participants in this group.

Lourenço, a 21-year-old student (FG, n.1), said that most victims of theft are women and children. When robbers are caught by people, often they beat them and take them to the traditional authorities of the community and these last send them to the police. However, a few days later, they are back on the streets, and public radio and television pay little heed to them. These criminals come from neighbouring communities. Lourenço said: *'Generally our robbers are not organised in groups, they act alone. According to some of them, they steal because they find in this activity a way to satisfy their needs.'* Motorbikes, TV sets, radio devices, mobile phones, shoes and clothes are the targets of robbers.

In terms of the role of PSB in reporting these stories, Geovany, 20, a student (FG, n.1, March 2, 2016), argued that *'TPA and RNA address more political issues than stories like that mentioned by Lourenço. Public service television and radio News at 8pm seldom or never address the stories.'* It seems at some point that participants perceive well what TPA and RNA should broadcast from their communities. The matter of security in the suburbs of the cities is an example among these stories.

From the objects targeted by robbers in that community, as reported by FG 1, one can understand that it is a poor community in the peripheral suburbs of Benguela. The community struggles to acquire the necessary goods to live. The search for basic goods to live on results in, as a consequence, obstacles to the construction of social peace in that community and in many other post-war suburbs in Angola's main cities.

When discussing with Group 10 why people do not approach the police to protect their

community and their belongings or why they do not organise themselves to fight against thieves, participants said they had done so and the results were worse than just keeping quiet. Most robbers are former soldiers who are now unemployed and are very aggressive. If someone resists, they can be killed just over a TV set or radio device. Objects are not stolen for the thieves to keep for themselves but to sell and buy other basic goods for their needs. Some of these people, said Quintas, 55 years, ((FG n.10, March 11, 2016) *'came from other rural areas of Bie province to look for jobs and have found a place to live in Bie suburbs, but illiteracy blocks them in their progress. Many of these young men are sons of our neighbours and very well known to all of us'.* Délcio, 47, went further in explaining the main reasons behind the silence or fear in denouncing robbers to the police in Bie:

> *'If one denounces robbers, the police arrest them for a while and very often release them afterwards if they pay police agents even an insignificant amount of money. And once they are back in the community, they try to take revenge on the denouncer. In such a case emigration is the only solution for that person, because the police will not protect him. And so when one considers that one may have to leave his house, land, family and friends and start a new life somewhere else in this country, the better solution is just to be indifferent, keep quiet and to carry on with life.'* (FG no.10, March 11, 2016).

Rather than denounce robbers Ezequiel, 51 years, a carpenter, suggested to the group:

> *'If this is the post-war country we intend to build up how can I trust and live with our fellow citizens? There is so much hatred in our hearts that turns easily to crime and witchcraft if one of us improves his living conditions. I think if TPA and Radio National are professionally good enough to broadcast news about robberies and present the thieves on the TV, certainly these practices might be eradicated. If neighbours denounce and the media show a robber, he would be ashamed and it would discourage other robbers that intend to steal in our communities. I also worked for a considerable period of time with police and often heard some agents saying it was necessary to have robbers in order for the police to make their daily bread. No robber, no work for the police, they say. But I think the police have many other kinds of domestic violence to deal with. To develop this country, it is necessary that police agents implement educational behaviour to help citizens.'* (FG n.10, March 11, 2016)

Bié province is known by the Angolans as a 'martyr region' for the country. Situated in the centre of Angola, Bié was seized during one year of the civil war (1993) in non-stop heavy fighting between the rebel forces of UNITA and the government forces. People could not

flee anywhere. Inside the city, the government distributed guns to any young men willing to defend the city against the rebels and outside the city, the rebels did the same. Many people died from gunshots, famine, disease, land mines and ambushes and so on.

Many of today's thieves are young men who have been dismissed from the unified Angolan Armed Forces, FAA (*Forças Armadas Angolanas*). Some of them are illiterate and unemployed, as group nº 10 described. They amount to a huge number of young men forced to leave their village and drafted as rebels or government troops during the 27 years of the civil war. The contribution of Silva, 59, a farmer (FG nº 10, March 11, 2016) helps us to understand how thieves operate in their community:

> *'Actually, robbers live with us, they are our friends, and they eat with us, they tell us their stories and walk with us. However, they use such a friendship to better learn about our homes and to come back in the night and steal our essential goods. They normally do not enter the house of a former soldier or someone they suspect will provide a strong response with a firearm. They are very selective in their robberies and so the non-armed citizens are their target. Yesterday, my neighbour was robbed in the night. Early in the morning, at 5 am, he went to police to give his story. On the way, the robber greeted him with respect and asked him where he was going so early in the morning. Lying to him with a sense of fear, he answered, I am going to the hospital.'*

The above contribution made in discussion groups 9 and 10 gives hints that the wounds of the Angolan civil war will take time to cure or even give room for new behaviour in the Angolan post-war communities with the need for new responses to it. Also, the robbery of insignificant devices is proof of the extreme poverty in rural areas and the peripheral suburbs of Angola's main cities. Revenge in a community where people express themselves in the same local language (Umbundu) with family connections underlines the argument that national unity, national identity and belonging take a considerable length of time to become a reality (as reflected by scholars mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis) and a multiplicity of factors have to be taken into consideration to gain a better understanding of the changes happening in post-war Angola. Therefore, 15 years of peace – since the end of the civil war – alone is insufficient time but allows one to think about aspects or elements of the national identity if the will, determination and awareness of the Angolan people are used to take the same road together. Stories such as the above-mentioned (robbery, worries in Kunje's community) are unfortunately common even in the peripheral suburbs of Luanda. Does the Angola public service television and public service radio broadcast those

stories at the privileged time of the *News at 8pm* programme in order for audiences to know, discuss and find out responses in a sense that the making of a nation in this post-civil war society is also a cooperative process even if it comes from a diversity of backgrounds? I will come to this subject later in the next chapter about PSB audiences' mistrust. But access to PSB in Angola is not blocked because of poverty alone: power shortages were another subject discussed by all focus groups of this thesis.

6.4. Power shortages restricting access to PSB in post-war Angola

That electricity shortage is one of the chief obstacles to accessing PSB, specifically television, is a common issue mentioned in the reflections of media specialists in many African countries, even in the first two decades of the 21st century. Akingbulu, (2010), reflecting on the Nigerian context, and Lugalambi (2010), reflecting on Uganda in the *On Air* series of public broadcasting in Africa, registered the matter of accessibility in mentioning that 'mountains areas, shortage of electricity affects access to broadcasting especially television' (Lugalambi, 2010: 49).

In terms of public service television, the majority of Angolan citizens who participated in group discussions to this thesis considered power shortages as the first barrier to accessing PSB content. In fact, the majority of homes on the periphery of the researched cities and most homes in rural areas are not connected to public electricity lines. Moreover, those which are linked face frequent power shortages that can last for several days, weeks and even months. One of the consequences of this is an increasing number of citizens disconnected from daily stories happening in the country and around the world.

Although it is a country rich in rivers and waterfalls, Angola's power energy shortages seem to be the main challenge for the government. The reasons for that were pointed out by focus group participants: colonisation (500 years), the long period of the civil war (27 years), a lack of government commitment to make power energy solutions a top priority in the last 15 years of the post-war period, and a lack of financial resources as well as dependence on other countries' finances to help in the reconstruction of old infrastructure and the construction of new infrastructure.

On the other hand, alternative power generators are expensive to purchase for most people and also expensive to maintain by those who can purchase them. This handicap renders public service television a luxury in rural areas and provinces other than the littoral (Luanda

and Benguela) ones. This subject was discussed at length and with emotion by the focus group participants (in Kuhinga, Bie; Wako Kungo, Kuanza Sul and Kubal, and Benguela provinces), who pointed the finger at the ruling party and the government for doing little to change this situation for the better. Ferro 53 years, a nurse paediatric (FG 4, March 3, 2016) from Kubal's district of Benguela, argued: *'government is absent here. It says nothing and people try to struggle to purchase generators just to get informed. My family and I face this problem every day.'* On the other hand, Rodrigues 45, from Bié, an ex-soldier (FG, n.10, March 11, 2016), said:

> *'Lack of power electricity in our community does not let us access PSB News at 8pm. This community has no public power electricity since 1986 it is 30 years now. I do use generators. And these machines need fuel, oil and I have no money to buy all these. The alternative is the mouth to mouth to get informed. For instance, when I hear that the oil price will increase, as I know PSB News at 8pm repeats several times and for some days the same news, so I buy some fuel to get the news right.'*

Even in Luanda, as Mrs. Narcisa, 34, a media practitioner (FG n.14, March 19, 2016) said, there are many people who do not watch *News at 8pm* on the PSB for power shortage reasons. *'There are some areas in Luanda where power electricity just does not exist.'* Narcisa has carried out reportage in Chicala's quarters (a half mile from the Angolan presidency offices) on the Atlantic Ocean front in Luanda, and she noticed that many houses had neither TV antennas nor radio devices. Chicala is a dark quarter at night, people said.

In addition, João Grande (40), a teacher from Cubal district of Benguela province (FG no.4, March 3, 2016), argued that there were basic needs taking precedence over access to *News at 8pm*: *'electricity shortage does not let us be informed by PSB. Our local public service radio station does not function. The quality of pictures and sound from public service television and public service radio is still weak and poor'*. Orlando 39, an ex- soldier, (FG n.10, March 11, 2016), contributed to this debate, highlighting the importance of been informed: *'I would like to watch television News at 8pm because I have my TV set. Unfortunately, the scarcity of power electricity in our Bie province blocks me'*. The situation is not good at all, said Gabriel, 32, a civil servant in the Cubal district of Benguela (FG, n.5, March 3, 2016). According to him, many people in the Cubal district have no access to power and news from PSB is hard to access. It was only possible for those who had their own generators. PSB has been privatised by the government, he said.

As a result of the above-mentioned situation, some audiences work hard to be informed by public service television, while public service radio is an option for the majority of rural

inhabitants because it is cheap to purchase and affordable to maintain. Citizens in the peripheral suburbs of the main cities (Huambo, Kuanza Sul, Benguela, Bié and even Luanda) also face the same power shortage problems as those in rural areas.

In the discussion about electricity, what got participants frustrated was the lack of information from PSB. People who are connected to public power electricity lines never know when they have it and for how long. Moreover, they have to pay this service every month no matter whether they have had the service or not. There is no mechanism to control how long a given house benefits from energy in a month. The calculation of the monthly payment by the administration is still unclear, even though the local administration forces people to pay for the service or they cut it off. The only thing to do, say participants, is to pay and complain, but without hope of a solution.

In tandem with the scarcity of electricity is the growth of the Angolan population, with more new families leaving rural areas to go to urban centres. Obviously, the demand is far higher than the quantity and quality of power electricity produced overall in the country. According to the figures published by the National Statistics Institute (INE), Angola has grown from 10 million inhabitants in 1970 to almost 26 million inhabitants in 2014. The number of new families has increased, but water and power electricity do not yet benefit the majority. More than 60% of homes are not yet connected to public service electricity providers. This revelation brings to light the real problems for audiences in watching public service television *News at 8pm* to be informed and build up opinions on what is being broadcast in matters of national reconstruction, national identity and belonging.

All focus group participants in areas with power electricity shortages said they rarely watch public service television more than one, two or three times in a week.

This is another point to help understand why residents in rural regions and even in the peripheral suburbs of Angola main cities want to watch *News at 8pm* and struggle to manage it. It leaves the idea that people want information that touches their daily lives as I shall explain in the next chapter.

Complaints mounted among group participants when discussing power shortage as an obstacle to accessing PSB that the quality of public service television output is not acceptable. According to participants from group no. 14 from Luanda's centre and no. 15 from Zango, Viana's municipality, Angola is rich in hydro resources, with opportunities available to produce clean energy that could reduce this deficiency. 'Public service

broadcaster's *News at 8pm,* instead of researching the reasons behind the common problem of power shortages, emphasise more the projects of the Angolan government to produce energy in the future (Alberto, media practitioner, FG 14). It is also this aspect that journalist Jimu (interviewed in Chapter 4), called the *'selling hope'* strategy of Angolan PSB. Therefore, power shortages should be an important story for investigation by Angolan broadcasters in the public interest because its consequences affect everybody: the country, Angola's public and private institutions, the PSB and individuals.

Participants suggested that it is imperative for PSB to meet people's needs and challenges in giving a voice to the voiceless in publicly addressing these issues.

6.5. Excluded and included voices in post-war Angolan PSB

Access to public service radio and public service television seems to not be extended readily to all citizens; many participants in the focus groups addressed this issue. Participants of FG no.16, observed that analysts who appear as live guests on PSB are often people connected to the ruling party (MPLA) or its government. There are rarely contradictory points of view offered. PSB rarely invites a citizen with a critical point of view to the Angolan government to comment on live political or even social stories in the privileged space of *News at 8pm.*

> *'News at 8pm broadcast in one evening the visit of MPLA ruling party leaders to Kapalanga's hospital in Viana, Luanda, with a particular emphasis on JMPLA (the youth organisation of the ruling party). I saw in the news' first headline, JMPLA visits the Kapalanga´s hospital, and immediately, the Tea Club, an organisation of Tchizé dos Santos, one of the daughters of the Angolan president, came to the show, also visiting the same hospital on the same day and the same hour as JMPLA. And all cameras focused on the first plan of the daughter of the President. This news took such a long time on the show talking more about Mrs. Tchizé's Tea Club than the hospital itself. And so an attentive viewer could perceive that other important national and local news were left in a second plan or could not even be broadcast'* (Alice, 29, unemployed, participant in FG no. 16, March 19, 2016).

Observations such as that from Alice are not new and the claims in the Angolan society about such imbalances in PSB are not unique. Public service broadcasters seem to know very well about such claims and some excuse themselves saying that political interference in

the Angola PSB is still strong and so it leads to such a trend, (see journalist Jimu's statements in Chapter 4 of this thesis). Regardless of such political interference, there is also the issue of the responsibility of journalists in the Angolan public service broadcasting: if they are the ones who invite people to come on the *News at 8pm* and they are the ones who decide the length of time given to them as well as the alignment of the chosen stories as a priority to be broadcast, as was confirmed to one of the journalist to this thesis, their professionalism seems also be put to the test here from group participants point of view.

Hence, even when PSB occasionally use their cameras and microphones for *vox pops* in the streets, things often do not work in a democratic way, as participants noted (arguments from FG, no. 15 and no. 16, March 19, 2016). Broadcasters very often highlight opinions that praise the ruling party and the government, they said, that will be broadcast while discordant or critical voices are deleted.

> *'I must say that TPA is not fair when dealing with political news. The fact is when it tells stories linked to the ruling party it gives all details of that news with praises to the regime if it is a good story for that party. However when it deals with stories from opposition parties like UNITA (the main opposition party) or PRS (Social renovation party) it gives a very brief snap with no more details.'* (Jorge, 34, aluminium doors technician, FG no. 15, March 19, 2016, Zango, Luanda).

What participants stated as signs of bias in Angolan PSB may also be referred to in the work of some Angolan scholars, such as Oliveira, who reflects on the 2012 general elections process in Angola since the end of civil war, considering TPA's imbalances and the promoter of the ruling party campaign: 'UNITA was labelled – in the Angolan PSB – as the party of destabilisation, the enemy of order, while the PRS, already reeling from MPLA – after sponsoring the desertions of senior cadres – was deemed homophobic and backward (…) all were deemed good public service television material on the eve of the elections' (Oliveira, 2015: 202). Nation, in such a perspective, according to the above statements, seems to be more narrated in the sense of what the Angolan public service broadcasters and analyst guests connected to the Angolan ruling party imagine it to be. The main idea of the nation presented on PSB seems to be a nation in a positive process, a nation of hope that has to be built up with patience and resilience. However, elites in power, according to this view (see, for example, the sample from the Home Affairs Minister Burnito de Sousa in Chapter V), have better knowledge to determine the pace and steps of national reconstruction, reconciliation and national identity. The ruling party's

stakeholders have experience of this throughout Angolan history. And so, should the claims of other parties (such as UNITA and PRS) for national reconciliation, reconstruction or the idea of the nation, as mentioned by Oliveira, just be ignored? This, however, can be seen as an exclusive idea of the nation, which may push people to disconnect from Angola PSB.

Angolan public service broadcasting is expected to address stories from and for the entire diversity of ethnic groups in the country. However, language, illiteracy and the absence of content related to minority interests in the privileged space of *News at 8pm* close access to some citizens who could benefit from it. *'I do listen news on radio from time to time, but I do not understand Portuguese for I only speak Umbundu. And for this reason, I do prefer to get informed by neighbours, who may explain it in our local language'* (Rosa Nené, 71, farmer, FG, n° 9, March 11, 2016). Although Portuguese is the Angola *lingua franca*, there are groups in rural areas that do not speak this language. This is the case of the Koissan and Vatuas ethnic groups in the South of Angola, just to name these two. Stories about these minorities are practically absent on *News at 8pm*. PSB may be uninterested in addressing this because of it not being so representative, on the one hand, and on the other hand, it is a fact that rarely is a member of these groups on PSB. None of the public service broadcasters speak Koishan or Vatuas dialects to undertake interviews in those minority communities. Therefore, the very few stories about those groups broadcast on public radio and television have been done through interpreters. How PSB can narrate the construction of post-war nation from minorities' perspectives is a matter to reflect on. And so, from this perspective, access to PSB seems to be obstructed in both directions: the barrier of language for those who can report about minorities' daily lives and the absence of minority members among the public service broadcasters who could do this job.

Besides this, Rosa Nené's claim above provides room to reflect on the challenge for PSB *News at 8pm* to better address illiterate audiences living in rural areas of Angola in a way that does not exclude them from the news. There is public service broadcasting news in Umbundu and in other local languages. However, those services are very brief: a summary translated from *News at 8pm* in Portuguese from the previous day. The time allocated to Angolan local languages in PSB is also inappropriate to the lifestyle of people leaving in rural areas of Angola. Isabel Tchivinda, 77 years, a farmer, is an example; she said in her group discussion: *'I have a radio device but I only listen to news at 12am when I am at home, because news in the Umbundu language only takes place in the morning, and most of the time I am on the farm'* (FG, n° 9, March 11, 2016). If news in local languages is broadcast when people are on

farms, as Mrs. Tchivinda said, very few people listen or watch them. Moreover, a brief translation of news produced in Portuguese for Portuguese speakers may not necessarily be the better solution and so local production in local languages focusing on a specific audience in a given region of the country could bring better results in the future. Therefore, the content of such news is more about political agendas in the capital, Luanda, rather than the daily life of rural communities, as observed in the recorded samples (see Chapter 5).

In terms of access to PSB and illiteracy (as detailed by INE, 2014 figures), illiteracy levels are still considerable, even among young people. Henceforward, participants to group discussions (e.g. FG, no. 2 in Benguela; no. 4, in Cubal and no. 17 in Zango, Luanda) suggested that PSB should adapt the language of news more to its national audiences rather than paying so much attention to the audiences in Luanda. An example of this observation came from Mrs. Onece, 38, a flea market seller (FG n.2, March 2, 2016) who said to the group:

> *'The language used in the Angolan PSB News at 8pm to explain about the crisis is often too academic. For example, my colleagues here made comments about the financial crisis because of the decrease of oil price in the international market. However, for the majority of us when asked to explain it in details, the answer is: I did not understand this story. And so broadcasters could use simple and clear words to better explain what this crisis means?'*

This might be an interesting point for public service broadcasters to pay attention to because public radio and public television are also for their audiences – apart from news – a privileged platform for language learning and performing. Participants said this does not often happen on Angolan PSB. The contextualisation of news in an appropriate language with a focus on the target audience is still a challenge for Angolan PSB to face.

Conclusion

First of all, this chapter concludes that access to Angolan PSB in this post-war society is still a challenge. There are technical weaknesses to be overcome in order to enable audiences in rural areas to access *News at 8pm*. The PSB signal does not yet cover some regions of the country, as was recognised by the Minister of Social Communication.

Secondly, poverty and robberies obstruct people's access to *News at 8pm*: on the one hand, because the majority is unable to purchase TV or radios devices and, on the other hand,

because once purchased, robbers can steal them. Additionally, a power shortage is another clear obstruction to accessing PSB *News at 8pm,* even though audiences want to listen and watch it. The 15 years since the end of civil war seems not to be enough time to start a national reconciliation and PSB, as participants observed, seem to be less attentive to these communities' daily conflicts and difficulties in post-war Angola. Participants criticised Angolan PSB for paying less heed to power shortages as a top priority in their broadcasting when oil prices in the international market were favourable for Angola as one of the main African oil producers until 2014. Public broadcasters have emphasised the need for more future government plans to solve power shortages issues rather than giving a voice to audiences who face severe difficulties when without electricity to pressure decision-makers.

Thirdly, the role of PSB in the construction of the Angolan nation was also questioned by focus group participants as a non-democratic medium because critical voices of the Angola government and its ruling party are often excluded from live appearances on *News at 8pm*. Hence, *vox pops* that criticise any wrongdoing by the regime are often deleted by public service broadcasters. Lastly, language, illiteracy and minorities are still aspects to be considered and addressed by managers and producers of PSB *News at 8pm* so as to turn it into a less privileged space that may represent the Angolan nation in the process.

If the above PSB *News at 8pm* weaknesses are not sorted out, it can only lead to mistrust among audiences and as a result, people will look for alternatives to get informed or just disconnect as a protest against the service. This is what I intend to look at in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Defining audiences' mistrust of Angolan PSB *News at 8pm*

Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to understand the reasons behind audiences' mistrust of the Angolan PSB *News at 8pm* programme, from the point of view of focus group participants. The main objective of the chapter is to find answers from participants' contributions to the following questions:

Why do people believe less in the Angolan PSB *News at 8pm*?

How are the nation, national identity, national reconstruction and belonging presented by the Angolan PSB in a way that makes people suspicious and very critical?

Do the alternative broadcasting platforms to Angolan PSB provide a better service in the narration of the nation's voice than PSB *News at 8pm* does?

And, finally, what expectations from the audiences are there *vis-à-vis* Angolan PSB?

First, I would like to briefly reflect on changes occurring among Angolan PSB audiences, in order to better understand my contributors' arguments and their perceptions of the performance of Angolan public service broadcasting.

7.1 Angolan PSB and its elite vision of the nation, from audiences' perspective

As with the previous chapter (Access to Angolan PSB), one may understand that post-war PSB's audiences are likely to change as the country context is also changing, with more alternative platforms providing alternative information, mostly in the main cities of Angola. Today, listeners and viewers of Angolan PSB have become more critical observers of content from their public service broadcasting than ever before, and this is also a result of the ICT revolution occurring in this contemporary society.

Participants (as, for example, FG. 2, 4, Benguela; 11, 12, Huambo and 6, 14, and 17 Luanda) discussed how there are many stories related to the insecurity, health and education issues, power electricity shortages and water scarcity taking place every day in many communities of this country, which could be broadcast on the Angolan public service broadcasting platforms, responding to the interest of the public, but are not broadcast. Josefa, a 18-year-old student in Huambo (FG n.11, March 11, 2016,) said to her group that *'It is not difficult to understand that Angolan public television News at 8pm is often very poor in terms of produced content and it is non-interesting to watch or listen to because it does not relate the truth or the most important stories and it is too much repetitive'.* Discussions around the repetition of news on PSB led participants of group 12 to say that public service radio and television relayed the same stories repeatedly with no update, especially when those stories addressed

the purpose of promoting the Angolan government's performance. According to the participants, audiences could presume beforehand what the conclusion of those stories would be. Such narratives from participants seem to expect that *News at 8pm* should be more aligned to addressing everyday stories happening in their communities, but from their understanding this infrequently happens. The question now, according to them, is why PSB acts in this way, when their reporters should know what is occurring in their communities because they live in those communities? Instead they prefer to repeat stories that are in the government interest rather than the public interest. Marilia's (31) statement is an example. From Benguela province, Marilia came to the Angolan capital, Luanda, for work and to study. For her, PSB *News at 8pm* was too repetitive to watch:

> *'I do study in the evening after a full day's work and when I get back home tired, I just watch part of News at 8pm. However, most of the time, stories narrated on the news and the way PSB broadcast them are uninteresting, and I prefer to watch a soap opera. If stories on News at 8pm were attractive, my first choice would be the news. In my house, even my husband prefers novellas than News at 8pm because, according to him, the news is boring. I do often tell him some important stories broadcast in PSB News at 8pm to let him know what is going on in our community and in the country. Even in my university, when I ask colleagues, "Have you watched News at 8pm?" the response is: "We saw it two days ago and they are the same stories".'* (FG n.14, March 19, 2016)

In a similar way, Arlet (36), (FG n.4, March 3, 2016), did not ascribe much importance to *News at 8pm*. She argued that truth and transparency are always absent in the news. *'What is said there is just a kind of consolation showing that there is meat to eat when in fact there are only bones'*, she stated. *'Unfortunately, this is what we watch every day'*. Arlet took the example of Cubal district's local public radio station repeater, installed in 2006 to serve that community, but which has not broadcast in the 10 years since then. *'This repeater is unable to operate on the FM platform to inform local communities about their daily lives'*. Presenting to the world an unrealistic side of the Angolan nation in the privileged space of PSB, *News at 8pm* is another aspect that some informants do not appreciate:

> *'What makes me worried are the considerable delays in improving the real living conditions of our people. The ruling party plan does not respond to our real needs. We have no power, there are great deficiencies in supplying water for people, we doctors earn miserable salaries that do not correspond to our professional health categories, and the gap between the rich and poor is still considerable. Conversely, PSB stories narrated on the News at 8pm talk about the*

progress of the country. On the ground, however, such progress is abstract. Stories broadcast are those referring to elite families.' (Ferro, 53, health professional, Cubal, FG n.4, March 3, 2016).

The Angolan elite's vision of the nation, as broadcast by PSB, is acknowledged by participants as unrealistic, abstract and very different from what they see in their everyday life, as the statement above indicates. Dreaming a country in progress and developing its infrastructures is good, but working hard to achieve that dream and letting citizens on the ground verify the reality of it is far better. The group discussions seemed to address this last option. Moreover, Malaquias' reflection may contribute to this discussion:

> the restructuring of state-society relations is particularly important in post-conflict societies like Angola where diverse groups must find new ways to articulate their interests and have their voices count as new reconstruction strategies are elaborated and priorities set for their implementation. (2007: 190).

However, the Angolan political elite's vision of the nation seems to speak louder in PSB than the real conditions that might be observed by the majority of Angolan people. Malaquias then advises a kind of 'interaction' that 'can constitute a critical foundation for building a democratic system which ensures that all citizens are represented and have a voice in setting the national agenda' (ibid).

However, in the field, as informant Ferro observes it, *'News at 8pm has a trend of justifying government mistakes. They feel insecure when they realise that a given story may be known by the majority of their audience members, bringing trouble to the government'* (Ferro, 53, Cubal, FG n.4, March 3, 2016). In some way, these revelations are similar to what journalist Jimu said about propaganda and censorship, as detailed in Chapter 4. Government communication strategy seems very sensitive to criticism; consequently, it reinforces in its marketing the positive aspects of the nation in construction, even though participants see this as just a kind of *flatus vocis*.

Ferro goes further on this topic, to add the example that:

> *'The 2016 Angola national state budget story broadcast by PSB News at 8pm, for instance, was vague. Could not broadcasters explain it in a simple way to let citizens build up their own opinion? Based on the News at 8pm report, people could not identify the sources of*

income that could sustain that budget.' (ibid).

Ferro's group observations raised another aspect, that of the appearance of independent analysts on PSB *News at 8pm* stories seeming to be good if one acknowledges the diversity of PSB audience members and the level of illiteracy among community members in post-war Angola. Therefore, to adapt and contextualise the language in the PSB *News at 8pm,* as participants stated in the previous chapter, might be an essential step to letting audiences have a better understanding not only of the content of a given story (such as the above-mentioned country budget 2016) but also of the meaning and implications of it for audiences. The question about why PSB *News at 8pm* does not address more local and regional stories was frequently raised in almost all group discussions. Although it is difficult for PSB to address all matters in a one-hour news programme like *News at 8pm*, the above claim seems to call to the attention of PSB practitioners that Angolan audiences might have certain expectations when watching or listening to a PSB. If a PSB does not deal with this issue, disconnection among audiences may increasingly become a reality.

According to focus group participants, on the face of it, Angolan audiences seem to look on PSB programmes with suspicion in matters of public interest. On a daily basis, the most important stories, from their viewpoint, are simply avoided:

> *'PSB does not address stories in the public interest. For public broadcasters, important stories are only those related to the presidency of the country. Our PSB often hides the truth, especially on News at 8pm'* (Arlet, 36, Cubal, FG n. 4, March 3, 2016).

However, while young people seem to be more critical of Angolan PSB, some older ones, especially in Luanda, the capital of the country, are more inclined to accept PSB *News at 8pm*:

> *'The person who follows News at 8pm most in my house is my grandmother. For her TPA News at 8pm is the best. Even though from morning to afternoon, it tells Zé Dú's[28] stories. When we criticised the President for lack of water and power shortages, even our monthly payments, my grandmother was always a defender of the regime. Actually she is now accepting that PSB is just promoting the presidency. Even my father actually accepts that PSB is not addressing real stories. However, he argues that we should not speak too loudly so that he can protect his job, the salary of which sustains us.'* (William, 23, university student, in

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[28] Nickname of the Angolan head of state, José Eduardo dos Santos.

Luanda, FG n.6, March 6, 2016)

For William, people should go on strike because *'need speaks louder than morality'*. Angolans have been taught from the civil war experience to worry about change.

> *'If you say to someone to vote for change in the coming electoral process of 2017, the first idea coming to mind is the alternative guy who will first steal everything and get rich before he starts working for the people. And PSB News at 8pm passes on this idea to audiences.*(ibid)'

William's contribution to his group discussion brought up the idea that Angolan PSB is more a government instrument than a public service as it is described in the Angolan constitution (2010).

Promoting half-truths and silencing stories were among the main negative aspects presented in almost all group discussions as strategies of the Angolan PSB *News at 8pm* to help the ruling party.

> *'People do not like PSB News at 8pm, because we all know that in terms of politics, stories about general elections, the ruling party (MPLA) may have 45 minutes while other opposition parties like CASA-CE and UNITA may get just two to three minutes in the News'* (William, ibid.).

This participant observation, although very critical of the ruling party, raises a fearful aspect ever present in many Angolan communities in this post-war society. And this fear seems to still be a handicap to the construction of this post-war nation, its national identity and belonging.

'One of the main topics recurrent in the News at 8pm is the President and government members' activities. It might take often more than 70% of the one-hour News'.[29] In the Angolan PSB newsroom, there is a special desk for presidential activities with a chosen team of journalists to cover presidential stories (see the statements from journalists Kaholo and Jimu in Appendix III, n.1 and 4). The decision of PSB managers in creating such a desk suggests that there is high priority and importance given to that kind of stories in the *News at 8pm* in order to satisfy the interests of the public. Therefore, publicness[30] is the target for which the news is

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[29] Menezes, a media practitioner, see Chapter 4.

[30] As defined by Scannell in this chapter, it is the main reason for the existence of news.

produced. However, the reactions of Angolan audiences seem to be the opposite of this idea. Focus group participants say that audiences are more interested in watching stories about their local, regional and national daily lives[31] rather than presidential activities.

One of the reasons behind the fact that PSB *News at 8pm* prioritises more presidential and government stories may be that those stories come from official sources and are broadcast to fulfil audiences' expectations of being kept up to date with events. However, this too may only be part of a big picture, because many of those stories are not about the daily need of audiences but about the government 'selling hope'[32] and government marketing. Additionally, participants (example F.G., n.5) argue that such an excuse does not respond totally to the question, when people know that Angolan PSB has representative teams in each region. These teams produce brief daily documentaries to pass on to PSB national news in the mornings. Regrettably, there is not much of an audience at that time because normally people are more focused on their daily work. What regional Angolan audiences might want, as one can perceive from group discussions, is to include more regional and local daily stories into the privileged space of *News at 8pm* rather than fill the space with other stories of less interest to the national audience.

On the other hand, there is a kind of sceptical attitude among Angolan audiences when watching *News at 8pm*, as in this example of Dinis, 36 years, kitchen chief, Benguela (FG n.3, March 2, 2016), who does not believe in many of the stories broadcast on the programme. For him, many of the stories are biased. He affirmed that he watched *News at 8pm* every evening, but with scepticism:

> *'One day, this year 2016, I saw some long vehicles trail tanks full with fuel in the Luvu district, on the northern border with the Democratic Republic of Congo. The selling of fuel on the border by some individuals was clear proof of corruption. However, nobody was arrested. I know Angolan public television has pictures of those actions, because I have seen their reporters in that locality, but it just broadcast part of the story without presenting the traders.'*

Critics of PSB *News at 8pm* are also a sort of proof that audiences watch it and feel that PSB is still an important medium to be informed by. Eduardo, a 19-year-old student from Vila das Acácias, Benguela (FG n.1, March 2, 2016), observed that debates in their high school around PSB *News at 8pm* are actually held frequently because of the economic crisis

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[31] Arlet and Ferro addressed strongly this issue in Cubal, FG. n.4, March 3, 2016.

[32] Jimu's expression, when he was interviewed by the author (see details in Chapter 4).

(meaning the decrease in oil prices in the international market). *'People are attracted to watching public service television News at 8pm just to be informed about this crisis'*. In fact, since November 2014, the price of basic goods (food, drinks, and clothes) has risen and foreign currency (US dollars and the euro) is difficult to purchase and exchange. TPA (Angolan public television) is actually the conduit in the country for updating people about the economic crisis. Therefore, it is good to acknowledge that oil is the main exported Angolan natural resource (95%) and its revenue practically supports the entire Angolan national budget. After three decades of civil war, Angola imports more than 80% (according to INE 2014 figures) of its essential goods from abroad to respond to the needs of its population.

The wish among focus group participants to have an acceptable PSB *News at 8pm* rather than an alternative broadcaster was noticeable during group discussions, especially groups from rural areas and those outside Luanda. The contribution from Manuel (41), a teacher in Benguela, is a good example of this when he said:

> *'We want to fight for our rights because PSB belongs to all of us. However, the political system helps manipulate stories that could hurt the policies and ideology of the government. Although from time to time, PSB tells some true stories, our everyday life rarely passes through the national radio airwaves and TV screens. Another aspect to censure is the cooperation between Angolan public service television and the police in matters of crime.'* (FG n.2, March 2, 2016)

Manuel and his team's contribution bring to light the idea that many citizens know that PSB belongs to the Angolan people and citizens should fight for it to work more on their behalf rather than just for the President and government. Conversely, in another context, in some African countries with the same tight control of PSB by the government, audiences have sought a solution from private alternative broadcasting platforms; the idea that one could perceive in Manuel's group discussion and other participants is to democratise the existing PSB. We shall come to this issue later on in this chapter.

Truthfulness in the Angolan PSB was also questioned when it dealt with stories about violence and crime. There was no consensus in the group discussions about the way suspects were presented on *News at 8pm*. Participants in Focus Group no. 2 (March 2, 2016), for example, argued that *'police officers often contact Angolan public television's (TPA) reporters to interview arrested people accused of wrongdoing before they are brought to justice'*. Manuel's argument was that cooperation between PSB *News at 8pm* team producers and the police in

Benguela's province was a controversial subject. Discussion in the group was about the way PSB delivered stories on crime that seemed to assume that, generally, citizens arrested by the police were guilty even though they had not yet been brought to justice. Very often potential criminals were presented on the *News at 8pm* holding an A4-sized paper carrying descriptions such as: 'I am a robber; I killed a man'. Some participants said that it is the job of the police and what broadcasters do is just picture the people concerned and present the facts. The police for their part justify such an attitude to discourage potential criminals from following the example of the arrested people. Group two, however, criticised the ethical implications of public broadcasting reporters when delivering stories related to crime on the *News at 8pm*. This issue has raised a hot debate between lawyers and journalists belonging to the Angolan Journalists Association. As a result, Angolan public service television, when broadcasting crime stories on the *News at 8pm*, hides the faces of potential criminals. Reporting crime in post-war Angola, although sensitive, may be an important service for the building of national identity and a national reconstruction, which PSB can accomplish if ethical concerns as presented by FG. n. 2 are better addressed in a professional way.

Issues around more freedom of expression on the Angolan PSB *News at 8pm* recurred in all group discussions. While some participants criticised how the ruling party's actions were promoted far rather than important social issues, others highlighted the silence of PSB in addressing basic social challenges:

> *'TPA News at 8pm just presents stories that benefit the regime and its institutions. Press freedom in the Angolan PSB is still limited. How was it possible that in a matter of health, the general paediatric hospital had no syringes or aspirin and 30 to 40 children die every day, and Angolan PSB was silent on these facts?'* (Diavita, 43, FG n.14, March 19, 2016).

Although criticisms such as that made by Diavita make sense, it is also acceptable that PSB may choose other stories as a priority for their *News at 8pm* and that their choice might not necessarily be the same as that expected by some audiences. However, participants argued that alternative media outlets available on DSTV platforms often prioritised stories about health, education and related issues at the peak time when the news was broadcast, which did not happen on Angolan PSB. From the discussions held, one can perceive that people watching alternative broadcasting seem to have more reasons to compare both services and wonder why PSB could not frequently address those issues, since by nature, PSB was the leading station for such issues. David (25), a teacher in Prenda, Luanda (FG n.6, March 6,

2016), told the group that he and his family do follow *News at 8pm*. No matter if their stories are lies or truth, said David, they are heavily edited:

> *'It is true that seeing it often one may be bored. An example of it was the funeral of Lúcio Lara [one of the former MPLA senior communist leaders]. News at 8pm reported on that funeral 90% of the time. And this happens often when the ruling party (MPLA) is holding an activity. It takes up all the public service radio and television's time. Daily stories such as demolition of the homes of poor people in the suburbs of Luanda by government civil servants are not addressed. Another story in relation to this 'silence' was in the rainy season, when Luanda was flooded, only the independent TV Zimbo had information. PSB silenced this story. Moreover, the Kibala, Kuanza Sul district road was practically impossible to travel on. Many vehicles were backed up for days, people were crying for help. I could see pictures on social media, but PSB did not present any of the stories related to it."*

Omissions, no matter whether they are a result of broadcasters' lack of professionalism or political interference in public broadcasting news at 8pm, seem to affect audiences' trust in the news source. On the face of it, Angolan PSB is perceived to some extent by local audiences as indifferent and unresponsive to their needs. The contribution by Antonio (20), a student (FG n.6, March 6, 2016), about imbalances in the TPA and RNA when referring to Kalupeteca's story,[33] took place on June 2, 2015, is an example of this:

> *'Almost all Angolans know that Kalupeteca was a UNITA opposition party supporter. He was dismissed from his party for a long time and created his own church. He was attacked by government police agents. In reaction, some police and many of Kalupeteca's faithful were killed. Now News at 8pm shows footage pictures with Kalupeteca's supporters wearing UNITA T-shirts to accuse the opposition party of subverting the people, instead of presenting the real story of the incident between the police and Kalupeteca's supporters. Therefore, News at 8pm only shows the policemen dead and nothing of the dead Kalupeteca supporters. News at 8pm only presented government condolences to police agents' families and nothing was said about so many civil people who also died.'*

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[33] Kalupeteca, who has actually been in prison for 25 years, was a leader of *Luz do Mundo* (Light of the World), a Christian religious sect. He succeed in convincing more than 3000 families (men, women and children) to sell their homes and belongings and follow him to live in the Sumy mountain in the central Angola province of Huambo, with the promise of taking all of them to Heaven in few months. As a result many young girls and boys abandoned schools to join the 'prophet' of the end of days in Sumy. The police tried to free the people and take them back home, but Kalupeteca's men responded violently with guns killing five police officers, one of them, a regional chief commander. The police responded to this, killing many civilians. PSB *News at 8pm*, however, broadcast just part of this story highlighting more the police agents' tragedy rather than the civilians who also died in the incident.

As in Group 6, participants in Focus Group 1 in Benguela also argued that Angolan PSB very often preferred silence in the face of important local and regional stories, such as the ones mentioned above in this chapter.

One of the challenges now is how Angolan public service broadcasting should set about to accomplish what is written into the Angolan constitution (Art. 44, n.3). Alberto (37), a media practitioner, asserted:

> *'The Angolan government has transformed PSB into a public relations enterprise. PSB reproduces a kind of government meeting reports; broadcasters do not inform the public, they just do political reports. PSB would also be responsible for future problems in obstructing the development of Angola national identity and belonging.'* (FG n.14, March 19, 2016)

TPA has a monopoly on the open television broadcast platform nationwide. However, *News at 8pm* content, as Alberto and other participants quoted above observed, seems to be subordinate to the ruling party's wishes and the government's private interests. As a result, the existence of plurality, diversity and balance in the news is questionable. *'When one turns on the TV, already knows what to expect. Stories like, "Minister X has visited Y place and is happy with that" are frequent'* (Alberto, ibid.). However:

> *'it should work the other way round: a minister should ask the people in a given region of the country if they were happy with the health and education projects implemented there for the benefit of the population. What we often perceive are ministers praising themselves for what they think they have accomplished'.* (ibid).

This last observation brings to the fore one of the essential aspects of this point of view, according to which Angolan audiences perceive the role of their PSB and even analyse broadcasters' performances in detail. An example is the perception of Alberto and his group discussion, that the Angolan public broadcasters edit politicians' interviews, choosing the parts that promote government actions for the privileged space of television and radio that *News at 8pm* represents.

Additionally, inefficiencies in Angolan public service television, as group participants analysed it, were to some extent highlighted by comparison with public service radio: *'In the capital, Luanda, public service radio gets more of an audience than public service television. Public service radio, although connected to the ruling party's system, at least tells stories about the transport in the city'* (Diavita, ibid). Poverty, illiteracy and ease of access have turned radio into an accessible

broadcasting platform among Africans in general and Angolans in particular. Listening to radio stations has become a custom among Africans. However, politicians and some civil society leaders in their turn seem too often to see this medium more for propaganda purposes rather than the building of nations. The impact of radio in Angolans' daily lives is still strong, for the reasons mentioned here but also because of its connection to a sense of belonging; Lloyd (2015: 10-11) reminds us that the most important word in radio is 'You'. Radio is closer to everyone; and even in Angola the language of radio is aimed to address individuals not groups. 'Radio is special because of the relationship it enjoys with its audience. The strength of that relationship (…) is built on the words you choose. Of all those words, the most important one is [you]'. However, what seems to come out of the group discussions is that although Angolan public service radio is addressing individuals, its contents are not those expected by the ordinary audiences but by elites, and these contents often are not true. To change this trend, Ferro (FG n.4, March 3, 2016) suggests that:

> *'To have truth and accuracy in PSB News at 8pm, broadcasters must embrace investigative journalism, travelling across the country rather than just broadcasting from their offices in the capital, Luanda.'*

Radio, then, is expected to be a more local medium, according to participants in the group discussions. They feel that contents and coverage that are closer to their local experiences would better narrate nation building, rather than national broadcasting inputs that are influenced by the experience of the current political elites and are different from what the majority of the Angolans listen and experience. Debates about whether Angolan rural communities should be allowed to have community radio stations may make sense in this context, and should be encouraged as a way to focus more on local stories rather than national events. The way to create such radio stations also deserves some reflection in this post-war society.

What is underlined here is that the elite's vision of the nation is highly visible through PSB, from the discussions above. However, moderate optimism regarding the extent of PSB performance is also signalled, which means that audiences are aware of the role of public service broadcasting in Angolan nation building. I attempt to examine this aspect below.

7.2 Audiences' perceptions of *News at 8pm*

Included in considerable criticism of Angolan PSB, some focus group contributors to this

study could find some modest positive aspects to PSB *News at 8pm* in their everyday lives. Natural disasters and financial crisis were aspects that, according to some participants, were well addressed in Angolan public service broadcasting. Participants in Group 3 introduced an example of such awareness, although with some criticisms:

> *'There are some good elements in the Angolan PSB News at 8pm. For example, when Lobito's district, was flooded and some people died, this year, 2016, TPA did a great job calling on society for solidarity. I have watched News at 8pm and could see the diversity of goods (food, clothes and so on) that came from other provinces and the capital, Luanda, and even goods from other countries.'* (Donilton, 40, a teacher, FG n.2, March 2, 2016).

Also, opinion in favour of PSB *News at 8pm* was addressed to aspects of innovation and creativity, against those participants who perceived too much repetition in *News at 8pm*. Domingos (34) a plumber, Benguela (FG n.3, March 2, 2016), disagreed with participants in his group, arguing that:

> *'Many Angolans do watch and see PSB News at 8pm. It is not the total truth when colleagues here said there is no creativity in the News at 8pm. Conversely, I must say there are innovations in the News at 8pm every day. The retelling of some stories is essentially centred on important stories broadcast to give opportunities to other members of the audience that could not get informed earlier to get it right. And so that is not a simple repetition. When one watches PSB, one acknowledges that there are debates on certain aspects of social life. However, I must honestly admit that some stories could be better researched and judged in a way of finding out possible solutions. This is what the public or audiences want to know, but it did not happen yet in our PSB. In this perspective, public service radio has more impact on the audiences than public service television.'*

Also, Francisco's (34 years, teacher, FG n.5, March 3, 2016) contribution, as a frequent PSB *News at 8pm* audience member in both public radio and TV, is that Angolan public service *News at 8pm* stories are important.

> *'TPA normally announces, on the one hand, important stories about our country. However, it fails when reporting political parties' stories. Any story linked to opposition parties, TPA broadcast just a bit of it. Contrarily, when stories are linked to the ruling party, TPA gives to it a considerable length of time, even with unnecessary details. This is one of the weakest sides of our PSB.'*

The above moderate optimism, however, seemed to not convince the majority of participants to this research, as demonstrated in the arguments below.

In the field research, critics were also against the concentration, in the news, of stories that happened in the capital and of the amount of time given to foreign stories in the *News at 8pm* when compared to stories about the nation and national reconstruction in post-war Angola.

One criticism was about the lack of opposing viewpoints in stories broadcast by the Angolan public service to enable people to make their own judgements. The following statement from a secondary school teacher, one of the active informants to her group discussion, summarises this aspect. She said:

> *'When I comment on PSB News at 8pm with friends, they perceive the absence of opposing viewpoints in the news. It is infrequent to listen and watch an interviewee criticising some public policies carried out by our government. The majority of stories reported are good ones about the MPLA (the ruling party) and its government. Additionally, in the narration of the stories, one may listen to excessive use of technical expressions that some people in the audience cannot understand. This is also a reason why citizens prefer to not watch TPA's News at 8pm.'* (Mirta, 32, teacher, Benguela, FG n.2, March 2, 2016)

And Pessela (41), a nurse in Cubal district (FG n.4, March 3, 2016), added:

> *'News at 8pm does not respond to the expectations of regional audiences. A clear example of it is News at 8pm narrates more stories connected to the north of Angola. Other regional and local news out of the capital, Luanda, and the north of the country are just summaries.'*

In a similar way Filomena, (47) health professional, from the same group discussion, emphasised the concentration of PSB news content in Luanda and its surroundings:

> *'I do agree with what my colleagues say: Angolan PSB News at 8pm focuses more on stories happening in the capital. However, there are stories happening in many other Angolan districts and villages that could be broadcast to allow other communities and all of society been informed, but PSB does not do it. Stories happening in Luanda have more importance to public broadcasters.'*

The argument that there are too many stories on the PSB *News at 8pm* from Luanda may suggest that the capital attracts so much importance in the *News* because it has the majority

of the Angolan citizens and all the broadcasting services are based there. Conversely, it may also imply that there is less effort made by PSB producers to report more stories from the other provinces. According to the participants in this research, PSB could be more representative by broadcasting stories that address all of the nation in process of reconstruction. However, that seems not yet to be the case, as Mr. Gabriel commented:

> *'The nation is not Luanda alone. Provinces other than Luanda only make it to the screen in political election periods; otherwise, they are ordinarily excluded in the daily News at 8pm. For this reason, public television and radio are not Angola's public service broadcasting but Luanda's. Almost all daily life stories from municipalities are excluded from the PSB News at 8pm.'* (Gabriel, 32, civil servant, FG n.5, March 3, 2016)

Even in sports, participants criticised how so much time and attention was given to foreign teams rather than the national ones. Antonio, 20, a university student in Luanda and very active informant to his group discussion, summarised this idea:

> *'Local and national stories last five minutes maximum but international stories are repeated over and over again. Even for football stories, Petro Atlético de Luanda and 1° de Agosto[34] take less than five minutes of comments while Real Madrid and its star, Cristiano Ronaldo, take up hours of commentary (Cristiano made another record … he did this and that) on our public service television. News at 8pm gives more coverage to foreign stories rather than the national ones.'* (FG n.7, March 6, 2016)

In some way, this observation links to what contributors to *Public Service Broadcasting for the 21st Century* (see Raboy, ed., 1996; Nassanga in Njogu and Middleton, 2009) have discussed so far: local PSB production in Africa is still expensive and apart from some quizzes and live sports programmes produced locally, PSB often purchases ready-made programmes produced mostly in the West to fill their agendas. However, those decontextualised programmes, often welcomed by African teenagers, are not good in terms of education and the building up of a national identity. Young people consider stars addressing them in a foreign language to be remote from their everyday lives. It is a case of 'strangers in a mirror', to borrow Nassanga's (2009: 49) expression.

Overall, my respondents think that what they currently receive on PSB does not please them and their perceptions of the role of PSB are more negative than positive, as seen

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[34] Petro and 1° de Agosto are the best-known Angolan football teams.

further in the arguments below.

The outcome from the group discussions (examples in FG 7; 14; 15; 16) highlight the poor quality of journalists in the Angolan PSB as one of the main reasons for audiences' sense of disconnect. Although the intensity of the arguments in the groups may seem to imply that there might be a weakness in the way public broadcasters narrate the nation and national identity, a different view from Group 14, for example, seems to bring to light the question of the professionalism of Angolan public broadcasters. Narcisa (34), is a media practitioner (FG n.14, March 19, 2016) who said in her group discussion that conversely to what the majority of members of her focus group believed (that the government promotes propaganda on PSB*), 'the best Angolan journalists are in Angolan PSB'.* This participant remembered the recognition given by the Brazilian Batuque news agency when she was working with that team:

> *'This institution recognised the professional quality of Angolan public television producers. Commenting on the Angolan journalists' quality, the Brazilians said they were all good because they could practise journalism theory in their daily work while Brazilian broadcasters prefer more practical and less technical language. However, the Brazilians noticed that Angolan public broadcasters were less prepared to investigate and did not like investigative journalism.'* (ibid.)

Mrs. Narcisa's argument is that Angolan public broadcasters are not the problem, but the political system. *'To be an editor, to get promotion as a manager in the Angolan PSB, professionalism alone is not the only main requisite. It is necessary to have a link with the political system'* (ibid.). For Narcisa:

> *'This is a fact and not speculation. Some of the broadcasters were professors at university, and even those who claim to be pillars of Angolan independent journalists came from Angolan PSB. Therefore, they had not the same independence and creativity in their broadcasting reports as they have today. However, TPA is concerned about public satisfaction on News at 8pm'* (ibid).

However, some participants of Group 14 considered that if Narcisa's arguments were to be accepted, then the TPA should ask itself whether its audiences were really happy in the way they are being addressed on the *News at 8pm.*

Participants' points of view presented in this section, bring to light that arguments in

favour and against PSB are not new in media studies. The Angolan case under study in this thesis, although having some particular characteristics, is similar to many arguments conducted by academics and scholars in media studies in Africa. As an example of this, Nyamnjoh (2009) when reflecting about Africa's media, democracy and belonging, argues that:

> In Africa the media are the privilege of a relative few. In some countries the electronic media mean very little in language and content to the bulk of the population that is rural and has a limited understanding of the Western languages of local broadcasts (in Njogu and Middleton, eds., 2009: 73).

Operating in the context of a post-war period and reconstructing society, Angolan PSB seems to make less effort or at least to pay less attention to the narration of the nation if we consider the claims from the group discussions, despite the interference of political forces in their work. Even though Nyamnjoh advises that:

> The challenge for the media is to capture the spirit of tolerance, negotiation and conviviality beneath every display of difference and marginalization, encouraging acceptance as the way forward for an increasingly interconnected world of individuals and groups who long for recognition and representation. (ibid)

To conclude this section, the critical arguments presented above, although with some exceptions, suggest that alternative broadcasting could better narrate the nation and better address Angolan post-war audiences than Angolan PSB does. However, some questions should be considered first: What alternative broadcasting entities are there? Who are the owners of them? Is the national coverage of those media better than Angolan PSB? Are those media accessed nationwide? Are nation, national identity and national reconstruction among their first priorities? These and other questions are what this research attempts to look at now.

7.3 Alternative broadcasting to the Angolan PSB

Since the end of the civil war in 2002, there have been timid openings made in the airwaves in Angola. The capital of Angola has two commercial radio stations, three Christian radio stations and six FM local radio stations belonging to the public service broadcasting group.

Apart from Luanda, Huambo and Benguela, where this research was also conducted, none of the other 15 Angolan provinces have independent radio stations. All provincial radio stations belong to PSB. These last connect to the prime time period of *News at 8pm*, which is broadcast nationwide. Moreover, although PSB have greater coverage than any other media, Angolan PSB does not yet cover all the country. So, there are some Angolan communities who still are totally disconnected in terms of *News at 8pm*.

In terms of television, the only TV channel operating free of charge on an open platform is the Angola public television (TPA). There is an independent TV channel, TV Zimbo, in existence for the past five years, but only available on a closed DStv platform. Also only available on a DStv platform are TV Palanca and ZAP Television, operating on an experimental basis and not yet well known by the public.

The country has one national daily newspaper (*Jornal de Angola*), which is owned by the state. A second daily newspaper, whose owners are also connected to the Angolan ruling party, commenced publication in 2015. Both of them are distributed in the capital but arrive after a delay of two to three days in the capitals of some other provinces.

This section will focus more on the alternative broadcasting to Angolan PSB, from focus groups' perspectives of the situation from the end of the civil war to date. Participants in the various group discussions said that alternative broadcasting in DStv channels often addressed public interest stories that Angolan PSB would never try to address. Furthermore, audiences felt that in some ways, the greater freedom of expression on a DStv independent national channel, such as in debates on TV Zimbo, was influencing Angolan PSB to at least imitate its challengers.

Filomena (FG n.4, March 3, 2016), for instance, asserts: *'We listen to important stories on Despertar radio station[35], which we would never listen to on Angola national radio (RNA)'*. Such arguments seem to pay little heed to the idea that PSB may have different priorities than independent broadcasting, which often attracts audiences to sell their products by meeting their expectations, even though nowadays PSB in many countries often uses the same strategy to survive. However, Group 4 argued that the influence of independent Angolan broadcasting on PSB had become more and more perceptible.

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[35] *Despertar* (wake up) is the name of the former military opposition party (UNITA)'s radio station that was very propagandistic and mouthpiece of the rebels during the civil war. It continues to be controlled by the main opposition party, UNITA, in the context of the post-war period, while remaining very critical of the MPLA government it tries to democratize.

The comparison made between Angolan PSB and the independent TV Zimbo may to some extent be understood as identifying how the independent TV performances push public service television broadcasters to improve their contents and to better research their stories *vis-à-vis* their audiences' expectations without losing their nature and role of public service.

According to my informants, TV Zimbo's broadcasting seems to be well aware of Angolan PSB's weaknesses in terms of addressing local stories and so it takes opportunities to draw audiences' attention to it. However, the real question is the perspective that TV Zimbo gives to those stories: Is it in the interest of the public, or mainly to attract Angola's audiences to TV Zimbo? Leaving aside mistrust of independent broadcasters, what my informants seem to acknowledge is that Zimbo's freedom in addressing some Angolan local stories pushes Angola PSB towards doing the same; unfortunately government interference in Angolan PSB does not facilitate such competition.

> *'Things seem getting a little bit better in the Angolan PSB because the independent TV channel, Zimbo, is challenging them. One can see in some debating programmes on Tuesdays, although public television has more ruling party guests rather than building up an opposing team to debate important issues in the interests of the nation. Unfortunately, many public service broadcasters wear a ruling party T-shirt[36] in their reports. If one watches the face of the broadcaster, he does not convince anybody of being neutral on the story, especially in relation to political stories linked to current affairs. The ruling party story is narrated with more satisfaction than a successful opposition party's story.'* (David, 25, teacher in Prenda, Luanda, FG n.6, March 6, 2016).

For Francisco (FG n. 5), *'stories other than those related to the Angolan ruling party (MPLA) are cut off; even though, I do watch TPA because is free of charge and covers a greater part of the nation than the independent TV station, Zimbo'*. Francisco's observation is similar to what journalist Jimu mentioned in Chapter 4, that TPA has an advantage because it operates on an open platform while its opponent, TV Zimbo, operates on a closed platform through a satellite system, which only a few Angolans can afford. Poverty and power shortages, as mentioned in Chapter 6, are the main obstacles for the majority of citizens to accessing the independent service television channel broadcast from Luanda.

Nevertheless, Angolan listeners and viewers who prefer the alternative broadcasting

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[36] 'To wear the ruling party's t-shirt' in Angolan popular language means to promote government policies.

available on a DStv platform are aware that PSB *News at 8pm* could be a good instrument to address stories about national reconstruction.

> *'Many people and I do not follow News at 8pm because it does not narrate local stories. PSB presents more celebrations, stories out of national and local contexts. Our expectation is that PSB should tell us more on how the country is been governed, what is needed here. PSB, however, often tells us only part of what the country needs to know. And as a result, citizens are not well informed.'* (Lukeny, 21 years, football player, FG n.6, March 6, 2016).

Lukeny also said to the group that his parents forced him to watch *News at 8pm*. Actually, he does not listen to or watch PSB *News at 8pm* regularly because he has many alternative choices for being informed through Internet access, he added. Other participants in group discussions at different levels had noticed that PSB was trying to adjust to independent broadcasting in terms of output and setting up programmes. Narcisa, a broadcasting practitioner (FG n.14, March 19, 2016), reminded the group that some 10 years ago, critics of *News at 8pm* were unnoticed but since the arrival of a concurrent independent news service at 8pm provided by TV Zimbo, audiences were assessing the Angolan public television, TPA, to compare the quality of both.

For other participants such as Diavita (43), a lawyer (FG n.14, March 19, 2016), there were very few differences between Angolan public television and its independent counterpart, TV Zimbo. Therefore, the major challenge to Angolan PSB came from the context of Angolan citizens, as he evaluated it. Diavita argued that young people in the country faced serious problems with public policies, and PSB did not highlight this on their *News at 8pm*. The youth were interested to know about the efficacy of the Angolan government's public policies to sort out the problems of unemployment. Diavita criticised public television's (TPA) Tuesday forum debate, as being composed of similar points of view. For him, the guests on the show were good but unbalanced in their opinions. Guests on the independent TV Zimbo, for instance, had more freedom on a similar show aired on the same day and hour to debate the government's public policies. As he observed:

> *'TPA had no opposition opinion in their debate programme because on their guest team, one can see a civil society member and an opposition party member debating with four ruling party members or government guests. This is what we know beforehand in terms of distribution in the panel. In addition, in terms of intervention, while ruling party guests had ten minutes, each civil society guest got four minutes while the opposition party got two minutes. It is a*

political strategy. Hence, when an opposition guest is expressing his opinion, guests from the government side obstruct him. Journalism in such a context is a kidnapped profession because the presenter is unable to moderate the debate as it should be done.' (Diavita, ibid.).

Imbalance in the Angolan PSB News when addressing elements connected to national identity and national reconstruction was perceived by some members of society, as mentioned above by some participants. However, alternative broadcasters are also connected to members of the ruling party. Apart from doing business, as seems to be the case with TV Zimbo, it may also protect its owners' objectives.

On the face of it, alternative broadcasting, as we mentioned above, should be considered to better respond and address Angolan audiences' needs and expectations, as often happens in the context of some African countries. However, that is not the point of view of many participants in this thesis. António, 20, a university student in Luanda, is one of them: *'I do not suggest terminating PSB News at 8pm, because news is always important for keeping us informed about the nation and the world'* (FG n.6, March 6, 2016).

Although alternative independent broadcasting seems to be more careful about the 'dailiness' aspects of everyday life in the news, the question raised in the discussion was: how is a business focus dominating their broadcast content and how often are educative aspects pushed into the background? To this question, Domingos (34) a plumber, Benguela (FG n.3, March 2, 2016), argues that *'overall Angolan PSB has less freedom of expression than the Angolan independent TV Zimbo's channel'*. That might be true to some extent. Therefore, the relationship between PSB and independent broadcasting is an important point to this debate and worthy of reflection (as in Scannell, 1996; Raboy, 1996).

However it is also worth noting at this point that:

> Any public broadcasting system is by definition an institution that invites controversy. Providing a viable service to the entire population is no simple matter, especially in societies marked by ethnic and cultural diversity and with adversarial social movements representing conflicting political and social agendas.(McChesney, 1999: 242)

Angola's TV Zimbo has no such commitment. And so independent broadcasting seems to be a good alternative and in a way it becomes a challenger to PSB. However, although their content seems more attractive, their highly commercial perspective, as reflected above,

brings considerable imbalances when addressing the stories of ethnic and cultural diversity that are typical of Angolan post-war society.

To sum up, the major claims from participants to this research seem that elements connected to the nation, national identity, reconstruction and belonging are less emphasised in the Angolan PSB *News at 8pm*. Even though PSB is not expected to address every issue in a given society, the claims of participants to this research seem to be focused on those essential issues that touch elements of post-war society and national reconstruction of the Angolan context. However, what are these elements? Blanes[37] argues that:

> Angolanity, although it has late roots in Portuguese colonialism of the 20th century, is essentially a post-colonial product, resulting from the political project of the government elite since independence. Anyway, it is a successful project that has exceeded political ambitions and become entrenched into the Angolan socio-cultural tissue'.

Besides some already mentioned elements above, the next section is an attempt to reflect on this.

7.4 National audiences' expectations of the Angolan PSB

Reflecting on nation and society in the news, Gans (2004:19) highlights that news should report what is happening in the nation. For him, 'despite the explicit concern with people and their activities, the recurring subjects of the news are nation and society – their persistence, cohesion, and the conflicting divisions threaten their cohesion (…) the news is principally about the nation'. The concept and definitions of the nation, with its debateable framework,[38] have their roots in the members of a given community or society as a subject and a reference point for its overall nature. Statements from focus group participants in this research support this idea, and in their perception Angolan PSB seem to pay little heed to this aspect. An example of it came from Group 6, when it discussed the Angolan national 'we' being lost in the PSB *News at 8pm. 'There are no references for young people in the stories broadcast in News at 8pm,'* said Williams (23), a university student from Prenda, a

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[37] Ruy Blanes was interviewed by Patrício Batsîkama, in his book: *Nation, Nationality and Angolan Nationalism,* (2016: 637).

[38] Definitions of 'nation' are provided in detail in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

Luandan municipality (FG n.6, March 6, 2016). Although young people form the majority of the Angolan population (65% according to INE, 2014), Williams asserted:

> *'We do appreciate behaviour and references coming from abroad, because what we see in PSB are stranger references to our own culture. Almost all young people appreciate stars from Western media. It is difficult to see in the Angolan PSB national society personalities (lawyers, football players and the like) as references to the young generation.'*

Globalisation has influenced young people to appreciate Angolan values less and adopt other cultural values, as this participant seems to emphasise, especially in Luanda. However, this is not an isolated case for Angolan young people alone; it is happening elsewhere. The point here, as some participants discussed, is how PSB *News at 8pm* could attract young people to watch and listen to national stories? *'At 8pm, when one switches on News on TPA or RNA, audiences already know what they will get: government promotion and it is always the same stories'* (Williams, ibid).

Samples of audiences' expectations of Angolan PSB may be found in discussions held in Groups 14, 15 and 17 in Luanda and Viana (March, 2016). In the 15 years since the end of the civil war, many promises for water, schools, hospitals, electricity, security and public transport are still just dreams, according to participants in Zango, Viana. Many families, as Focus Group 15 discussed, still live in miserable conditions waiting for the promised houses in the Zango area. Garbage disposal is among the most severe problems, and waste is considered one of the causes of obstruction of roads and heavy traffic in that area. These are stories that PSB's audiences in Zango would like to watch or listen to on their TVs or radios. Repressing those interesting stories, said some participants (FGs n.14 and 15), seemed also to be among the main reasons for Zango's audiences to protest against *News at 8pm*. David (42), a builder (FG n.15, March 19, 2016), wondered *'why did News at 8pm not tell stories about the garbage problem challenging Zango's inhabitants?'* In addition, participants said that stories connected to national health seem to be less addressed on PSB *News at 8pm*. Pessela (41), a nurse (FG n.4), for example, contributed to this topic, arguing:

> *'We have not been given an opportunity to express our daily challenges in Angolan PSB. In 2015, we discovered the Sistozom virus in Cubal's river. This was the first finding in the country, but awareness could be useful for others. When we sent it to Luanda, PSB News at 8pm broadcast it as Luanda hospital research, promoting the capital's project and dismissing our efforts.'*

From what I could perceive during the debates in the field, these participants' positions seem to be representative; they perceived PSB as a national space where their own experiences, even though local, should become a matter for Angolan nation building. The fact that a similar feeling of mistrust was found among participants in the five different provinces of Angola, and reported by different groups both rural and urban, supports their claim.

Also, during this field research, Angola had to face a yellow fever outbreak from January to March 2016; many people died and there was disruption in terms of medicine provision. Yellow fever cases were expected to be the most sought-after stories on PSB *News at 8pm* for all group discussions to this essay. The way PSB addressed this story and, on many occasions, silenced other elements connected to it, raised emotional debates. Diavita (FG n.14, March 19, 2016) stated that it happens because *'the majority of Angolan public service broadcasters are connected to the government administrative offices, and there is no separation between being a journalist and a civil servant officer.'* In order to sort out this deficiency, this participant argued that Angolan PSB News at 8pm needed to address two different aspects. The first was formally addressing the country's constitution and the law. The second was a more practical focusing on the everyday lives of people and reporting real stories relating to Angolan citizens and institutions. This last observation connects to a certain extent, to what Scannell (1996: 178) emphasises as dailiness:

> Daily media are always already ahead of themselves in anticipation of the days to come as each day moves away from and towards; from yesterday, towards tomorrow. Radio and television face the future openly and give it a recognizable face from one generation to the next. Dailiness is caught up in times, various rhythms and ways of being. Historical studies of the press and broadcasting (…) can show us how. How we ourselves assess that care and those concerns is, of course, another matter.

This observation summarises Angolan audiences' perceptions *vis-à-vis* their public service broadcasting and it helps to outline some points in concluding this chapter, which has considered the participants' points of view.

Negative aspects aside, the perception that came from participants in this thesis is that Angolans watch their PSB in a critical way and seem to want and need it, but would like to see it taking a very different approach that is closer to their needs than the government

perspective.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to reflect on the reasons why people mistrust public service broadcasting in post-war Angola, from the audience's perspective. The first element is a kind of excessive interference of the Angolan ruling party (MPLA) and its government in the Angolan public service television (TPA) and the Angolan public service radio (RNA) content, as signalled by many participants in this field research.

Secondly, participants perceived and argued that very often, PSB silences some stories as a strategy of the ruling party interference, rather than a simple forgetting or ignoring. This chapter, however, has tried to underline that it is often very difficult and sometimes even impossible to address all the issues that people consider important. Nevertheless, examples given by participants in the group discussions demonstrate that the time given to foreign issues in the privileged space of *News at 8pm* does not justify the above argument. Therefore, imbalances in terms of stories that narrate elements connected to the nation, and the national reconstruction of people's everyday lives, were questioned a great deal by participants.

Thirdly, independent national broadcasting channels available on DStv are only an alternative for a few people who can afford it. Outcomes from the groups addressed more ways of reform, the restructuration of Angolan PSB to respond to citizens' expectations as a fundamental element of national unity, and identity and national reconstruction in post-war Angola.

Lastly, the perception that emerged from all group discussions is that if PSB could approach more national and local issues maybe it could avoid some misinterpretations, even though no PSB has succeeded pleasing all the citizens of a given country.

In the case of Angola, it is necessary to mention that *News at 8pm* is not the only element in PSB that could help facilitate the reconstruction of Angolan national identity after the war. This thesis will also study an Angolan television programme called *Domingo a Muangolé* to examine aspects of Angolan national culture that are important to Angolans within the country and abroad. This is what the next chapter will reflect on.

Chapter 8: Angolan national identity in the *Domingo a Muangolé* TV show: a qualitative content analysis

Introduction

It is important at very beginning to know the purpose of the programme:

> '*Domingo a Muangolé is a TV programme whose objective is to unite the Angolan family around a TV show to watch themselves. The fact is during many years Angolans had no TV attraction on Sundays. We used to watch international TV channels such as Domingo do Faustão from Globo channel, a Brazilian TV show. Later on came other programmes from TV Record also from Brazil, their output concentrated our weekend's conversation even though based in a foreign culture*' (journalist Miguel interviewed by the author, April 12th, 2016, Appendix III, n.3).

I asked my interviewee why the name *Domingo a Muangolé* and the answer was:

> '*usually when we want to identify something typically Angolan, for example, the way people dress or speak, we say that person is Muangolé …. He is dressed as Muangolé … this is really Muangolé. It means identity. And so we wanted a 'Sunday in Angolan fashion or style' to stay away from Sunday in Brazilian style that was for long time present on Angolan TV screens*' (ibid).

The fact is that many Angolans fled from their region, town, or village of origin during the civil war period and established residence in main cities for security reasons. 15 years have passed since the war and they no longer want to return to their provinces. However, they keep nostalgic memories of their traditions and values and want to share them with their children. *Domingo a Muangolé* aims to address those TV audience members, as journalist Miguel explains:

> '*From its beginning I was invited to be a reporter on the Muangolé programme to bring to the show the way Angolans entertain and how they spend their Sundays, their everyday life above all in rural regions of the country. Because of our history, (…), the civil war has scattered people from their rural home land to Atlantic coastal cities. As a result many young people*

have lost their history and their roots. In view of this my reports touch basic stories from the interior of Angola like: how do people prepare cassava there if compared to the use of milling process for same activity in the cities? I could also report stories on the use of traditional utensils and the Lunda Chokwe masks to let Angolans identify themselves with their culture. By watching these stories on the Muangolé TV show some people said: that is our province of Uige, other said I am from Lubango, from Malanje and so forth. Yet some people were amazed in seeing stories like traditional entertainment and said: ah, that still exists in my province? These feedbacks from the public help us to bring more and more similar stories' (ibid).

This chapter, then, reflects on stories narrating the Angolan nation and national identity broadcast by *Domingo a Muangolé (Sunday Angolan Style)*, an Angolan Public Television (TPA) talk show programme broadcast on Sunday evenings, from the perspective and perception of its audiences. The chapter attempts to make an analytical engagement to understand how Angolan national identity is constructed over the course of a *Muangolé* TV show and how its audiences interpret it.

To try to respond to the above issue, the chapter outlines the structure of an edition of *Muangolé*, selecting samples from the different entertainment sections. Dance and music, food, style and fashion, and quizzes are predominant in all editions of the show. The chapter also reflects on aspects of *Muangolé* that address its audience through the perspective of education and information, analysing the most representative themes through which *Muangolé* seems to bring to the fore stories narrating Angolan nation-building from a post-war perspective. Subjects such as natural resources, tourism, agriculture and elements of Angolan cultural diversity are part of this analysis. This is also to perceive how thoroughly this TV talk show narrates the nation and how the above-mentioned elements are linked from one edition to another on a weekly basis during the six months (September 2015 to February 2016) during which I observed and recorded samples from it.

Five *Muangolé* samples were selected from the ten recorded, according to whether they addressed and narrated aspects or elements of Angolan nation-building and national identity. The main idea in the selection process was not to look at all samples, which would have made the chapter overly long and repetitive, with unnecessary descriptions. It was rather to focus on particular aspects in the samples that, from the perspective of audiences, contain meaningful elements which may recur in successive *Muangolé* editions and which

narrate the idea of the nation in construction.

8.1. Structure of a *Domingo a Muangolé* programme

The show seems to be organised to present elements of national identity that Angolan people share in their daily lives. In this context, *Muangolé* also seems to be engaged in stitching together important elements of Angola cultures[39] as different aspects of the same reality, as '*pluribus in unum*'.

Domingo a Muangolé, broadcast on Sundays from 6pm to 8pm, provides entertainment by combining different items of cultural education and information. The main objective of the show is to display Angolan cultural identity through music, dance, gastronomy and regional lifestyles, even though these may be combined with new styles and realities in music, language and gastronomy from abroad, implying an active nation in process and involved in the context of the 21st century. This TV show's target audiences, from my observation, are generally Angolan adults, both males and females.

There is a mix of entertainment and information in the two-hour programme, with the first items in the context of leisure at weekends. The structural logic seems to be to keep audiences interested in *Muangolé* with a diversity of stories, and with the possibility of audience members choosing whatever section (dance, gastronomy, reportage, quizzes or interviews) they prefer to focus on. However, as long as the programme continues with a diversity of scenes, connections and disconnections within the audience may occur; Scannell (1996: 13) asserts that:

> in talk-as-conversation participants treat each other as particular persons, not as a collective. So, too, with broadcasting. The hearable and seeable effect of radio and television is that (...) 'I am addressed, and not someone else'.

Muangolé seems to address all strands of Angolan society at the same time. However, this may cause disconnections among audience members who may feel that they are not individually addressed, as noted by Scannell and also as claimed by participants in group

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[39] The word 'culture' is used here in the plural to emphasise that Angola is a country with a diversity of cultures: Kikongo, Kibundu, Umbundu, Tchokwe, Nganguela, Ibinda (to mention a few examples), which, before colonisation, were kingdoms with their own languages, traditions and customs. Even during the colonial period these elements were still alive. The changes that occur in building the nation also imply transformations in terms of the conceptions and practices of elements linked to the different Angolan cultures, and the *Muangolé* TV show seems to some extent to highlight this reality.

discussions for this thesis (see the statements that follow in section II of this chapter). Even though a TV show programme may interest a diversity of audiences through its language, invited guests and the like, viewers of *Muangolé* seem to not understand its focus in terms of target audience. Again, Scannell observed this when reflecting on radio and TV programmes:

> The oneself so addressed by radio and television is a someone, not just anyone; that is, a person, not a subject (…). Viewers and listeners are allowed (are entitled) to their opinions of what they see and hear, (…) it is a structural feature of any programme that anyone can find that is not 'for me'. That is, the possibilities of the myself are allowed for in the for-anyone-as-someone structure of any programme. (Scannell, ibid.)

The *Muangolé* narrative appears to address everybody, with no focus on a specific target audience. So, for example, leisure on Sundays is shown in rural and urban locations. However, Angolan teenagers, young adults and elderly people, and women and men, for instance, might make different choices to enjoy their weekends. What can be easily understood from the recorded samples is that the *Muangolé* TV show is not made for kids. Nevertheless, teenagers (especially pupils) may also find some episodes interesting for them (e.g. the quiz shows). *Muangolé* in this particular aspect seems to be an open TV programme, but this apparent positive aspect may also, to some extent, be its weakness. Some audience research could help to better understand what they might want and expect to watch in those TV shows. Unfortunately, *'Angolan public service broadcasting does not carry yet any research to evaluate their production from the perspective of their audiences. The only way we acknowledge our productions' impact in Angolan society is word of mouth'.*[40]

The programme is produced with a live studio audience that interacts with a live musical band, invited musicians, invited gastronomy performers, dancers and a team of judges who evaluate the performances of each pair of dancers. There is also one reporter who travels across the country to bring to the show real stories of the everyday lives of citizens from diverse regions of Angola. So this programme seems to accommodate many diverse players over the period of two hours.

There are predominant items in all of the editions of *Muangolé* whose main purpose seems to be to narrate important aspects of the social construction of Angolans' everyday lives

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[40] Journalist Jimu was interviewed by the author in May, 2016.

through entertainment, such as dance and music, quizzes and food. Other episodes are intended to inform the viewers; although also important, they are secondary to entertainment, getting less time in the programme. The PSB triple mission to entertain, educate and inform, as noted by Scannell,[41] is perceptible, even though very often unfocused.

The programme begins with the strident entrance of the TV presenter with the live music band, choreography and the *Muangolé* dancers. It then moves on to a chat between the presenter and an invited musician guest, to address stories of his or her performances, and the musician usually performs live on the programme, accompanied by the *Muangolé* band and dancers.

The week's gastronomy guest presents his or her selected dish (a Portuguese or a national one) on the show and there is a conversation between the cook and the TV presenter addressing gastronomy stories and the guest's projects. The quiz is generally held in the last quarter of the programme. It introduces a competition between famous Angolan guests and their assistants, to answer questions whose main objective seems to be letting audiences know important elements of Angolan history, geography, literature and culture. Another permanent feature in the programme, which follows the quiz, is a competition of Kizomba, a typical Angolan dance, which is performed in pairs.

Fashion is also present in all editions. A style guest usually presents his or her creations and explains them to the public. The last element is reportage on a theme of public interest, but seemingly influenced by the Angolan government's political agenda when one sees the chosen subjects within the framework of the Angolan economic crisis; this is apparent from the samples that follow. The programme ends with music and dance.

To sum up, the programme is structured to entertain viewers with a range of topics of common interest within the perspective of leisure (food, dance, fashion, quizzes and music) while at the same time educating and informing them. However, the way it is presented tends to offer a mix of themes. This is one of the reasons why very little or no specific content for a specific audience is easily perceived, but, instead, general content is addressed to a wide audience.

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[41] Scannell addresses it in his chapter 'PSB: the history of the concept' (in Goodwin and Whannel, eds., 1990: 11-29).

8.2. Samples from *Muangolé* as broadcast by TPA

The samples analysed here were selected because they are more complete in terms of representative scenes, ideas and the meaningful content of the *Muangolé* nation narration, and also summarise essential elements of nation-building; the non-selected samples often simply repeated these. In the samples below, one can identify sequences of items sometimes trying to connect to one another to build up an underlying idea of the nation.

As I mentioned in the methodology chapter, my choice was to highlight samples where the items interplay in the social discourse of the nation and can help with a qualitative content analysis of the Angolan national reconstruction elements after the civil war. The reportage items presented in the selected samples seem to follow the logic of the country's everyday challenges and contexts as presented by the Angolan elite in power, while the abundant elements that cover aspects of entertainment often represent the narrative of nation more than the news items. However, the idea was to analyse both (entertainment and reportage) to interpret the idea of Angolan nation-building expressed throughout this talk show so as to better respond to one of my questions in this thesis: 'What is the agenda of national identity and belonging presented by the television programme, *Domingo a Muangolé*, and how do audiences receive and perceive its output?'

Sample 1: *Promoting tourism*

Tourism in the first sample below seems to be presented as a promotional story to address the national economic crisis, according to the Angolan government agenda and in a way that will attract foreign investment in order to respond to the challenges of Angolan national reconstruction. It does, however, introduce some interesting elements of Angolan national identity (e.g. the old city of Mbanza Kongo). My interviewee, conversely says that the Muangolé team initiative and creativity play the major role in tourism reports:

> *'I was previously a reporter of Ray Cuanza Sul. This was TPA coverage of vehicles convoy race travelling the all regions of Angola. The main objective of Ray Cuanza Sul was to show to audiences Angola's touristic potentialities. From the experience I gained in that TV programme I also wanted to bring the touristic aspect to Muangolé. To me it is good idea to show this beautiful country to audiences, as it happens in many parts of the world: there are gastronomic tourism, agricultural tourism. Portugal, for example, receives millions of tourists to taste wine. My knowledge of touristic topics helped me to show audiences how for example*

bananas are produced, in a way to attract people to learn more how this fruit that comes to our table is grown along the Dande river of Bengo. This was the reason' (Journalist Miguel, Appendix III, n.3).

Even so, the entertainment episodes (music and dance) seem to dominate the entire spectrum of the programme.

September 6, 2015

Scene 1: Opening

Choreography: Dancers from *Muangolé*. Background music of Coreon Du: (In Spanish).

Presenter Rossana Miranda (PRM) comes on the show… good evening *Muangolé* …

Choreography: Dancers from *Muangolé* come in … background music: musician C4 Pedro.

Scene 2: Invited musician

Band: Versáteis' band with singer Kyaku Kyadaff (K.K) …

Music in the show: Bibi from Kyaku Kyadaff's music sung in Portuguese and Kikongo.

PRM: chats with musician Kyaku about his musical CV. What does Kyaku mean?

K.K: Kyaku is a personal name in the local Kikongo language and means [Yours].

Scene 3: Gastronomy

Invited Cook João Grande (JG) comes in with a [Portuguese Polvo's salad dish].

PRM: Welcome to the *Muangolé* programme. How do you prepare Polvo's salad?

JG: Prepare the Polvo and put it in the cooker.

PRM: So I just prepare and put on the cooker straight away?

JG: non, non …

PRM: Ok. I put in the pot and then?

JG: Explains with details all the steps for making Portuguese Polvo's Salad.

Scene 4: Competition with famous guests

Guests: Sofia Buco, a TV presenter, actress and singer, and musician Waldimir Bonga come on the show and two representatives of invited guests come forward to compete. The first challenge is to interpret a song by Kyaku Kyadaff accompanied by Versateis' band.

Scene 5: Choreography

Dancers from *Domingo a Muangolé* with PRM dance in the show. The competition restarts with Sofia Buco and Waldimir Bonga.

Kizomba dance competition with Kizomba No Pé dance group.

Scene 6: Fashion

Guest: stylist Alex Kangala (AK) comes on the show to present his recent creations in a fashion show.

PRM: Alex Kangala welcome to *Domingo a Muangolé* (…).

PRM: How come after being a successful male model, and I personally know your success story, now you have decided to be a stylist?

AK: Good evening. I think human beings have many dormant abilities that can progress when they come into contact with society. Human beings have the capacity to also acquire some characteristics so as to develop some skills. As a model, I knew a bit about being a stylist, but it is different from being a model. I started to sell clothes and through this contact with clothes, I started to develop some ideas which I nurtured to be a stylist.

PRM: And why do you call yourself Diantos Kangala?

AK: Diantos is a family of beautiful flowers and I understand and believe, although other people have different opinions, that fashion has its origins in flowers. God said to King Solomon that he never dressed himself as beautifully as God dressed the fields of flowers. And so before God dressed man, He first dressed fields of flowers.

PRM: And why do you only work in male fashion? Are you passionate about it? Is it difficult to dress a woman?

AK: I am only focused on my vocation. I am following what I am really able to do. I have started to make a female collection, let us see what comes up.

Scene 7: Our Tourism

Pictures of Quissama National Park appear in the show…

Reporter Miguel's (RM) voiceover (VO): It is 70 km from Luanda town centre to Quissama National Park. The beauty of this locality excites everyone and there are several reasons for visiting this green area on the shore of the Cawa river and breathing the pure air. It looks like even the monkeys want also to be pretty in the picture, specifically in the dining area. They struggle to show themselves as if to say this is their territory. Tourists who look for nature may now come to see and stay here because this park has accommodation types for all tourists who live in Luanda and in the neighbouring provinces. There are now safaris to see animals. The time has passed when Quissama park was just farms, river and animals. Now people can come alone or with their families and friends and find a place to stay for few days.

Quissama park managers have invested in tourism, mostly on the accommodation side. Director of Quissama park, isn't this true?

Director: Yes, yes for sure it is. We have air conditioning in all rooms, hot and cold water;

we have refrigerators, and public service television (TPA) channels 1 and 2.

RM (VO) Apart from hotel accommodation, a tourist has other options, such as food and games, and he may also take a tour boat on the Cawa river to see the famous reptiles of the region. We have already experienced it.

Tourist guide: Let us go look for some crocodiles.

RM (VO) At this moment we are navigating on the Cawa river, which is also the name of this lodge, Cawa, a tributary of the Kuanza river; shortly we'll enter the Kuanza river.

And so, are many who come to visit this place by boat normally interested in seeing rare animals?

Tourist guide: Yes for sure. People who visit this place want to see crocodiles; others want to appreciate the water and birds.

RM (VO) (while some young crocodiles are in the show) … the trip was a success, even though they are small in numbers, crocodiles are there. It is not as big as we would have liked to see, but it is there. We can also see a variety of animals on land, which is a guarantee of a jungle adventure and above all a deserved rest…

Scene 8: Monuments

Presenter Rossana Miranda (PRM) is back on the show to feature the oldest city in southern Africa, which is in Angola. Rossana Miranda talks with Kyaku Kyadaff about tourist locations in the Zaire province of Angola.

PRM: M´banza Congo, Zaire, has magnificent places to visit. Is this true?

K.K: Yes, there are good things to visit.

PRM: What, for instance?

K.K: The Yalankulo, which is the tree of the king; we also have the Kulu Mbimbi, which is the oldest cathedral. It is the first Christian church to be built in Southern Africa. It is here in Angola, in M'banza Congo.

It is the oldest city in Southern Africa and there are many other things to visit like rivers, forests …

PRM: Is it also where the capital of Congo's kingdom is located?

K.K: Exactly, it is M´banza Congo.

Scene 9: Our tourism

Reporter Miguel (RM) is now in the eastern province of Lunda Sul. He enters a trade market and approaches his interviewees and eats [Caqueia fish] on the show.

RM – Lunda Sul has other resources apart from diamonds. Wow… it is unbelievable that Lunda Sul has all this … until today it was known as a diamond province only.

Representative of Lunda Sul in the national trade show market (RLS): - Yes… as you can see, we have all these: potatoes, pineapples, bananas of all kinds, sugar cane …

RM – And where do you produce all of these; because the idea is that Lunda is composed of holes as a result of diamond extraction? Are there farmers producing them?

RLS: Definitively yes. Besides the diamond areas, there are specific areas for agriculture for cultivating these products.

RM: - You see? Do not think that if you come to Lunda Sul you will be hungry. Here is a demonstration of the Lunda agricultural resources and business people have an opportunity to transform this province in an agricultural stronghold.

RLS: Really, this is our main purpose.

RM: (…) Now see this fish (fish in the show and reporter is eating it). This means I will eat all of this?!...

RLS: This fish is called Caqueia; it is a river fish and it is fished with net baskets. Have you seen those small net baskets? They are called Tetela. We crush them and mix them with this fish.

RM: We now end our report on Lunda Sul, which is full of resources other than diamonds. We will certainly get to know other municipalities and maybe the cities and evaluate how Angola can really diversify its economy, although oil and diamonds may continue to be features of it. However, there are other resources that do not need specialists, but perhaps just goodwill.

(…)

There are many stories in this first sample that are just briefly mentioned in passing, giving the idea that the producers seem to focus more on their agenda in a way that addresses all the proposed stories for this edition. Some themes recur and may deserve particular reflection since they introduce aspects relating to the building of a nation, and these will be examined later in this chapter.

Sample 2: National monuments and farming

On one hand, historical monuments are a kind of preserve of national identity, providing the Angolan new generations with a kind of guidance on elements of culture, customs, traditions and practices that are accommodated, restructured and transformed according to the times and contexts. On the other hand, farming is linked to the previous report on Lunda Sul's trade market (see sample 1) as an alternative solution to the Angolan economic crisis in oil and mining extraction. However Journalist Miguel's explanation helps to contextualise it:

When I was a teenager all stories from Lunda meant diamonds. Young people from my town wanted to go to Lunda to dig diamonds to sell and suddenly get rich. This has happened

in the 1980s and 1990s. Today I am 39, and do still remember those stories. And as journalist I wanted to show the other side of Lunda to our TV audiences. I wanted to show Lunda's culture, stories of their ancestors and many other aspects. I wanted to know Lundas' everyday life, like: what do they eat, what the famous touristic and symbolic mask of pensador (thinker) means, why the Lunda Cokwe famous masks were less known than diamonds?' (ibid).

The sample below emphasises these aspects as being separate from the routine of *Muangole* TV show items that cover music, dance, food and the like.

October 4, 2015

Scene 1: Opening jingle: Domingo a Muangolé

Presenter Rossana Miranda (PRM) accompanied by dancers and Versateis' band … music, dance and a demonstration of *Muangolé*'s choreography.

Scene 2: Invited musician guests

PRM presents Mr. Arquileste, a musician since 2000, and Mr. Mário Leonardo, a musician since 2009. Muangole's presenter interviews the guests about their musical productions. Afterwards, PRM presents guest representatives Solange and Domingas for the first part of a quiz.

Scene 3: Gastronomy

Guest cook Maria Texeira (MT) is presented on the show by PRM: Let us find out how stuffed cuttlefish is prepared!

MT gives details on how this Portuguese dish is prepared.

Scene 4: Farming

Reporter Miguel's Voice Over (RM): My cameraman, Eurico Mambo, is showing something that I personally like a lot and I believe many people also like (…) I am talking about bananas. This wonderful geographic area at Bengo river bay is well advanced in an agricultural production process that we'll talk about afterwards.

Caxito Rega (Caxito Watering) is the name of this banana plantation process because, according to the owners of the project, a banana plantation needs a lot of water and here near Bengo's river is the best place for producing bananas. Camilo Miguel José (CMJ) is the expert and manager of this project.

RM: Mr. Camilo, this Bengo river, water apart from its famous crocodiles, is it a success for bananas plantation?

CMJ: It is really a success, using our canal capitation zone, we are able to send water to our entire land plot and we have 2500 hectares of land.

RM: That is fine. Let us appreciate it because I came here not to talk about banana and tomato production only but also to talk about tourism. To work here might be an exciting experience?

CMJ: Yes, at the weekends, this area attracts many visitors, not only from Dande municipality alone but also from other parts of Bengo province. They come to appreciate this beautiful canal and our landscapes.

RM: What benefits do you get from this canal since we can see plants at the bay of the river?

CMJ: The canal is specifically for watering agricultural production. I will take you to the field and you will see banana trees, lemons and other fruit.

Piece to Camera (PTC); RM: There are really many banana trees here and I cannot see to the end of this plantation. How does the irrigation system function here?

CMJ: Normally, for banana production, we pay attention to the amount of water needed and so we use a micro expression (dropwise) waterway system) like the one you are looking at. It means that we only send water precisely when a banana plant needs it. The advantage of this system is also the fact that when it is watering at the same time it is fertilising the plants.

Scene 5: Quiz with famous people about Angolan national monuments

PRM: Today we are going to talk about Angola national monuments. In what Angolan region are the Pungo-a-Ndongo black stones:

a-Benguela; b- Malanje; c- Namibe or d- Moxico?

Domingas, is the representative of the musician Mário vaz: b- Malanje.

PRM: That is correct. The Pungo-a-Ndong black stones can be found in Cacuso municipality, 116km from Malanje city. Our historians say it is there where may be found the footprint of Angola's most famous Queen Njinga Mbamdi, known as the first Angolan woman to lead the fight against colonialism.

PRM: Now for you: What among these monuments was not chosen as one of Angola's seven marvellous places?

a- Zenze grutas; b-Tunda Vala fence; c- Mayombe forest; d- Leba serra?

Solange, the representative of the musician Arquileste: d- Leba serra.

PRM: That is correct. Leba serra in the south of Angola is 50km from Lubango city, in Huila's province. It is a road with 56 corners. It was a project of that many engineers worked on, but the most famous among them was Maria Alice Leba, whose name was given to this road.

PRM: The last question for you is: how many metres high is the statue of Christ the King

in Lubango city?

a- 150m; b- 70m; c- 20m; and d-14m.

Domingas: For me, it is a-150m.

PRM: Wrong. The correct answer is c- 20m. Christ the King's statue was built in the 1960s and history tells us that the Portuguese engineer, Carlos Sardinha, found in the best place to build such a statue in the Cheila mountain of Huila province.

PRM: And which of these monuments is not an Angolan monument?

A) - Nazaré church B) – Ancien Malange palace C) - Tour Eiffel e D) - Kifangondo battle monument?

Solange: A) - Nazaré church

PRM: What?... it is C) - Tour Eiffel, which was inaugurated on 31 March, 1889, as a project of the engineer Gustave Eiffel. Until 1930, Eiffel was the highest world manmade point. It is 300 metres high.

Presenter Rossana Miranda (PRM) thanks the audience and ends the programme.

From this sample, one can perceive that there are important elements that recur in the narration (i.e. national history in the monuments presented in the quiz), however unfocused they are. The programme seems to jump from one section to another instead of connecting them logically. Nevertheless, an attempt to emphasise aspects of Angolan national identity and belonging are flagged.

Sample 3: Focusing on Luandan daily life

Ordinary people's initiatives are linked to style in shoes and clothes even though they are presented in a way that examines economic issues. Also, they bring elements of national identity and help to disclose the narrative behind it. Besides the routine leisure episodes that compose the *Muangolé* talk show, Luandan daily life and the quiz about Angolan historical personalities, customs and literature are highlighted in this sample.

November 8, 2015

Scene 1: Opening

Dancers from *Muangolé* enter on the show. Background music: *Coro da banda* of singer C4 Pedro; interpreted in English and Portuguese. Band: the Versáteis.

Presenter Rossana Miranda (PRM) comes on the show … good evening *Muangolé*…

Choreography: Dancers from *Muangolé* come in. Background music: Lambada, from Brazil.

Scene 2: Invited musician guests

Band: The Versáteis' band with singer Moniz de Almeida …

Music on the show: Levarei minha viola lá na frente de combate (I will take my guitar in the front line war)[42] interpreted in Portuguese.

PRM chats with musician Moniz about his musical CV. Moniz remembers his deceased colleague and brother Beto de Almeida, co-author of this famous Angolan song. Moniz sings 'Tio Zé', their first success. Dancers of *Muangolé* and PRM dance on the show.

Scene 3: Gastronomy

The invited cook, Fátima Capita (FC), comes in with a Portuguese dish: a grilled fish with baked potatoes, vinaigrette sauce and house pudding.

PRM: Fátima Capita, welcome to the *Muangolé* programme. First of all, why this name baked potatoes?

FC: It is because of the way in which we cut the potatoes.

PRM: Tell me how did you decide to be a cook?

FC:[Explains her story…]

Scene 4: Competition with famous guests

Guests: DJ Ely Chuva, from Benguela province, is the first female Angolan DJ and the singer Lawilca come in with their representatives. The two representatives of the invited guests come forward to try taking on some challenges. The first is to interpret the music of Moniz and Beto (Irmãos Almeida) accompanied by the band Versáteis. Other challenges are a quiz about Angolan national culture and literature, a Kizomba dance competition and a traditional pull cord game children play.

Scene 5: Choreography

Dancers of Kizomba no pé group, guests DJ Ely Chuva and the singer Lawilca are back on the show. The competition restarts. A Kizomba dance competition with the Kizomba no pé dance group. Background music: Yola Semedo (currently a famous young female musician).

Scene 6: Fashion

Guests: Stylist Lando comes onto the show to present his recent creations in a fashion show.

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[42] This song was a success during the civil war as a means of encouraging young soldiers in the front line fighting against UNITA rebels. The song is a homage to women who stay at home hoping that their husbands will one day come back. And so the musician in a nostalgic way tells his wife, Mary, that he will take his guitar with him to the fighting to produce a song for her. All former soldiers remember even today how encouraging that song was for them when they thought of their wives during battles.

PRM: Lando welcome to *Domingo a Muangolé* … tell me about your work.

Lando: thank you for the invitation … Lando tells his difficulties in finding material (…) 'Angola has no textile industry to enable us to produce African clothes' (…) and later on explains his recent creations. His team in African dresses pass by to show his recent creation live on the TV.

Scene 7: Tourism

Pictures from Mussulo island

Reporter Miguel's voice over (VO): […] It takes few minutes by boat from Luanda to Mussulo and an agreeable sensation of paradise can immediately be felt. This island is the most sought after by tourists who desire to visit the sea, get the sun, and find peace in the mixed white sands and the contrast is with ornaments created by people. Here, the attention to the environment is from top to bottom and from garden to restaurant, Mussulos' visitors may find what they already know but also discover something new.

Miguel, PTC: If you are at home thinking what you could do to enter into a virtual scenario, you do not need it because here you have real scenarios, such as this (camera shows one side of Mussulo island), a typical picture of Mussulo. Luís Henriques (LH) is the marketing director of Resort Sulo. Luís Henriques, when nationals and foreigners come to visit your resort, what are their impressions?

LH: They appreciate our resort because of our welcoming style and the good service we offer . …

Miguel: For example, I noticed that you brought birds here. Is this a sign that you are paying attention to the ecological challenges of our time?

LH: Yes, we have many kinds of birds here, and their adaptation to this environment is very good.

Miguel: (….) there was a time an island that only those who come to Luanda may see it.

Scene 8: Feature in our tourism

Presenter Rossana Miranda (PRM) appeals to production centres in the provinces other than Luanda that may have tourism material on their localities to send to the *Muangolé* TV talk show as a national contribution to the promotion of tourism.

Scene 9: Chat time

PRM chats with singer Moniz de Almeida about his last two years of musical activities without his deceased brother Beto and his musical repertoire ….

Musician Moniz performs live some songs from his repertoire, dancers of *Domingo a Muangolé* and PRM dance on the show.

Pull cord children play in the show …

Kizomba's dance comes on the show.

Scene 10: What is national is very good

Reporter Miguel's (RM) PTC: Calandula Street in Popular, a district of Luanda (cameraman shows a crowded street of this district) is so good. It is in the suburb where much of Luandan daily life also happens. We see women in the street doing art to earn their daily bread. They are making typical African fabric which becomes dresses, especially for women to wear at school and elsewhere. I also see men in very good, typical African dress (…). And with Angolan art, we want to show now the use of this fabric in shoes. See these typical Angolan colours in the Samacaca fabric. Wow… these artists are able to make it even with teeth brushes (…). Master Edvaldo (ME) what are you doing?

ME: I am making a decoration.

RM: What does it mean and what will it become?

ME: it is a decoration for a wallet.

RM: And so, have you not had a break?

ME: We do not stop. We have so much demand and this means that Angolan people appreciate national products. And if people continue to use this material, we may employ more people to do this job (…).

RM: Where did you learn it?

ME: I started with a friend, and later on I went to South Africa to do specific training. Once back home, I succeeded in borrowing money from the bank through the government BUE[43] project and bought equipment to help me to start this project.

RM (PTC): Here is a good example for any young man who complains that in life nothing works well and sometimes you take a wrong turn. This is incorrect. Young men and you who follow us in the TV audience at this time see these people who have opted to create their own enterprise and today are honestly earning their 'bread'. This needs just your talent and creativity and you can have your own.

Scene 11: Quiz

This competition is about knowledge of national culture. Background music: Sassa Tchokwe from Lundan culture.

PRM asks invited guests what are the main spoken Angolan national languages? Options:

A) Kimbundu, N'Ganguela, Fiyote and Tchokwe.

B) Umbundu, Kimbundu, Kikongo.

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[43] *Bué* is an incentive project created by the Angolan government in 2014, which, through the Ministry of Commerce, helps and encourages citizens to create their own enterprises.

C) Kikongo, Fiyote, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Nhaneka

D) Umbundu, Kikongo, N'Ganguela and Tchokwe.

Representative of singer Lawilca, first competitor's answer is A).

PRM: It is wrong. The correct answer is B).

PRM: From what ethnic group are the masks of Mwana Pwo and Yaka? Option A) Tchokwe; B) Ovimbundu; C) Bakongo, D) Ambundu.

Representative of DJ Ely Chuva, the second competitor's answer is B).

PRM: That is wrong. The correct answer is A). Those masks come from Tchokwe's culture. Mwana Pwo and Yaka represent women, as in that culture, women represent fertility, even though during the rituals the masks are used by men and not women. According to history, men use the masks as a homage to women, especially the mothers of young men who enter into the initiation rite (circumcision). Did you learn something?

Pepetela (one of the most well-known Angolan writers) has two books with these names: Mwana Pwo, published in 1978, and Yaka, published in 1985.

PRM: In what year was Dundo's museum created?

A) 1940; B) 1970; C) 1936 or D) 1945.

Representative of singer Lawilca's answer is B).

PRM: That is wrong. The correct answer is C). Dundo's museum was created by the former colonialist company DIAMANG, a diamond company, in 1936. It has more than 9,000 pieces and it narrates the habits and customs of Angolan people of the former Lundan kingdom.

PRM: Who is the author of Lweji romance, the birth of an empire and in what year was it published?

A) Boaventura Cardoso, 1980; B) António Panguila, 1987; C) Pepetela, 1989; and D) Jombela, 2001.

Representative of DJ Ely Chuva's answer is A).

R.M: That is wrong. The correct answer is C). Pepetela is the author. This romance was published in 1989. By the way, Pepetela was born in 1941 in Benguela.

None of your answers were correct and so there is no winner in the general culture competition. To find a winner, I will close your eyes with a blindfold and get you to answer one question about national culture.

PRM: Who wrote the children's book 'E na floresta os bichos falaram' (And in the forest animals spoke)?

Lawilka's answer is Gabriela Antunes.

PRM: That is wrong. The correct answer is Maria Eugénia Neto. This book was published in 1978.

PRM: To whom does this expression belongs? 'a minha poesia sou eu branco montado em meu preto cavalo a cavalgar pelas ruas' (my poetry is me white man over my black horse

jumping in the streets).

DJ ELY Chuva: Pepetela.

R. M - That is wrong. The correct answer is António Jacinto.

END: Jingle *Domingo a Muangolé…*. It is 7.50pm. Presenter Rossana Miranda thanks the guests and the audience and ends the programme.

Sample 4: Emphasis on an Angolan minority community

Minority tribes' daily life stories are sporadically covered in Angolan public service broadcasting and are often unknown to the majority of the audience. This sample reports one of the traditional elements of the Herero community in the south-east of Angola, which is separate from the routine items shown in previous samples.

December 02, 2015

Scene 1: Opening Jingle Domingo a Muangolé

Choreography: dancers from *Muangolé* interpreting Michael Jackson's 'Thriller'.

Scene 2: Musician guests

Presenter Rossana Miranda (PRM) introduces her musician guest and *Muangolé*'s dancers come on the show dancing Konde music in Portuguese.

Scene 3: Gastronomy

Cook João Grande comes on the show to explain another Portuguese dish.

Scene 4: Humour

Yapapy and Formiga are the comedians invited to this show. They tell their story and PRM calls on the audience to promote comedy in the Angola new era.

Scene 5: Quiz with famous guests invited to dance in the Brazilian Lambada style.

Scene 6: Stylist on the show

PRM introduces Natércia Barata, who has been a stylist for 14 years. She produces national uniforms for school pupils.

Scene 7: Interview with famous people

RM interviews the Angolan musician, Dog Murras, about his musical production and at the end of the interview Murras demonstrates how to perform the Kazukuta dance.

Reporter Miguel (RM) piece to camera (PTC): Herero's men may officially have more than two wives. Polygamy in this tribe is proportional to the wealth that a given man may have to sustain his wives. However, what is curious here is the fact that married women may have a boyfriend. And this is allowed in the Herero tribe since such a relation is hidden although known by the official husband, especially when he spends several days out caring for cattle.

RM: Let us chat with one of the Herero couples, Mr. Tchicandely and Mrs. Cotchoate. How do they deal with such a habit? Mr. Tchicandely, how many wives do you have?

Tchicandely: I have three wives.

RM: I want to know whether your wife who is here with us knows that you have another two wives.

Tchicandely: Yes, she knows.

RM: Cotchoate, how do you deal with such a situation?

Cotchoate: We are all fine and our relationship with the other two wives is good.

RM: This husband has 19 children, ten of them with Mrs. Cotchoate. While telling me her story, Mrs. Cotchoeate said:

Cotchoate: With the long absences of my husband, sometimes I accept a boyfriend and I inform my husband about it and he allows me since it is not publicly known.

RM: To assume several wives is an advantage for Herero's men, while their daughters in early age are given as brides to adults at an early age. Caimbamba is one of the women who was given as a bride to an adult in her infancy. She said she did not know her real age at that time and this is a common feature among teenagers of this community. Almost none of them is able to say their real age. However, Caimbamba said she was happy to marry an adult.

Caimbamba: I was given in marriage when I was a child; my friends mocked me. However, I have lived with him until now and I am happy …

RM: A mother of four boys and one girl, Caimbamba admitted she would give away her youngest girl to an adult if he proposed to her.

Caimbamba: Yes, it has happened to me and I do agree that it could be done with my daughter.

RM: All five of Caimbamba's sons are from the same father. However, in this tribe, if a hidden relationship between a married woman with a boyfriend results in pregnancy, the child is accepted as a biological son by the official husband.

Caimbamba: Yes, in this case, the husband cares for the boyfriend's sons. But if the wife disrespects her official husband, then he may publicly reveal her infidelity. And that is a shameful situation that any Herero woman should avoid.

RM: The Macahomas girls of the Herero minorities do not attend schools and none know

their age; however, they have clear knowledge about when they might start marital life. When this time comes, they may be in love with cousins for this first period of their sexual life, as a signal of being ready to marry. We have visited the Macahomas' village and young women had told us they were ready to marry but that men were rare.

RM (PTC): See that girl, she might be 14 years old. She said she is ready for marriage. Our translator, Mr. Martins (who is from the Mucubal community) has told us that from 14, these girls may marry any adult men of this tribe.

RM: Is it true, Martins?

Martins: Yes.

RM: Are you a husband of one of these girls?

Martins: Yes. I have two wives, one is 24 and the other is 14. Our cultural tradition tells us that a man must marry a girl of five, 13, 14 up to 15 years.

RM: At five, she must be in her father's house.

Martins: Yes. However, the husband has to take care of her, giving food and every kind of assistance to her parents until she attains the acceptable age (14 years) to leave her parents' house.

RM: Let us hear these girls' opinion about this custom. Do you accept being given in marriage to an adult man when you are just 13 years old?

Macahoma girl: Yes, I do accept.

RM: And if the man is a Mutua from the other side of the mountain?

Macahoma girl: No, I would never accept.

RM: I have looked for a Mutua leader to tell us the reasons behind this prompt refusal.

Mutua leader: These divisions come from our ancestors. I just continue with this traditional practice.

RM. And why do the Mutua community live in the mountains?

Mutua leader: We do live in the mountains because we are poor, even though we are the owners of this land.

RM: Is there anyone among the Mutua's ethnic members who has married a Herero man or woman? Mutua's leader shakes his head (meaning not at all).

At the end of scene 8 of this sample, one can perceive that an essential element of Herero identity is missing or at least ignored. It is hard to conclude whether such practices (polygamy, polyandry) are tolerated and accepted or not in the context of post-war Angolan society. Is this story brought to the show to entertain, to educate or to inform? Is this one of the most important stories to be reported on a minority community's daily life that fits in with *Muangolé*'s main purpose? Responses to these and other related questions seem to be absent here. I will come back to this later when interpreting some of the themes

highlighted in these selected samples.

Sample 5: Agri-business national exhibition

Natural resources are sometimes used as an important element to assess the economic and development potentialities of a given country. By reporting on the potential of Angolan municipalities in this agri-business exhibition, the *Muangolé* talk show seems to help demonstrate those elements as a way to attract foreign investment. Even though it is not focused on, Angolan national identity can be identified in this item.

13 December, 2015

Scene 1: Opening jingle Domingo a Muangolé

Presenter Rossana Miranda (PRM) and her team dance Kizomba (an Angola typical dance) accompanied by Versateis' band.

Scene 2: Muangolé Vip

PRM interviews Januário Vemba, a comedian, about his career.

Scene 3: Gastronomy

PRM interviews cook Paulino Tove about a typical dish from the north of Angola, Funji with Turtulio, made with Portuguese bacalhau.

Scene 4: Stylist

PRM interviews Carla Silva, a designer, who mixes African and European styles in her clothes creations.

Scene 5: Musical varieties

PRM interviews Cristo, a musician who produces local songs in Portuguese.

Scene 7: Dance space

PRM introduces the Urbano style dance team to show their choreography. The music is played in English.

Scene 8: What is national is good (Agri-business exhibition)

Reporter Joana Tomás (RJT) Voice over (VO): Drums playing, the sound means a feast, as in a good celebration, dance cannot be absent. It was difficult to learn and to imitate the

different pace of each group because in each dance, there are elements of Angola regional identity to which the dances belong to. However, the reason for this gathering was to demonstrate the unity of Angolans and the main objective of this exhibition was the Angolan cities and municipalities' trademark. Before proceeding with this report, let us first enjoy the sound of these drums (…). Wow! This is how the second Angolan cities and municipalities' exhibition was. There was an intense circulation of national and expatriate visitors.

We can perceive how feelings of anxiety dominated the exhibitors who wanted to show Angola's economic, touristic and cultural potential. The country has succeeded in presenting to visitors that Angola is an immense land worth implementing agro-industry in, to explore its forests in order to give a response to national and regional challenges such as food and wood, besides, it is the only worldwide known oil production area. Is that correct Mr. Aguinaldo?

Aguinaldo Cabinda province representative: This exhibition came at a good moment, really, because aside from demonstrating Angola's potential in agriculture and farming, it revealed for the first time the cultural aspects and succeeded in bringing some positive data to the agriculture sector and we from Cabinda province have shown it from different perspectives.

RJT: Here visitors have an idea how 'daily life happens in the Angolan municipalities', because the economic, social, cultural and touristic, scientific and technologic potential of Angola's cities was represented in this exhibition. Let us hear from some of the cities' and municipalities' representatives.

Mussende municipality's representative: We brought many things here, such as Longamba, a typical Mussend food, and we brought soya flour, Mbury (roots used to make Kissangua, a regional drink of central Angola's communities).

Madalena Eduardo, a M'Banza Congo city's representative: M'Banza Congo brought many things from agriculture to culture because, as you Mrs. Journalist might know, M'Banza Congo is an Angolan cultural heritage site and it is a UNESCO world cultural candidate for world heritage.

Zaire province representative: We have totally dedicated ourselves to this exhibition in a way to present all good things we have to better represent Zaire province.

Cacuaco, one of Luanda's municipality representatives: This exhibition was an opportunity for us to present our agri-tourist potential. We really think our message in terms of agriculture, fishing, and farming was clearly understood, given the new urban expansion context that Cacuaco actually lives.

RJT: This exhibition was organised to promote and encourage Angolan community development and this might also be the view of this visitor?

A visitor vox pop: It is an interaction of all our cultures in our SADEC[44] region and I am really happy with it.

RJT: One of the objectives of this exhibition was also to stimulate private investment and establish strategic joint ventures and to contribute to Angola's socio-economic development, and this might be the case for these exhibitors:

Exhibitor 1: We have representatives of all 18 Angolan provinces. All of them came here to exchange their experiences.

Exhibitor 2: We came here to exchange experiences in several ways, not in the agricultural field alone but also in cultural aspects.

RJT: Each municipality or city representatives has well explored as much as they could the physical space allocated to them. And an example of it was the Cuchi municipality participants, who exhibited their iron factory. In a similar way, each province brought what it produces.

Presenter Rossana Miranda (PRM) thanks the audience and she and her team dance accompanied by Versateis' band.

8.3. Elements of Angolan national identity on the *Muangolé* TV show

The most representative aspects of Angola as nation-building that came from the samples broadcast on the *Muangolé* TV show were in music and dance, gastronomy, tourism and agriculture, monuments and general culture, and habits and customs.

8.3.1. Music and dance

a) Music

From the five selected samples, it can be seen that music is an important element of culture in any society. *Domingo a Muangolé* seems to acknowledge the evocative aspect of identity through music. The role of PSB has traditionally been understood as narrating the nation, bringing the nation together and re-building the nation. Music may to some extent help Angolan community members to be united.

From samples 1 to 5, music is present, even too much so. One aspect of nation-building emerging from the kind of music played on the *Muangolé* TV show is the mix of old, modern and contemporary elements of Angolan society under construction. Old songs

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[44] SADEC means Southern African Development Community

seem to be played so as to take audiences back to imagine a narrative of Angola in the time of colonisation and civil war [e.g. *I will take my guitar to the front line war,* (scene 2, sample 3)]. In hearing it, a nostalgic sense of national identity and belonging may be evoked in audience members who remember the contexts and narratives behind those songs, which take them on a momentary imaginative trip to the past to better understand the present.

However, in the narrative of music as in the samples above, the interviews are addressed more to the young generation of musicians than the older one. This may be one of the aspects of nation narration to be considered in a constructivist understanding, which this thesis follows, and according to which the construction of a nation is always in the process of been imagined and built, and never concluded because there are always interchanges between the old and the new elements.

From the interviewees (Kyaku Kyadaf, sample 1; Moniz de Almeida, sample 3, and the like) it can be seen that even though their songs are rooted in some Angolan elements of national identity (i.e., language: Kyaku and Moniz sing in their local languages of Kikongo and Umbundu respectively), their narratives in terms of understanding the nation and the world are more connected to the ongoing post-war Angolan society, with its sorrows, challenges, hopes and varying perspectives. However, across the samples, *Muangolé* seemed to focus more on promoting the musicians' CVs rather than their idea of a nation or the Angolan contemporary society where they actually live.

Another relevant aspect in terms of music and songs presented on *Muangolé* is Angolan society opening to the world. Songs are often played in foreign languages (English, Spanish) at the beginning of the programme. This openness and appreciation of what comes from abroad is a worldwide trend among the new generation of our contemporary societies and this is also true in Angola. I believe that the mix of old and new, the national and international, is a positive step in the construction of the Angolan post-war nation, since it does not remove fundamental elements of Angolan idiosyncrasies. This takes us to a reflection about dance styles on this TV show.

b) Dance

Kizomba, Kazukuta and Lambada are some of the dance styles presented in almost all of the *Muangolé* talk shows and can be perceived as an element of identity. These styles of dance are evidently elements of culture. Kizomba, for instance (meaning 'friendship' in Kimbundu, an Angolan language), originates in Angola. It is a very popular dance style

known by generations of Angolans since the 1960s and can be considered an element of Angolan identity. Kazukuta's dance and its rhythm (as demonstrated by the musician, Dog Murras, sample 2) recall narratives of the old generation of Angolans in the late 1950s, and is also an expression of Angolan culture. However, when the *Muangolé* TV show opens its programmes with the Lambada from Brazil and 'Thriller' by Michael Jackson, and young people dance joyfully, one can perceive how multiculturalism is also a fact in developing countries like Angola. This is also thanks to broadcasting facilitating such exchanges.

It is not easy to see the reason why each *Muangolé* edition begins with music in a different foreign language (English, Spanish, or Portuguese). However, the fact that music and dance styles predominate in this Sunday evening TV show programme may signify that entertainment and leisure are seen as more important than its education and information output.

Even though education and information take up less time in this programme, their narrative does seem to be meaningful in the context of *Muangolé*'s contribution to Angolan nation building. I attempt to reflect on this later.

8.3.2. Tourism and agriculture in *Muangolé*'s discourse of nation

Agriculture and tourism were keywords encountered during the six months' observation (September 2015 to February 2016) of the *Muangolé* programme on Angolan public television (TPA). The Angolan government launched a national campaign to diversify the Angolan economy so as to discover alternatives in terms of revenue because of the reduction in the price of oil (the main Angolan export resource) in international markets. The revitalisation of the tourism industry and diversification of the economy were watchwords in public civil servants' daily conversations and fashionable phrases in Angolan PSB input in that period.

Tourism was one of the elements focused on in all the recorded samples. Although generally placed in the last scenes of the two-hour *Muangolé* TV show in almost all editions, output from across the country focused on interesting locations and some typical names and aspects of Angolan identity (such as Quissama Park and Mussulo Island, in samples 1 and 2). In the same perspective, the quizzes introduced to audiences a kind of curiosity about some Angolan touristic locations, such as Serra da Leba, Nkulumbimbi and Cristo Rei.

What one can perceive from this topic is that reportage in all editions was highlighting ways to attract tourism to the country in the context of an economic crisis. Overseas tourists and national citizens who did not know or were interested in knowing about some regions and monuments in Angola (Mbanza Congo, Quissama and Lunda Sul) seemed to be the target audience for these items in *Muangolé* (see, for example, scenes 7, 8 and 10 in sample 1). Even though journalist Miguel (see Appendix III, n.3) asserts that that was just his own initiative and creativity, coincidence or not, this trend is more evident from the *Muangolé* reportage of the agro-business exhibition:

> 'We can perceive how feelings of anxiety dominated the exhibitors who wanted to show Angola's economic, touristic and cultural potential. The country has succeeded in presenting to visitors how Angola is an immense land worth introducing agro-industry to, to explore its forests in order to give a response to national and regional challenges, such as food and wood. Besides, it is the only known oil production area.' (TPA Reporter Joana Tomás, in sample 5)

Economic interest is also clear when some exhibitors focus more on showing what they can offer to earn money rather than presenting elements of their cultural identity:

> 'This exhibition was an opportunity for us to present our agri-tourist potential. We really think our message in terms of agriculture, fishing and farming was clearly understood given the new urban expansion context that Cacuaco actually lives.'(Cacuaco representatives at the agri-business exhibition, sample 5).

Besides the economic interest perceived in the *Muangolé* final items in the samples above, it was also possible to discover elements of national identity that might help to unite Angolan people. However, this important perspective seems to be relegated to a secondary plan.

Thus, it is also appropriate to note here that participants at the exhibition, however (see sample 5), while aligning with the perspective of business, give at least the idea that they were aware of the importance of cultural elements that identified their regions and provinces:

> 'This exhibition came at a good moment, really, because aside from demonstrating Angola's potential in agriculture and farming, it revealed for the first time the cultural aspects and succeeded in bringing some positive data to the agriculture sector and we from Cabinda province have shown it from

different perspectives.' (Aguinaldo from Cabinda, during the agri-business exhibition, sample 5).

Hence, awareness of Angolan national identity even abroad is also perceptible, as can be seen from this witness: 'M'Banza Congo brought many things from agriculture to culture because, as you, Mrs. Journalist, might know, M'Banza Congo is an Angolan cultural heritage site and it is a UNESCO world cultural heritage' (Madalena, from Zaire, during the agri-business exhibition, sample 5).

Natural resources (for example, oil and diamonds) as well as agricultural potential in the banana plantations of Dande's region of Bengo (see scene 4, sample 2) and the trade market in Lunda Sul (in scene 9, sample 1) leave the idea of a national narration with the necessary elements for developing the country if the will is present and its communities' members work together.

Muangolé, however, addresses these elements more in the perspective of attracting foreign investments rather than bringing together members of Angolan communities as one for the construction of this post-war nation.

Even though investments from abroad are important, *Muangolé* could maybe address these stories, highlighting more common elements that unite the nation that is under construction.

8.3.3. Gastronomy as an element of national identity in the *Muangolé* TV show

Apart from the above-mentioned elements connected to the construction of the Angolan post-war nation, food is also often mentioned as one element of national identity in many cultures of our contemporary society. Throughout the recorded samples, gastronomy was one of the frequent themes aired on *Domingo a Muangolé.* The narrative of the nation through this theme gives the idea that Angolan has its own cuisine, albeit highly influenced by the Portuguese as a result of five centuries of slavery and colonisation. Cooks such as João Grande, with his polvo's salad (in scene 3, sample 1), Maria Teixeira with her cuttlefish (in scene 3, sample 2) and Fatima Capita with her grilled fish with baked potatoes (scene 3, sample 3), to mention a few, are symbols of the vitality and openness of the Angolan nation under construction. In reporting these daily aspects of life, the *Muangolé* TV show seems to emphasise one of the elements of multiculturalism that is common in the

contemporary society of the 21st century. Therefore, changing habits in the gastronomy sectors of post-war Angola are also to some extent a sign of transformation occurring in this society.

Throughout this TV programme, innovation in terms of food and cooking was predominant, to the disadvantage of what is traditional in terms of gastronomy. However, it is also important to emphasise traditional food such as 'Caqueia fish' in Lunda Norte (as in Miguel's reportage, Sample 1), but this last was played down throughout the programme.

8.3.4. Monuments and culture in *Muangolé*'s discourse of nation

Monuments are important elements through which Angolan national identity may be better understood. However, in the *Muangolé* talk show, this perspective seems to be relegated to a secondary plan. Quizzes are used to improve knowledge of the country's important monuments and locations, as in the example below:

> 'Today we are going to talk about Angola national monuments. In what Angolan region are the Pungo-a-Ndongo black stones: a-Benguela; b- Malanje; c- Namibe or d- Moxico? Domingas: b- Malanje.

> That is correct. The Pungo-a-Ndong black stones can be found in Cacuso municipality, 116km from Malanje city. Our historians say it is there where may be found the footprint of Angola's most famous Queen Njinga Mbamdi, known as the first Angolan woman to lead the fight against colonialism' (Muangolé Presenter Rossana Miranda, scene 5, sample 2).

Giving an additional explanation apart from just saying whether the answer is correct or wrong is a very good way to at least help audiences to gain an idea of the historical facts behind a response. However, a quiz alone seems a very limited strategy to let audiences know more about Angolan monuments and the history implicated therein. Fundamental and important knowledge of the country's history and elements of national identity connected to it seem to be skipped in the *Muangolé* TV show, and this impression becomes to be more evident with watching the programme. An example can be found in the following sample narrating Angolan literature:

> 'To whom does this expression belongs? '*a minha poesia sou eu branco montado em meu preto cavalo a cavalgar pelas ruas*' ('my poetry is me, a white man on my black

horse jumping in the streets'). Response from DJ Ely Chuva: Pepetela.

That is wrong. The correct answer is António Jacinto.' (*Muangolé* TV Presenter

Rossana Miranda, scene 11, sample 3)

If there is no additional explanation for this response on a TV show like *Muangolé,* misinterpretation can occur. The context of such a response and the book from which this expression was taken are important elements for audiences' perceptions of what message the programme intends to pass on.

Throughout this TV show, monuments and important elements of Angolan culture seem to be broadcast as sound-bites, however with less succinctness or precision. Specific *Muangolé* editions focusing on monuments with some context (history, literature, locations and the like) could be a better solution, or at least additional explanations might better contribute to the narrative. This weakness is well perceived in the quizzes broadcast in almost all recorded samples.

8.3.5. Angolan lifestyles and customs in *Muangolé*'s discourse of national identity

Domingo a Muangolé has narrated some of the practices of the daily life of some Angolan communities that give hints of interesting elements of the Angolan nation in construction (see, for example, samples, 1, 3 and 4). Creativity, common people's initiatives for self-sustainability and some other practices are flagged throughout the programme as elements of national identity. This is the case with the clothes and shoes manufacturing in Calandula Street in one of Luanda's suburbs and the Herero minorities' traditions in the south of the country.

Angolan typical dress in terms of clothes and shoes, for example, may to some extent be considered elements of national identity. However, one can identify similarities in most southern African countries in terms of clothes, despite some local differences. *Muangolé*'s reporter seems to approach this view, as follows:

'Calandula Street in Popular, a district of Luanda (…) is one of the suburbs where much of Luandan daily life also happens. We see women in the street doing art to earn their daily bread. They are making typical African fabric which becomes dresses, especially for women to wear at school and elsewhere. I also see men in very good, typical African dress.' (*Muangolé* TV reporter

Miguel, scene 10, sample 3).

Struggling to survive has become one of the characteristics of post-war Angolan city inhabitants. And in doing that, people seem to attempt self-sustainability. This looks like an interesting narrative of common people's daily lives in the suburbs of Angola, and throughout its editions, *Muangolé* has tried to present this side as a narrative of people's daily lives. Apart from business, the idea of national identity seems also present in the awareness of people, as with this clothes creator: 'We have so much demand and this means that Angolan people appreciate national products. And if people continue to use this material, we may employ more workers to do this job' (Mestre Edivaldo, scene 10, sample 3). And so under the word 'national' may be reflected the desire for national identity present in all Angolans inhabitants, which becomes a common feeling of belonging.

Public television reportage on the minority Herero community in the south of Angola could be an interesting piece of Angolan identity within the framework of unity in diversity (*pluribus in unum*), as it narrates the habits and customs of citizens who are infrequently reported on in Angolan public service broadcasting. Very few people among the majority of Angolans, who are Bantu, have enough information about the minority ethnic groups in the south of the country. Reporting on their daily lives and their traditions is a very interesting initiative for the Sunday evening TV talk show. However this piece below, while apparently interesting and new, does not seem to play such a role. Neither does it seem so sympathetic:

> 'Herero men may officially have more than two wives. Polygamy in this tribe is proportional to the wealth that a given man may have to sustain his wives. However, what is curious here is the fact that a married woman may have a boyfriend. And this is allowed in the Herero tribe since such a relation is hidden, although known by the official husband, especially when he spends several days out caring for cattle.' (*Muangolé* TV reporter Miguel, scene 8, sample 4)

First of all, polygamy is not a new reality for the Herero, nor for Angolans or Africans, but is present in many societies of our contemporary world. It is a deviation of human behaviour that was accepted in the past and even today is promoted within some religious beliefs and traditions. This cannot be an element of national identity. Therefore, it must be

removed in the name of human rights and the equality of women and men.

The same argument may be used for what reporter Miguel names as [what is curious … a married woman may have a boyfriend]. If it is officially accepted in the Herero's traditions, why should it be kept a secret? That is a matter of aberrant behaviour that may occur in any society and should be discouraged by all means. Therefore, I am not sure whether such a statement describes all Herero communities.

As I argued at the end of sample 4, above, there are important aspects of the Herero tribe members' daily lives that could be narrated in the context of national identity on the *Muangolé* talk show, but these are diverse. Narratives of life, identity and belonging among the Herero nomad people, caring for cows and so forth, could have more impact but, unfortunately, are not included in the narrative.

What at least could be understood as output from the *Muangolé* narrative is that there are still minority tribes in the Angolan post-war society who deserve to have their say on Angolan PSB in a way that lets audiences know who they are, what elements of national identity they represent and how it is shared among them from their everyday perspectives and, finally, how those elements may be included and assumed as part of Angolan national identity.

Finally, the setup of the *Muangolé* TV show, its staff performances and dress on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the fact that there is so much time allocated to music, dance, stylists and gastronomy in the two-hour programme may push audience members to criticise and also to some extent just disconnect from it. These are some of the reasons highlighted by participants in the group discussion that we will read about in the next section.

Section II

8.4. *Domingo a Muangolé* and national identity from the audiences' perspective

There are always different points of view when people try to evaluate the performance of a broadcasting programme of any kind. Some people agree, others disagree and others again suggest different perspectives. This is also the case with contributors invited to give their opinion about the TPA talk show, *Domingo a Muangolé*.

Apart from my attempts at QCA from the selected samples above, I hoped to gain a better understanding of what audiences receive, perceive and expect from the *Muangolé* TV show, as one of the objects of my thesis. I therefore assembled some citizens in 18 focus groups of six to eight participants each, to discuss among other things the following specific questions:

1. What attracted them to watch the programme?
2. What did they find in the programme most helpful for their daily life?
3. After watching, did it help them to know, to change or to question some behaviour or attitudes of members of their community?
4. How would they describe *Muangolé* to others?

Participants in most of the 18 group discussions chose the country reportage item as the best part of the *Muangolé* TV talk show. Many of them argued that the reports helped them to learn more about the country, the different communities from different regions, and their habits and backgrounds. Criticisms and suggestions about *Muangolé* focused more on how the programme is conceived and how it can be better presented.

Some disenchantment with *Muangolé*, as perceived in the group discussions, could be a result of what the participants see on the show (European dress, poor presenters' performances, too much music and dance) and what they would like to watch (in-depth reportage that presents the reality of the rural regions of the country). The main reason why the programme is interesting is in terms of the participation of citizens to the PSB debate about national identity and national belonging and also in learning about Angolan ethnic cultures.

8.4.1 *Muangolé* discontents and disconnectedness

Many participants across all groups noticed imbalances in terms of the country representatives on the *Muangolé* show. Pessela, aged 41 from Cubal (FG n.4, March 2015), for instance, was discontented with *Domingo a Muangolé* because it broadcast, according to him, more about the north Angolan regions and cultures:

> *'There are no Angolan typical dances from South, such as the Otchikuete's traditional dance from Cubal's district of Benguela province where I come from. This is a negative aspect of the Muangolé TV show because our children who watch the programme will still be asking us if what they watch is it really our culture?'*

Filomena, 47, also (from same FG. n.4) agrees with Pessela's point of view when she argues that *'Muangolé follow the same rules as those of News at 8pm that promote government political activities'*. According to this participant, *'the subjects of Muangolé are always the same, centred in the capital Luanda. The most shown regions are: Luanda, Ndalatando and Bengo (Kimbundu ethnic group). It seems that the reporter only addresses the lifestyles of these regions'*. If the main objective of the programme is to promote Angolan national identity, says Filomena, why is it that every Sunday producers do not invite one Angola ethnic group to present their habits, culture and dances? Filomena goes further in this discussion to suggest that *'Angola has circumcision rites, "efiko" (female excision rite) that constitute important aspects of Angolan identity that could be shown and debated in Muangole's programme, but this does not happen'*. According to her view point 'the producers of this TV programme prefer to invite more Angolan capital inhabitants to the show and it is very difficult to watch a dance group from the South of Angola'. It is not easy to perceive why they do it and often, said Filomena; no one in the programme team tries to justify such decisions. This participant also argues that even in terms of cultural identity, themes about our culture are not fairly addressed and are not contextualized.

Marilia, 31, (FG, n.14, March 2015) reinforces Pessela and Filomena's observations according to which *Muangolé* should address other provinces:

> *'All contents in this TV show are based from the capital Luanda daily life. A team of reporters should broadcast live from diverse provinces like what happens in the Angolan public service television News at 7am'*.

Pessela's, Filomena's and Marilia's observations were echoed in most of the focus group discussions. On one hand, these arguments may, to a certain extent, be connected to the idea I have advanced in section I of this chapter, that *Muangolé* should address a specific audience with a specific subject. So many scenes or items addressing so many issues at once result in much time being given some scenes and less to others. On the other hand, although generally important, these arguments may not represent the full picture if one considers the chosen samples presented in section I of this chapter.

I observed that the *Muangolé* reporter travelled across the country and on many occasions showed elements of the daily lifestyles of people living in the eastern and southern rural areas. Even so, reportage presenting regions other than the capital was rare compared to items reporting on the daily lives of Angolans living in Luanda and its surrounding municipalities. The cost of TV production in Africa is still very expensive, not only for independent TV channels but also for public service broadcasting sponsored by

governments. Consequently, to approach the quality and diversity in local TV channels, the production teams need to be increased twofold, and other operational costs could be budgeted differently, rather than just sending one reporter and one cameraman. On this point, journalist Miguel says:

'I would like to have more time. My feature in the programme could have at least 20 minutes. I record so many stories but my feature is allowed just 2 to 3 minutes. And so 20 minutes in each edition should be good. I would obviously also like to have better budget approved to stay longer in the rural areas. I have very little time, even though, with many stories to produce. Moreover my team had to face the bad roads. It is a great sacrifice. We use to spend three to four days in a province. However often we could only produce one story because of difficulties of distance and access in many villages and municipalities. The production itself is expensive because we pay the hotel, fuel and it is very tough. However, despite all these challenges I used to say: in my 15 years of Angolan Public Television (TPA) journalism to date my loved and best job is done in Domingo a Muangolé' (Appendix III, n.3).

It is noteworthy that these scenes are placed at the end of this TV show and less time is given to those features. Because of that, viewers may be tempted to switch off their TV or change to another channel and keep more in mind their first impressions of the programme. To justify this, journalist Miguel explained that:

'It is true I have little time in the programme. However I have more stories from the countryside than Luanda. Obviously with such a little time I could not put in the show other stories. When the Muangolé TV programme was created, the managers did not believe in the impact that reportage features could bring in this TV show. Of course the programme has entertainment, dance and music. However, when the reportage feature started to bring results it was too late because the format of the programme had already been decided. I honestly must say the less time in the programme is the most critics I have received from Muangole audiences. As a result of the observations I got, I wrote a project and gave it to the TPA manager on how reportages from rural areas of Angola could be a TV programme out of Domingo Muangolé. Angola Public Television (TPA) managers were unfortunately changed and my project was not approved' (ibid).

In addition, participants in the group discussions may also be fixated on the later scenes reporting stories of daily life from diverse regions of Angola. This part of the programme,

however, appears to be more focused on tourism to attract foreign investment, according to the Angolan government agenda. And so, the national identity that can be perceived from the characteristics (habits, practices, traditions) of each reported location seems be relegated to a secondary position.

Alberto, 37, from Luanda (FG, n.14, March 2015) points out another aspect of *Muangolé* when he asserts that there is disconnection between the name of this TV show and what he sees in practice. To him the intention of the programme is clearly different from what is produced. *'What is amazing is the fact that when programme announces that it will present Angolan fashion, what one sees in the screen is just a copy from Western fashion that one could also see in foreign TV channels'*. Alberto adds that *'if Muangolé TV show wants to reflect and present to the world what Angola is in all its cultural lifestyle should not allow homosexual stylists, because homosexuality is not part of our cultural identity, but Muangolé seems to give room to it'*.

This last aspect (homosexuality) is a very sensitive and controversial one in many countries, if one considers the multiculturalism and the globalised context of our contemporary societies of which Angola is a part. Therefore, this subject was not overly addressed in the programme.

Another contributor to the argument about dressing is Magno, 25, a lawyer, from Luanda (FG, n.6, March, 2015). According to him *'presenters' dress is something else but Angolan national culture. Even the format of the programme is a photocopy from Brazil'*. Sérgio, 37, taxi driver, from Zango, Viana, Luanda's district (FG, n.15, March 19, 2015) suggests that presenters should dress according to the region under reflection in the show. *'For instance when they are presenting Huila's regions, broadcasters should dress as Mumwilas ladies from Huila province. Although by dressing accordingly it is a simple signal, it gives idea to audience that we are addressing local culture contents.'* Saldanha, 57, teacher, from Cubal, Benguela's district (FG, n.5, March 3, 2015) asserts that *'Domingo a Muangolé should be addressed in the Angolan style; we are Angolans and broadcasters should present Muangolé in such a way.*

These contributors observed the habitual *Muangolé* scenes detailing stylists and the presenters' dresses. The set-up of the programme is predominantly European, rather than African or Angolan.

These are interesting and appropriate observations in the post-war society that Angola is, struggling to bring back some of its important traditional values and in the process of building up its national identity. However, even though one can identify elements of a

given culture through dress, dress alone does not necessarily represent fundamental aspects of national identity, whose values (will, awareness, as in the constructivist perspective) are more internal than external. Therefore, in this globalised era, it is common to see Europeans dressing as Africans, and the latter dressing as Asians and vice-versa.

Overall, from the group discussion, I could perceive that participants' observations were very important because through their arguments, they demonstrated vision and clear knowledge of what national identity meant for them and what they expected from the *Muangolé* TV show reflecting on Angolan national identity. In view of those expectations, Angolan Public Television (TPA) could from time to time conduct a survey to learn more about what audiences might want and expect from TPA output, instead of just creating programmes without such data.

In broadcasting, often the acceptance of the message is highly influenced by the way it is delivered by its presenters. Presentation is an important step to the success of any broadcast programme. *Muangolé*, as participants in the group discussion evaluate it, cannot attain its objectives because its presenters are not good enough to address Angolan national identity. This aspect was also mentioned in most of the group discussions to this thesis.

For Geovany, aged 20, from Benguela province (FG n.1, March 2015) although *Muangolé* was a good programme because it narrated interesting stories about Angolan culture; the constant changing of presenters[45] was a negative and for this reason, many viewers became indifferent to it and consequently disconnected from it. Narcisa, a media practitioner, Luanda (FG n.14, March 2015) explained that at the beginning, the *Muangolé* talk show had a national dimension because there was interaction between the provinces and the capital, with good stories from different districts of the country as a clear signal of diversity. And this helped it to gain a considerable audience on Sunday evenings. However, the change of presenter had obviously caused many other changes, among which was a smaller audience. For Narcisa, the former presenter was also a producer, very creative and a hard worker within the team production. With the former presenter, said Narcisa, one could perceive the promotion of Angolan cultural values and *Domingo a Muangolé's* reporter could be seen in the very rural areas of Angola talking and interviewing citizens. In that period, the *Muangolé* TV talk show was able to present elements of both the tradition and the modernity of Angolan national identity.

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[45] *Muangolé* has often changed its presenters throughout its existence. Ms. Dicla, 2010-2013, was the first face of the programme and then left to embrace another project. Ms. Antonia, 2013-2014, from Carrossel (a kids TV programme), was replaced by Mrs. Rossana, (2015-2016). Our analysis refers to Mrs. Rossana's period.

This was an interesting finding across all group discussions. Audiences perceived the importance of empathy and the competence of a TV presenter as part of the success of the programme. The first *Muangolé* Presenter, Ms. Dicla, was elected by participants in the group discussions as the best one for the PSB TV show because she used to carry audiences with her, bringing them in and creating an atmosphere of partaking in the broadcast moment. To this purpose and reflecting about identity, Scannell (1996: 117-118) asserts:

> Teachers, preachers and politicians and media entertainers all make a living that is, to a greater or lesser extent, dependent on performing in public. This may involve the projection of a carefully crafted identity (…). Most pop music programmes are known by the name of their DJ, and they make use of recurrent devices for reiterating the identity of the station, the programme and the presenter (…). The identity is part of the 'personality system' of broadcasting.

It is also in such a context that Marta, 51, civil servant, from Zango Viana, Luanda's district (FG n.16, March 2016) asserts: *'when the first presenter, Dicla, was in the show people loved this national talk show. The new broadcasters had not same creativity to attract the audience'*. As suggestion, Marta asserts that *'Muangolé needs to define its focus audience and do not give the programme to presenters who should be better for kids' talk show'*.

To Saldanha from Cubal, (FG, n.5, March 3, 2016):

> *'Domingo a Muangolé only talk about national identity or national culture, but do not practise it in the show. When they tell stories from provinces out of the capital Luanda often they invite musicians and dancers from Luanda'*.

Saldanha observes that even in terms of music:

> *'Domingo a Muangolé's broadcasters do not invite musicians from a region under reflection neither old generation of musicians. They bring young musicians who do not sing in any native language. If they tell stories from Huambo's province, for example, they should play Huambo music inviting a singer like Justino Handanga who is from that region'*.

This last idea, although important and interesting, may to some extent encounter difficulties because of the operational costs connected to it (see journalist Miguel's statement in Appendix III, n.3). Besides this, the debate raised above among participants

makes sense in terms of format and *Muangolé*'s performance. The presenters mentioned names, and suggestions made by the participants to the group discussion showed that audiences watch it and have a perception that the *Muangolé* TV show may play a role in representing important and interesting elements of Angola national identity in this post-war society.

People want to know more about traditions and rites of their own regions of birth. And when they watch and hear stories from their villages on the *Muangolé* TV talk show, it increases in them that sense of belonging (Filomena, FG, n.4, March 3, 2016). Cabinda province, for example, says this participant, appeared infrequently on the *Muangolé* talk show. As this programme has two hours of show (6pm to 8pm) *'stories from regions other than capital Luanda should be addressed deeply than it used to be'.*

Kalonda, 20 from Prenda, Luanda (FG, n.6, March 6, 2016) also contributed to this point when argued that:

> *'In the first sight when we talk about Muangolé one could imagine Angolan cultural wealth that we have in terms of national identity. The media play a great influence in people's culture and the example is that Angolan young people watch TV and immediately imitate what they watched. Brazilian culture is spreading in Angola because of TV novellas'.*

Magno, from the same group (FG n.6) discussion contributes to this idea agreeing that:

> *'Muangolé talk show could be an interactive TV programme to help educative aspects of its audience. However what one may see in there is opposite to that. Invited audience is in the show more to jump and dance when a musician is performing live'.*

Even though what I see there, says Magno, *'are more futilities there is always something to learn and to influence human behaviour'.*

Apart from considerable critical aspects about the way the programme is presented, participants in most of groups appreciated the reports from different regions of Angola. Fortunato, 25, teacher, from Prenda, Luanda (FG n.6), praised the *Muangolé* episode where a reporter travelled across the country to interview people and showed aspects of their culture. This initiative, said Fortunato, *'will help people to know the lifestyles of other citizens in order to learn, to respect other cultures. However, it would be good if Angola public television (TPA) set up an entertainment programme in a local language'.*

Participants' point of view appreciating *Muangolé* reports from different regions of Angola

links us to the reflection of Scannell (1996: 23), who argues that:

> Sociability is the most fundamental characteristic of broadcasting's communicative ethos. The relationship between broadcasters and audiences is a purely social one that lacks any specific content, aim or purpose. The relationship between broadcasters, listeners and viewers is an unforced relationship because it is unenforceable. Broadcasters must, before all else, always consider how they shall talk to people who have no particular reason, purpose or intention for turning on the radio or television set.

Once again, all discussion about the quality of *Muangolé*'s presenters may find an echo in Scannell's (ibid.) reflection on good instruction and understanding. Furthermore, participants were aware of the social transformations occurring in developing countries, such as Angola. A good example of this came from Diavita, from Luanda (FG n.14), when he reminded the group that:

> *'It is important to bear in mind that Angola of yesterday is different of Angola of today. There is evolution in cultures and people adjust themselves to it. Luanda has characteristics of a metropole and one may perceive crossing of culture, conviviality and even acculturation phenomenon. It does not mean that we are abandoning our own culture but there is evolution within the culture itself. We do have Angolans who are coming from overseas bringing other habits. We should be also aware the existence of some conservative citizens who try to stop the evolution of Angolan culture. Nowadays, out of festivals Angolan women have their own way of dress. Cabinda women dress different from those in the capital Luanda where influence from foreign cultures is more visible.'*

This important participant's observation links us to the constructivists' (Anderson, 2006, Bilig, 1995; Jenkins and Sofos, 1996) idea of the nation, to which this thesis relates. Nations are not static realities. They are always in transformation, in a process of being imagined, reinvented, constructed. This dynamic introduces new and old elements worthy of academic reflection, as this chapter attempts to reflect, in terms of national identity in post-war Angola.

The importance of reportage in rural areas of Angola was highlighted in group discussion 17. Miguel's report on the *Muangole* TV talk show was very interesting, said Daniel Joaquim (FG n.17). That rubric:

> *'promotes essential cultural aspects of Angola. This broadcaster addressed important*

ethnolinguistic aspects of some minority native Angolans. The reporter worked hard to let citizens know, through the Muangolé TV show, the existence of these ethnic groups. This is a positive aspect of the programme.'

This argument from Mr. Daniel makes sense. However, even though reporting stories addressing minority tribes' daily lives is important, in the context of national identity and belonging, some chosen aspects (polygamy or infidelity) might not be the most representative elements of minorities' identities in post-war Angola. As I have reflected in section I, there are many other important and interesting aspects from minority communities to report on and these did not come up in the *Muangolé* talk show, at least in the samples I watched and recorded. In view of this, one cannot identify a new contribution in what was reported in terms of minority identity.

Conclusion

It was demonstrated throughout this chapter that *Domingo a Muangolé* is an entertainment TV programme addressing issues related to nation, national identity and belonging in post-war Angolan society.

The *Muangolé* samples cover a variety of subjects that can be divided into more than 10 episodes or scenes for each edition that fit into just three themes, focusing on a specific subject and audience. The lack of a specific audience may be its weakness, although through the setup, language and invited guests, one may broadly consider younger adults as being at the centre of *Muangolé* output.

It is difficult to identify in the *Muangolé* talk show linkages between the narratives from one edition to another in a way that allows audiences to learn, make connections and understand particular subjects in sequences of items. The logical sequences in the narrative seem incoherent, despite the existence of recurring items scenes. In contrast to stories narrated in habitual items – music, dance, gastronomy, style and quizzes – country report subjects seem to jump from one story to another, with no connections from one edition to another.

As I said above, for the quiz, there is a kind of soundbite way of covering important subjects that seems to deserve more detail. Nevertheless, in watching the programme, one may have a general idea of a post-war nation in the process of facing its challenges and

realising new perspectives.

At the conclusion of this chapter, one aspect that comes up is that Angolan national identity has to be understood in the context of diversity but with many convergent points in terms of traditions and lifestyle.

This chapter concludes that there are indications according to which Angola PSB can play a positive role in terms of the knowledge of elements of national identity as the heritage of Angolans of yesterday, today and tomorrow, if it carries out good research in this cultural field and broadcast it to let its audience learn, share and practise that heritage. This was, according to what I could find in this research, the initial purpose of *Domingo a Muangolé*.

The outcomes from the group discussions point to some challenges to the programme. In terms of understanding, I must say that there were convergences among participants in criticising the style, dress sense and format, and presenters' impact and skills. But also, there were convergences about the importance of the programme and the regional reportage about national identity that *Muangolé* attempts to broadcast nationwide.

In terms of comparison between the recorded samples (part one of this chapter) and group discussion participants in the field (part two) *vis-à-vis* the *Domingo a Muangolé* TV talk show, it is possible to identify some divergent and convergent viewpoints:

Excerpts from the programme (see samples above in this chapter) seem more to present Angola abroad, addressing audiences in developed countries with glamour, songs in foreign languages, international gastronomy, multicultural aspects and the like. On one hand, this strategy is maybe intended to let diaspora Angolans know that Angola is developing and maybe welcome tourists to venture therein. And on the other hand, there are hidden rich and important aspects (natural resources, agricultural facilities, national identity elements such as historical places to be known) in Angola that have to be promoted through this programme in such a way as to emphasise how strong this country is.

However, focus group participants' arguments in the second part of this chapter, although they do not totally disagree with the above vision, seem to expect more from the *Muangolé* TV show, which they feel should address audiences living in the main city suburbs of Angola who do not want to return to their previous villages after the war. These audiences would appreciate seeing the programme portray the reality of their regions and villages of origin, with reportages about people, local identity, traditional practices in food, marriage, agriculture, dance, songs and the like, to enable their children born in the cities to get to

know, or at least have an idea of, their parents' roots and backgrounds. Participants feel that these aspects should take up a major portion of the two-hour *Muangolé* TV talk show, and they protest that *Muangolé* addresses them just briefly. Additionally, my informants would appreciate diversity in terms of regional reportages instead of focusing more on the capital Luanda and its neighbour regions.

Both parts converge on the importance of the programme that *Domingo a Muangolé* is, addressing Angolan nation-building after the war and seeking to awake its dormant national identity and belonging aspects to accompany the national reconstruction in process. This may also be the role that PSB can play, to allow the young generation of Angolans to have references and know their identity, even though they will be participants in the globalised world with all its challenges and new perspectives brought by ICT and this contemporary era where we actually live.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This thesis concludes that Angolan public service broadcasting is in a time of restructuration and adjustment. The context of the post-war situation that Angola is currently experiencing influences to a certain extent the environment within which Angolan PSB actually operates. With regard to this influence, the research has identified three important strands:

The first is the reform of the state through the approval of the Angolan new constitution, and the replacement of the colonial penal code by a new one reflecting actual changes and the challenges at the political, economic, social and cultural level. Another aspect of this first strand is four consecutive general elections that produced no social convulsions, which means that the country is militarily stable and at 'peace'.

The second strand is the democratic changes that happened within the ruling party that supports the government with the end of the 38 years of presidential rule (1979-2017) of José Eduardo dos Santos, who was replaced by the new head of state, João Lourenço, whose first six months (October 2017-March 2018) in office was marked by sacking a considerable number of ministers and old managers in almost all sectors of the government, army, justice, public institutions and enterprises, including PSB, and appointing a new team. This decision, by the way, was highly appreciated by all Angolan society sectors, including opposition parties and diplomatic representatives in the country.

The third strand is the construction and reconstruction of some important national infrastructure (roads, hospitals, public schools, hydroelectric dams, public water supply and housing projects) even though few have been realised and some of them are of poor quality. These events may change the old paradigm of nation-building (based on the idea of a rich country, stable, developing, united, teacher of democratic values to its African neighbours, a protector of human rights and so forth) spread by the Angolan elite through PSB, but disconnected to the everyday lives of the majority of Angolan citizens, who struggle to survive in almost all spheres of life.

Those changes and reforms, although timid, are a pressure for Angolan PSB to adjust to the new context and paradigm by reforming itself, turning its attention to audiences' expectations presented in this research. This implies a new way of rethinking such PSB by

closing its long-time opened door to a kind of 'broadcasting monopoly', whose main purpose seems to be to serve the ruling party and the government's vision of a nation far from that of people's daily lives.

On the other hand, the openings that are happening in the broadcasting sector with the arrival of DSTV and cable, introducing international and national private channels, although expensive for the majority of citizens, have brought a new awareness among Angolan audiences. Citizens are now very demanding and pressuring the old configuration of Angolan PSB to learn from their private broadcasting counterparts as much in terms of digital equipment as in addressing nation-building from the perspective of the daily lives of people and from audiences' expectations and perspectives, as discussed in this thesis.

This research also addressed the huge influence of PSB in African societies under the tight control of African national governments as their privileged instrument of power (Okigbo, 2006). In such a context, ethnicity, foreign content, human resources and technology are still the main problems facing African PSB. The research has concluded that international inputs dominating most television content across African countries in general and Angola, in particular, are one of the aspects regularly criticised by older citizens, whose nation-building vision is overwhelmingly based on territory, race, tribe, religion and language, as per Smith's reflection (1995).

9.1 Key findings of the study

It was demonstrated in this thesis that the concept of nation is still one of the most researched subjects within the framework of the social scientific study of our contemporary societies. Therefore, academic and social reflections around this subject have become interesting, important and, at some point, controversial because of the contribution that broadcasting media make to them.

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate that 'nation' is a very rich concept, old and always new at the same time, and because of developments occurring in almost all spheres of today's societies. Nation then conserves in its nature the *we*, a very dynamic element in our contemporary world, ready for change within the different perspectives of a given society. However, it was also demonstrated in this reflection that although there is this *mutatis mutandis* characteristic in the definition of nation, immanent elements such as will,

awareness, acceptance and a sense of belonging are still footprints within the concept of nation.

This thesis was built on the constructivist idea of the nation, as per Billig (1995), Bhabha (1996), Jenkins and Sofos (1996) and Gellner (2006), to name just a few, and especially under the umbrella of the *imagined communities* from the perspective of Anderson (1983). In this perspective, it was possible discover that PSB has an influence on the Angolan new generation as imagined communities which are presented frequently on the Angolan public service television station (e.g. *Muangolé* dances, music, gastronomy and choreography), even though it is not necessarily connected to their cultural roots (tribe, territory, language, race, religion) or background. Instead, they identify themselves with different styles and visions of those imagined communities.

Throughout, this thesis has demonstrated that Angolan people watch and listen to PSB and have opinions about the idea of nation-building broadcast from these media which is different from that of the majority of citizens on this subject. And so this thesis has also identified that there are some elements of protest at the poor performance of PSB in its *News at 8pm* programmes.

According to my sources, there are members among PSB audiences who attest to not watching or listening to these media because they do not address their expected stories. In this situation, some citizens have alternative channels on DSTV platforms. However, even among those who are still connected, there are still people who would also switch off from it and turn to other channels. Unfortunately, they cannot do so. One of the reasons not to disconnect from the PSB *News at 8pm* programmes, especially the TV one, is the fact that there are no alternative broadcasting stations that are free of charge. The available independent channels have to be purchased and installed on DSTV or cable and the majority of audiences cannot yet afford these. Another reason is that those alternative everyday broadcasting stories of Angola are not a priority for their agenda. And so, for the majority of adult audience members, it is best to listen to and watch the national PSB *News at 8pm*. Although it is not as good as they expect, at least in addressing some aspects of their post-war nation in construction. In this respect, it is well to remember that the above vision brings to light previous reflections in the public broadcasting field, according to which 'the nature of public broadcasting is to touch people, to move them, to change them, while private broadcasting, by nature, aims to put them in the mood to consume and, above all, to consume more of what private broadcasting has to offer' (Raboy, 1996:13).

It is important to note here that criticism from TPA (Angolan Public Television) and RNA (Angolan National Radio) *News at 8pm* does not mean that the disconnected have given up in terms of their contribution as participants in the construction of Angolan post-war nation. The participants in the group discussions seemed to clearly understand the role of TPA and RNA in the construction of this post-war society.

The disagreement is essentially about what the real Angolan nation is, where its post-war construction stands at the moment and what TPA and RNA *News at 8pm* broadcasts about. Participants in this discussion believe that Angolan public broadcasting promotes the Angolan leadership vision of the nations, which does not correspond to real daily stories happening in this country.

This thesis has found that the pertaining leadership dream of a prosperous Angolan nation, developing country with all this means is not the contested point of the voiceless citizens to whom this thesis gives voice. Dreaming is not forbidden. It is instead the falsification of the country's reality that TPA and RNA provide in their *News at 8pm*. To put it differently, real daily life and development of the country in quite all its aspects runs at 10 percent and the PSB, also called by these citizens as the mouthpiece of the leadership and the Angolan elite, says the country is developing at 80%. It is these attitudes of public broadcasting that participants in group discussions for this thesis have.

Yet, they do not necessarily anger the TPA and RNA as instruments of unity, education, national identity, and entertainment, because they tell lies. What they see in their everyday lives does not appear on the screens of TPA or on the airwaves of RNA *News at 8pm* and what appears there does not resemble that reality. And even when broadcasters try to approach the reality, they falsify the story narration (see participants' arguments in chapter 6 and 7). In the face of this, the participants in group discussions do not believe in many of the stories TPA and RNA News broadcast. Their desire is to synchronise TPA and RNA *News at 8pm* with the most important stories narrating the Angolan national '*we*' in the construction and reconstruction of all spheres of citizens' life as nation-building.

As we have seen above, a different viewpoint on nation-building does not necessarily mean a decrease in a sense of nationalism (will, awareness) among Angolan citizens, as is presented in this thesis. The anger is, in fact, directed against the country's leadership which uses TPA and RNA as a mouthpiece to promote a false idea of Angola as a prosperous and developing nation, while in reality it is entrenched in corruption, underdevelopment,

extreme poverty and high external debt.[46] It is this well-known aspect of the nation, known by practically all the citizens, that is not presented in public broadcasting and when it happens the narration of stories is falsified.

The outcomes of this thesis are that citizens believe in Angolan nation-building via the contribution of public broadcasting since it narrates the nation as truth, exemption, responsibility, accuracy and professionalism. To attain such an objective, it is necessary to transform, restructure and readjust Angolan public broadcasting according to their responsibilities within the context of this post-war nation under construction. To academically presenting these nuances is what often one rarely finds in the very few academic reflections on this subject since Angola achieved its independence. To fill this gap was one of the objectives of this thesis.

It was also demonstrated across this thesis that the Angolan idea of nation-building as presented through PSB, even though with the clear influence of the political regime that has ruled the country for 43 years, is also a result of the new post-war context that enable national reconstruction and ongoing reforms from different perspectives (politic, economic, social, cultural, and religious) of the country.

The conclusion, from the fieldwork, sustains and confirms the initial hypothesis of this research, according to which current issues pertaining to national identity and national belonging are vital in helping reunite and reconcile Angolans since the time of civil war as citizens of a peaceful country in the post-war era. However, based on the focus groups discussions, this thesis has found that in the case of Angolan public service broadcasting, issues in the interest of communities very often are not addressed and when they are broadcast it is always from the perspective of the ruling party elites rather than the public interest, with little time allocated to audiences' real concerns and feedback.

Additionally, PSB audiences, with no alternative choice, criticise (chapters 6 and 7) the poor performance of PSB vis-a-vis the everyday nation narration, which, according to them, promotes a Western vision that is greatly appreciated by the Angolan elite but is disconnected to real challenges of their post-war society. Conversely, stories about real poverty, poor education, health and transportation difficulties, and the scarcity of

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[46] Fighting corruption is a flagship project of the Angolan head of state João Lourenço, who has been in power since October, 2017. He has recommended that the new elected five judges to the Angolan High Court of Justice fight corruption as well as white-collar crime with all their means. The story can be found at: http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao/politica/chefe_de_estado_pede_aos_juizes__firmeza_no_combate_a_corrupc ao; accessed by the author on 25/2/2018.

employment are silenced or just absent to the ears of the majority of citizens.

Another finding was that the discussions about PSB focused more on the need for transforming and democratising these media so as to respond to the new country context and challenges. PSB is expected to tell the truth to its audiences and to be present where life happens every day, especially in provinces outside of the capital, Luanda.

Angolan political opposition parties do not believe the PSB *News at 8pm* is for them, these media performances are far from being in the national interest and do not address citizens' expectations. There are deficient and contradictory debates on PSB about issues addressing the national *we,* national reconciliation and reconstruction with the public interest in mind. People with points of view different to the party in power are barred from accessing PSB and when it rarely happens that they appear, their statements are censored. For them propaganda stories in favour of the ruling party, the MPLA, and its government is the top priority of the Angolan PSB agenda setting for *News at 8pm*.

Another finding is the claim from civil society associations which demand more inclusion in the Angolan PSB *News at 8pm* nation narration. With similar criticisms as those from the political opposition camp, this thesis has demonstrated that members of civil society who participated into discussions for this thesis observed an elitist news agenda, the stories of which are from Luanda, to the disadvantage of regional and rural everyday stories.

According to TPA and RNA journalists and the journalists' union leaders' reflections (Chapter 4), this thesis has found that there are strong political power influences in the newsroom when it comes to dealing with *News at 8pm*. Even though journalists can narrate the nation as it happens every day, the inner circle public broadcasting management prefers a kind of version of 'selling hope' so that that weaknesses and difficulties observed in important sectors of Angola (education, health, transport, housing and so forth) will soon get better. The reason for such hope is usually potential government projects that will sort out those difficulties without any time-limit or money guarantee.

In the group discussions, some participants reported knowing people who said not to talk to public service broadcasters because they were liars. It often happens that Angola public service broadcasters are called liars. This thesis has found that one of the reasons behind these people's attitude is the government's strong interference in public service broadcasting.

The thesis has also demonstrated that 'truth' was the most sought-after word heard during

discussions as a key element to restore Angolan public service broadcasting and to accomplish the important task of creating the Angolan nation. Moreover, propaganda in favour of government actions was accessible during our six months of data collection for this thesis. As far as freedom of expression is concerned, there were also some voices in group discussions looking for Angolan public service broadcasting to democratise and to give a voice to the voiceless.

It is important to emphasise, however, that different perspectives (communitarians and modernists, Africanists and Europeanists, as in Mamdani (1996) of nation narration in Angolan post-war society would not necessarily be a concern if it were built up from the everyday lives of Angolan post-conflict communities. Unfortunately, one of these visions (the elite's), even though apparently modernist and progressive, was proved in this thesis to be based on very unstable foundations.

In terms of the *Muangolé* TV talk show, this thesis found that nation narration touches constructivist elements of nation-building, where the triple public broadcasting principles of informing, educating and entertaining seems to be included in the format of the programme. Therefore, Angola's young generation, which seems to be the main target audience of the *Muangolé* TV show, welcome newness and free styles from abroad. Attentive to this trend, *Muangolé* has put more effort into answering the expectations of that kind of audience in its nation narration to the detriment of other publics, especially adults. The latter have become more critical *vis-à-vis* the performance of *Muangolé* than young audiences, as demonstrated in this thesis.

However, young audiences could also learn and benefit from important topics of Angolan nation-building, such as names, different habits and customs, typical food dishes from different regions of the country and typical dances, thanks to the reportage produced on the programme. The axiom of entertaining while educating fits into this perspective. Conversely, the thesis has found that the logic in the structure of this talk show is to some extent confusing and imbalanced. Dance and music (entertainment) take the lead in terms of being time-consuming, to the detriment of education and information. Important aspects of Angolan identity useful for young generations to learn and for adults to remember are quickly mentioned before the programme switches back to dance and music, instead of being expanded while being analysed appropriately. This thesis has found that one of the reasons for such a practice in this TV show is a lack of guest speakers with sociological or anthropological backgrounds to help explain some of the cultural facts

reported on the programme.

9.2 Originality of the study

Studies carried out so far in Angola about this subject are very few and normally address public broadcasting within the media framework (as in Vunge, 2006, 2010; Carvalho, 2010). Thus, in such a context, those studies focus more on the institutional public broadcasting system and their performances in terms of political and economic perspectives. To put it differently, their reflections are centred on media practitioners, targeting journalists', politicians', civil society elites' and scholars' viewpoints about the country. The reasons behind this trend are, among others, that interviewing these elite people seems much easier and cheaper than travelling to rural areas and trying to get the viewpoints of ordinary people. The cost of carrying out field research (transport, accommodation, security) is still high. Post-war citizens are still afraid to allow their critical opinions of the Angolan government and the ruling party to be recorded because they live in fear of reprisals if they speak out.

This thesis tried to bring a new approach, focusing its investigations on the interactions between public broadcasting, specifically their privileged space of *News at 8pm*, and their diverse country audiences. This thesis is a humble contribution to filling this gap by focusing more on the perspective of TPA and RNA audiences' in such a way that they have their say about the contributions of these public broadcasting to Angolan nation-building. Therefore, the adopted format (focus groups) has encouraged members to participate more actively in their groups, with very rich contributions being produced.

On the other hand, everyday TPA *News at 8pm* audiences form naturally selective viewing practices. Different publics (those who have economic possibilities) decide what to listen to and watch. Very often Angolan academics give their attention to the observation of this phenomenon, seeking to give responses to it but without interrelating with the concerned audiences. This thesis has provided the possibility for Angolan public service broadcasting audiences to have their say. This is, to my knowledge, the first academic work in this category in Angola.

The present thesis is a new contribution to this field of knowledge in the context of Angola because, for the first time, it brings to light six months of samples recorded from public

broadcasting *News at 8pm* and the TPA talk show *Muangolé* to evaluate how Angolan post-war nation-building is being narrated. Additionally, the thesis compares these data with the outcomes from TPA and RNA audiences' group discussions about their perceptions of the performances of Angolan public service broadcasting. The results from these independent and parallel observations and contributions from this exercise were interesting and introduce new and different ways of reflecting about Angolan media studies. This means starting from a particular phenomenon to gain an acceptable idea of all Angolan public broadcasting from different perspectives and the media context in which they function.

In terms of originality, to the author's knowledge this is the first Angolan academic work at a doctoral level addressing the contribution of Angola public service television and public service radio *News at 8pm* to the construction of the Angolan post-war nation, expanding its horizons to what the nation means. The impact from broadcasting may influence to a greater extent public broadcasting audiences' *imagined communities* (Anderson, 1983).

What is also new in this thesis, if compared to the Angolan media studies published so far, is to bring together in the same reflection the sociological and communicative visions about an important subject, Angolan nation-building, within the context of the post-war period, presenting the constructivist concept of the nation. This shapes the transformation context that Angola actually lives from a national identity aspect to the sense of belonging to these communities that day-to-day are building up elements of national unity.

Protests against TAP and RNA *News at 8pm* and *Muangolé* are absent in the majority of cases. However, this thesis has succeeded in bringing such complaints to light by showing the reasons audiences attach to them and their requests for Angola public broadcasting to restructure its performances. Given the fact that Angola has seen few studies addressing broadcast news[47] choices, outcomes from the focus groups to this research may help TPA and RNA to readjust their focus in their *News at 8pm* programmes.

This thesis is also original to the extent that it looks at the attention paid to Angolan minority communities by TPA and RNA *News at 8pm*. This is, again, to my knowledge the first time an academic Angolan public broadcasting study makes this link. Minority tribes in Angola have not got enough attention and their daily lives are rarely mentioned in public broadcasting *News at 8pm*. Hence, they are still absent in Angolan media studies. And so

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[47] *News at 8pm* programmes are broadcast not on Angolan public broadcasting (TPA and RNA) alone but also on the Angolan private channel, TV Zimbo, available on DSTV and Zap cable platforms.

this thesis may at least call attention to Angolan academics to research this aspect. The recent academic work about exclusion by Carvalho (2008), does address disabled and handicapped people as a consequence of the war period and who are actually marginalised by Angolan society. However, that study is presented from a sociology perspective, different in content and objectives from this thesis.

The thesis also pays particular attention to contemporary African public broadcasting. Based on TPA and RNA *News at 8pm* and their audiences' reflections, the objective of this academic research, even though brief, also brings some light to understanding how public service broadcasting stands in the face of their audiences in some post-colonial African countries and their role in the nation-building process, as well as the transformation and democratisation of these media so as to better serve their audiences in a contemporary African context.

To sum up, in terms of originality, Angolan scholars who have previously addressed this area of study often mention the people as targets of the media. However, to my knowledge, before this thesis, rarely have these voiceless had their say in this academic research. This thesis is a humble contribution to filling this gap. In addition, PSB are, in these studies, usually mentioned generically as media. Angolan public service radio and public service television *News at 8pm* programmes are not yet subject of study at a master or doctoral level. Given that post-war Angolan society deserves this privileged space of information, this thesis also fills a gap by introducing *News at 8pm* as a case study for media students and media practitioners and as a departure point for further research in the future.

9.3 Limitations of the study and future developments

There is evidence of a scarcity of references addressing Angolan public service broadcasting in post-colonial and post-civil war Angola, as much from a historical perspective as for media studies. The long period of colonisation (five centuries) and the civil-war period (27 years) were the main barriers to it. Angolan universities have only appeared two-and-a-half decades ago, so they have not been able to facilitate much production of knowledge. The fact that Portuguese is the *lingua franca* of Angola, unlike its African neighbour countries in the north (the Democratic Republic of Congo and Congo Brazzaville), in the east (Zambia) and in the south (Botswana and Namibia), whose ex-colonial languages of use are French and English, is another limitation for African scholars

to carry out academic research in Angola.

This thesis opens up a new opportunity for future media research in the creation of community radio stations and TV channels. This is to respond to some barriers (language, distance, exclusion and self-exclusion) that many public service broadcasting audience members see in accessing TPA and RNA *News at 8pm*, especially audiences in the Angolan rural communities who rarely have had a voice to narrate nation-building in their everyday lives. Studies demonstrate that broadcasting inputs from communities may provide better information to rural communities, filling the gap of citizens disconnected from the centre of countries' decisions. This will be very important and interesting within the context of Angolan national reconstruction. This country has no community radio stations yet. Compared to its southern African neighbours, Angola is very late in this aspect. Therefore communities' radios in the context of post-war Angola should not be addressed as a fashionable accessory but as a need to facilitate people's access to these media in such a way that they have a voice in nation-building.

This academic reflection seems important in the Angolan media field if one considers that TPA and RNA are still luxury elements that are only accessed by some Angolan citizens. The occasional opportunities that exist go more in the direction of broadcasters asking some rural communities members from time to time the kinds of information journalists want from them rather than what these citizens have to say based on what they perceive in the public broadcasting media about their leaders, their country and the world. Again, broadcasting media studies of community televisions and radios stations in Angola could help fill this gap.

Throughout this thesis, it was demonstrated that the paradigms used in this study form concepts and definitions of what a nation is, as the fundamental principles of public service broadcasting are rooted in a Western perspective of thinking. Future studies could look at how the constructivist paradigm of nation-building could help improve the actual Angolan reality when analysing the cultural diversity of its people. The fact is that the superficial country terrestrial borders decided by the Berlin conference of 1884-1885 have divided what nature unified. Put differently, Angolan communities have real family connections in Congo Brazzaville and in the DRC, all speaking the same language of Kikongo, the same as for Cokwe families in Zambia and Kwanhama peoples in Namibia. They all know that they belong to the same greater family and want to build a nation together, as demonstrated in the constructivist perspective presented in this thesis. The will and awareness exist, but

political decisions deeply interfere and block the way. Future media studies could address this challenge and examine how those ties could be reinforced in the new context of nation, in spite of the particular political issues of contemporary African.

The above-mentioned situation puts to the test the concept of nation presented in this thesis. One of the limitations of this thesis was addressing the concept of Angolan nation-building within the boundaries and parameters defined unjustly by the colonial Berlin Conference and silently and maybe obediently accepted by African leaders to avoid future trouble on the continent. Future studies in this field could come up with suggestions on how to transcend these parameters.

The constructivist concept of the nation, to which this thesis relates, attests that the nation is something far more than just natural boundaries (territory, language, religion, race), as argued by Smith (1995). However, in the case of Angola, even though people's will and awareness are added to natural connections, the concept of the nation as reflected by constructivist scholars is blocked by colonial borders. In addition, Angolan public broadcasting also follows these limits. TPA and RNA often emphasise the repatriation of Democratic Republic of Congo and Republic of Congo Brazzaville citizens who violate Angola's borders. However, in this process only some are repatriated, while many others go to the Angola countryside and live in peace, because it is difficult to distinguish between who is a national and who is not. They all have the same characteristics. The only difference is that Portuguese is the Angolan *lingua franca*. The excuse for not speaking Portuguese is they have lived for long periods of time in the neighbouring countries (DRC, Congo, Zambia and Namibia) for security reasons during the Angolan civil war time. I hope there will be interesting media research in this area in the near future and also that it will provide a good opportunity to bring forward findings that help to understand how, in contemporary, post-colonial Angola, the nation can be narrated by the people living within these four imagined colonial borders created by the Berlin Conference. For instance, Mamdani's (1996)'s perspective of 'linking the rural and urban' when reflecting on the concept of nation-building in post-colonial and contemporary Africa may apply to the non 'political' Angolan rural and urban members living outside of Angola's political borders, allowing them to be included in this nation-building process. Or, in the name of what is actually politically correct, will they be permanently excluded? How do Angolan public broadcasting and public broadcasting from those neighbouring countries address or how should it address this reality and how people from both sides of those borders feel? These

and other questions may find some responses in future research.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Focus group questions

a) Questions to seek understanding of News at 8pm (Telejornal) on Angola PSB (TV and radio)

1. Tell me about your experience with the *Telejornal* of Angola Public Television (TPA)?

2. When people talk about *Telejornal,* what do they say?

3. What are the incentives that get people to watch *Telejornal at 8pm?*

4. What are the barriers that people face that may prevent them from watching the news at 8pm?

5. What keeps people from watching *Telejornal at 8pm?*

6. What would it take for you to watch *Telejornal?*

7. Did you feel addressed in the news at 8pm? Why?

b) Questions for evaluation of the TV programme Domingo a Muangolé

5. How did you first hear about TPA's programme *Domingo a Muangolé?*

6. What attracted you to watch the programme?

7. What did you find most helpful about the programme?

8. What did you find frustrating in *Domingo a Muangolé?*

9. After watching, what were the benefits of the programme?

10. What difference did *Domingo a Muangolé* make to you or to <u>others</u>?

11. How could the programme be improved?

12. How could you describe *Domingo a Muangolé* to others?

Appendix II: Focus Groups

Group I *(March 2, 2016)*

This group was composed of students from different high schools but living in the Vila das Acácias, a suburb of Benguela.

1. Adriano Fumbelo -19 years
2. Alfredo Augusto - 19 years
3. Amindo Cesário -18 years
4. Clévio André - 21 years
5. Eduardo Jamba -19 years
6. Geovany Lungo -20 years
7. Lourenço Pascoal -21 years

Group II *(March 2, 2016)*

This group was composed of different workers living in the centre of the town of Benguela.

1. Ana Kassova – 38 years, an administrative secretary
2. António Domingos- 35 years, a civil servant
3. Carla Tchissingi – 37 years, seller in a flea market
4. Donilton Eduardo – 40 years, teacher in a public secondary school
5. Manuel Ordem - 41 years, teacher in a public secondary school
6. Meuri Janito – 33 years, businesswoman
7. Mirta Francisco -32 years, teacher in a public secondary school
8. Onece Januario -38 years, seller in a flea market

Group III *(March 2, 2016)*

This group was composed of men and the debates took place in São João's township of Benguela.

1. Bernaldo Jorge – 30 years, soldier in the Angolan Army Forces (FAA)
2. Domingos Kuenga – 34 years, plumber
3. José Abel – 31 years, public transport driver
4. Matias Orlando – 29 years, mason

5. Mauro António – 27 years, travel agency worker
6. Mr. Diniz Kapapelo -36 years, hotel kitchen chief

Group IV *(March 3, 2016)*

This group was composed of different hospital workers and primary school teachers in Cubal's municipality 250 km from Benguela's city.

1. Arlet Mateus – 36 years, hospital laboratory technician
2. Ferro Taho - 53 years, paediatric nurse
3. Filomena Delgado – 47 years, hospital HVI analysis technician
4. João Grande - 40 years, primary school director
5. José Marcos - 39 years, tuberculosis analysis technician
6. Pessela Jacinto - 41 years, nurse
7. Rafael Leão - 39 years, primary school teacher
8. Torres Manuel - 55 years, doctor specialising in surgery

Group V *(March 3, 2016)*

This group was composed of teachers and civil servants in the central area of Cubal municipality.

1. Augusta Ngueve -41 years, teacher
2. Bernardo Kwaka -37 years, school security
3. Francisco Correia - 34 years, teacher
4. Gabriel Gimbi - 32 years, civil servant
5. Heriques Sapalo - 39 years, teacher
6. Julieta Tchilundu - 38 years, teacher
7. Queiros Nhimy - 33 years, civil servant
8. Saldanha António -57 years, teacher

Group VI *(March 6, 2016)*

This group was composed of university students and professional workers of Prenda, a township of the Angola capital Luanda.

1. António Maurício - 20 years, student

2. David Fortunato- 25 years, secondary school teacher

3. Isaac Lwamba - 24 years, primary school teacher

4. Lukeny Baptista - 21 years, student and football player

5. Magno Miguel - 25 years, lawyer

6. Márcio Kalonda - 20 years, student

7. William Vwemba - 23 years, student

Group VII *(March 9, 2016)*

This group was composed of adults, both men and women, of Wako Kungo municipality of Cuanza Sul.

1. Agostinho Nsamba - 60 years, teacher

2. Augusto Rodrigues - 61 years, teacher

3. Domingos Fernando – 57 years, farmer

4. João Kavuza - 63 years, civil servant

5. Joaquim Rodrigues – 66 years, businessmen

6. Manuel – 67 years, civil servant

7. Teresa José – 64 years, farmer

8. Teresa Wmone - 56 years, civil servant

Group VIII *(March 9, 2016)*

This group was composed of young women of Wako Kungo municipality.

1. Alice António - 23 years, shop assistant

2. Amélia Nascimento - 22 years, high school student

3. Justina Pires - 19 years, high school student

4. Maria Casvale - 20 years, high school student

5. Rufina Tchitwe - 25 years, cook

6. Teresa Augusta - 24 years, civil servant

7. Teresa Kabenda – 25 years, restaurant assistant

8. Victória Nascimento - 20 years, high school student

Group IX *(March 10, 2016)*

This group was composed of women from Kunje village in Bié province.

1. Avelina Vissolela – 60 years, businesswoman
2. Branca Flora – 74 years, retired
3. Isabel Tchivinda -77 years, farmer
4. Maria Imaculada – 71 years, farmer
5. Rosa Nene - 71 years, farmer
6. Rosária Himbo – 69 years, farmer
7. Silvina Najahulu – 73 years, retired
8. Teresa Ndapingala – 72 years, farmer

Group X *(March 10, 2016)*

This group was composed of former soldiers and farmers from Kunje village in Bié province.

1. António Délcio - 47 years, farmer
2. Ezequiel José – 51 years, carpenter
3. Faustino Manico -69 years, farmer
4. Frederico Quintas – 55 years, farmer
5. Gerônimo da Silva – 59 years, farmer
6. Orlando João – 39 years, former rebel commander, FALA, UNITA opposition military forces
7. Rodrigues Gangula – 45 years, former soldier of Angolan government FAA
8. Tomás Kassinda – 38 years, former soldier of Angolan government FAA, Angolan government military forces.

Group XI *(March 11, 2016)*

This group was composed of young college student girls from diverse provinces and municipalities of Angola, attending high school in the city of Huambo.

1. Elisa Donguia – 21 years, from the Caala municipality of Huambo
2. Faubiana Chica – 22 years, from Benguela province
3. Isabel Itumba - 20 years, from Kuangar municipality of Kuando Kubango
4. Deolinda António – 23 years, from Chamuteba municipality of Lunda Norte
5. Isabel Tchinama – 18 years, from Kuando Kubango province
6. Josefa Pena – 18 years, student from Benguela province
7. Lucélia Correia – 18 years, student from the Catchiungo municipality of Huambo
8. Teresa Cândido – 19 years, from the Luindimbale municipality of Huambo

9. Teresa Tchivanguluka – 19 years, from the Caala municipality of Huambo

Group XII *(March 11, 2016)*

This group was composed of male university students from diverse provinces of Angola, studying in the city of Huambo.

1. Adriano Ernesto – 27 years, from Huambo province
2. António Cativa – 28 years, from Huila province
3. António Longava – 27 years, from Huila province
4. Armando Lucas – 33 years, from Huila province
5. Domingo Chibadoyo – 26 years, from Huambo province
6. Francisco Catimba – 32 years, from Namibeprovince
7. Luciano Caunda – 26 years, from Namibeprovince
8. Marcolino Sbela – 31 years, from Huambo province

Group XIII *(March 11, 2016)*

This group was composed of young men from diverse provinces of Angola who have found jobs in the city of Huambo.

1. Alberto Ekunha – 20 years, computer technician from Bié province
2. Baptista Chivala - 21 years, computer technician from Huambo province
3. Campo Miúdo - 20 years, computer technician from Lunda Norte province
4. Edman Gabriel - 24 years, computer technician from Cunene province
5. Francisco Eusébio - 19 years, electrician from Caala from Huambo province
6. Isidoro Ya Ngola - 21 years, computer technician from Cunene province
7. Jacinto Mavango - 20 years, computer technician from Benguela province
8. Usa Massanga - 23 years, mechanic from Kuando Kubango province

Group XIV *(March 18, 2016)*

This group was composed of some media practitioners and civil servants in the centre of the capital, Luanda.

1. Alberto Soares – 37 years, newspaper practitioner and high school teacher
2. Carolina Kapingala – 27 years, shop assistant and student

3. Diovita Arcanjo – 43 years, businessmen

4. Marilia Domingos – 31 years, marketing manager and student

5. Narcisa Mangala – 34 years, media practitioner

6. Ramos Gaspar – 29 years, cameramen

Group XV *(March 19, 2016)*

This group was composed of inhabitants of Zango, a township of Luanda newly created to accommodate thousands of families forced to leave the centre capital to live 30km away as a way to reorganise the capital after the war.

1. David Levi - 42 years, builder

2. Esmael Jorge – 45 years, fishermen

3. Estone Kissanga – 41 years, nurse

4. Jorge Ngange – 34 years, aluminium technician

5. Nelma Kaputo – 44 years, vendor

6. Pedro Gunza – 35 years, high school teacher

7. Sérgio Santos – 37 years, táxi driver

8. Sulidanha Capitango – 37 years, nurse

Group XVI *(March 19, 2016)*

This group was composed of inhabitants of Viana the most desnsely populated municipality; 15 miles from the capital Luanda.

1. Alice Kamuto – 29 years, unemployed

2. Aurélio Carlote – 37 years, vendor

3. João Nicas – 36 years, primary school teacher

4. Marta Alfredo – 51 years, civil servant

5. Pedro Nunes – 32 years, service delivery

6. Roberto Miguel – 41 years, primary school teacher

Group XVII *(March 21, 2016)*

This group was mainly composed of university social communication students and media practitioners in Luanda.

1. Anacleto José – 29 years, media student

2. Azevedo Manuel – 29 years, media student

3. Daniel Joaquim – 33 years, newspaper editor

4. Delfina Ngueve – 26 years, media student

5. Indira Henriques – 28 years, media student and civil servant

6. Manuel Camalata – 27 years, media practitioner

7. Tomé João – 31 years, media student

8. Waldina Carvalho - 25 years, student and civil servant

Group XVIII *(March 22, 2016)*

This group was mainly composed of young men from diverse provinces living and working in the capital, Luanda.

1. Bento Siakesse – 19 years, accountant from Bié province
2. Bernardo Tchingui – 25 years, student from Uije province
3. Isaac Waguambili – 24 years, student from Moxico province
4. João Mário – 25 years, civil servant
5. Miguel Manuel – 18 years, musician from Cuanza Sul province
6. Vasco Sabino – 24 years, student from Moxico province

Appendix III: Interviews with Angolan journalists

1. Interview with journalist 'Sambu Jimu (SJ)' (*Real name hidden for ethical reasons*)

<u>May 16, 2016</u>

Jose Paulo (JP): *Do you feel free to do your job as journalist in the Angolan public servive broadcasting?*

SJ: We are independent in our production. However our independence is limited in the search for news content. We are independent in the search, but editing however is obstructed by some limits that we cannot go beyond. Nevertheless, contents have to be broadcast according to those established limits.

JP: *Can you tell me what limits you refer to?*

SJ: Not broadcasting stories without broadcasting their solutions. I cannot broadcast stories that can cause consequences for those in power in Angola. Criticisms have to be made carefully and emphasise solutions. In view of this, a PSB journalist has to be an engineer, has to be creative and let the negative aspects of a given story just be conveyed in the little details. However this is only easier with journalists and speakers who are capable of making the right sort of interpretations (i.e. a good university professor). That's not the way we would broadcast an everyday story of ladies selling bananas, for example.

JP: *Why does News at 8pm always start with a presidential story?*

SJ: The question of starting *News at 8pm* with the presidency has one sole reason: the country has a leader and all stories have to turn around the leader. This is how things are defined in our PSB. This is the reason why in TPA we have a newsroom that is only focused on writing and editing presidential stories. The reporters who work there are specialised in the production of presidential stories. They know the inner circle, the agenda and corridors of the head of state. It is that aspect that critics of Angolan PSB name a *cult of personality*; however we call it the high sovereignty supreme power of the country that has to lead and open all *News at 8pm* stories.

I personally come from a school that does not see such an attitude in that perspective. However, I am 'in Rome and I have to be a Roman'; which means I am in TPA so I have to act according to TPA rules.

JP: *How do you narrate the country in the News at 8pm?*

SJ: We narrate the real Angola, but from a perspective of hope and promise and not from a perspective of what is really happening. We do a journalism of not emphasising problems. We do a journalism of announcing solutions, a journalism of selling hope. We do a journalism of promises. This is the reason why our *News at 8pm* starts and finished with expressions such as: "we will do…., will happen…., Angola will have…"; we are already doing this and that. This is the journalism of promises.

JP: *Why are important stories about the country often not broadcast by PSB?*

SJ: It is because they have no solutions yet. However, from the moment that the government has a solution, TPA may now address the story even though the story happened long ago. A minister or a government stakeholder may say something wrong in an interview; however, if I perceive that what he has said may compromise him as politician or a ruling party leader, I have to censor his statement. I cannot broadcast it. He will not be angry, because we have helped him, and we would inform him that a given part of his interview was cut so as not to cause problems with the ruling power. And generally he thanks us. Regrettably this is the kind of journalism we do in Angolan public service broadcasting.

JP: *How does TPA deal with audiences?*

SJ: MARK Test is an enterprise which carries out audience research in the Angolan media market. According to their figures, we do compete with the independent TV Zimbo which broadcasts on a closed platform through DStv satellite. The open and free-of-charge platform is reserved for TPA. MARK test says TV Zimbo *News at 8pm* sells more than TPA *News*. Nevertheless TPA has made an effort in transforming *News at 8pm* to be more interesting through the stories it broadcasts, as long as those stories have solutions. The choice of stories for *News at 8pm* is based on this criterion: we find the story and look for a

solution to it. We cannot put the country in turbulence by saying this is the real country and nothing else. We have to give warranty that a broadcast story has already one solution. All our efforts as PSB journalists go in this direction.

JP: *Do you use the balanced journalism principle in News at 8pm, to give both sides of a given story?*

SJ: I do believe that there is no contradictory view in our *News at 8pm*. Our newsroom is complex. We only have one chair for the presenter and another for an invited guest. The *News at 8pm* studio was built likewise. Thus it is impossible to have two guests with different points of view to comment on a given story. If you pay attention to *News at 8pm,* the presenter and the invited guest are in the same scenario.

JP: *Why you do not have a contradictory point of view in the recorded material?*

SJ: Yes, in that context we also often do not have a contradictory viewpoint. Always when a given story is linked to politics, a balance of different points of view becomes difficult because political stories are always sensitive.

JP: *Do you mean that Angolan PSB journalists are afraid?*

SJ: Not the journalists but the orientation.

JP: *Tell me about TPA journalists' freedom of expression?*

SJ: There is freedom in the *Ecos e Factos* programme. You may find in it interviews of people with different points of view. Regrettably, it is broadcast at a time when the majority of audiences are not watching. In TPA sport programmes one may also observe a strong sense of contradictory viewpoints. As an example, the Angolan president of the national football association, a general of the army, was strongly criticised by his colleagues in a live TPA sport debate programme because of the bad results of the national football team. And so in these two programmes (*Ecos e Factos* and *Sport Debate)* there is some freedom to include opposite viewpoints, which does not happen in the *News at 8pm*. Personally, coming from independent radio, I was advised to adapt myself to the TPA style of *News at 8pm*.

In TPA *News at 8pm* journalists use a kind of flowery speech full praises for the Head of State (José Eduardo dos Santos), from the beginning to the end.

JP: *Do you believe in a change in TPA?*

SJ: TPA may change in the coming five to ten years. There is an interest even inside of the Angolan ruling party that TPA should be more open. We do feel pressure about live broadcast of parliamentary plenary sessions. There are also pressures on TPA about its initiatives in reporting the real state of the country. There is pressure on producers about achieving balance and contradictory viewpoints by including members of other political parties apart from the ruling party (MPLA) into debate panels on the *News at 8pm.*

JP: *Does the independent TV Zimbo News at 8pm pressure TPA producers of News programme to do the same?*

SJ: You are right. TV Zimbo helped to pressure TPA. We have increased the debate programmes and scheduled all of them in the same time slot when TV Zimbo broadcasts its programmes to compete with them, because we were losing audiences in terms of getting different opinions. We felt that this strategy did help us to regain more audience. In fact, when debates are not well-done on TPA it has repercussions on social media. People criticise TPA; which means people are watching our debates. However, it is also true that we are not yet an example of journalism that we should be, because we are not allowed to give voice to an opposing voice to the Angolan government. I cannot open a *News at 8pm* edition with a story from an opposition party leader, even though it is in the public interest or it is bombastic. There is no way at all.

TV Zimbo tries to act likewise because their journalists have more freedom than us. We are aware of this. For TPA it is indifferent that Zimbo starts its *News at 8pm* with Samakuva (the main opposition party leader) or Tchivukuvuku (the second opposition party leader); because for TPA it is a sacred commitment that the Angolan presidency features first. It is an insurmountable barrier. First of all *News at 8pm* must start with a story from the President of the Republic and if there is no story about the President, then the second priority is the president of the parliament, then the republic deputy president or one minister within the government.

JP: *What kind of equipment TPA has to broadcast nationwide?*

SJ: We do have some digital equipment such as cameras for reportage and so forth; however our broadcasting signal continues in an analogue system. We do have some regions of Angola with no TPA signal. Some of the municipalities in the East, Kuando Kubango and Cunene provinces are some examples.

2. **Interview with Journalist 'Samuel Nguemba (SN)'** (*Real name hidden for ethical reasons)'*

<u>May 9th, 2016</u>

José Paulo (JP): *How do you evaluate Telejornal (News at 8pm) of Angola Public Television (TPA) from the last general elections in 2012 to date?*

SN: *Telejornal* is a product always in process of been developed. I mean *News at 8pm* is still growing according to development of Angolan political and democratic process. *Telejornal* has always tried to be more opened through diversity of news. Overall, *News at 8pm* has adapted itself to the Angola political and economic environment. My own evaluation to it is in a way that *Telejornal* has never stopped. It is growing according to what the Angolan context permits.

JP: *What aspect of the nation may you see from Telejornal Output? What nation does Telejornal tried to broadcast in this period under evaluation?*

SN: You know; we are building a democratic and right country and from this perspective we are making the nation. Outcomes of this process are also the product of *Telejornal.* I do remember the time when I entered in TPA team. There was very less freedom than today. This is to say *Telejornal* had accompanied the Angolan political process, the economic e social development of the Angolan people.

News at 8pm (*Telejornal*) is a specific product narrating facts happening every day. And in view of it, what *News at 8pm* has done so far is to broadcast facts and checking them according to the defined criteria and the realism represented by those facts in different

steps they have happened.

JP: *Can you mention elements or facts understood as interferences of political power in the News at 8pm in the period after general elections of 2012 to date?*

SN: I personally have no episodes that could be seen as interferences of political power in my daily work. As journalist and contributor to this public service such interference had never happened. However it is important to state that anyone involved in a television production has to be aware that there are procedures and requirements of owners to be observed. In the case of TPA certainly there are defined lines or requirements to be observed. These requirements define the public interest of this country. *Telejornal*, in such a way, was a product of a given reality. However that does not mean political interference and I cannot cite concrete example that I did not see.

JP: *What criticisms then have you ever heard from your audiences?*

SN: The problem of public service broadcasting is to let open the idea according to which it is always connected to political power. This may also be understood as a stigma. Sometimes people perceive that the fact that PSB belongs to state it voices government agenda. I do not think likewise.

The criticisms we get are that TPA does not tell the truth; *Telejornal* does not tell the truth. However I often ask myself what that truth means? When we narrate facts people often judge us from the truth criteria. I do agree with a say from one American media professor when he states: 'truth is only true in the ears of who wants to listen to it'.

I think when people criticise us that mean we are presenting an interesting product to them. More than being worried because of critics we have to be aware that we are delivering a public service within the framework of ethics and deontology. To accomplish this task we adopt objectivity and exemption as the main principles. And so this is what we do and try to improve as journalists connected to *Telejornal*. Critics are always welcome. It means that people watch and receive our product and they want us to improve more and more. Not all criticisms are destructive.

JP: *What do you think to be the major challenges in the forthcoming years for TPA in general and Telejornal in particular?*

SN: I cannot exactly tell you what major challenges are there, because I am not a member of TPA management team. However as journalists and teamwork member of *Telejornal* one of the major challenges is continuing to be professional journalist thinking this country every day. This aspect is, in my view, improving with results in the near future. I want to be in a condition of serving *Telejornal* and my country as professional journalist. This can only be attained doing well my job based on the journalism's criteria of objectivity, impartiality and exemption. While I perform likewise within the framework of these principles I will be happy of doing well my job even though the evaluation of it depends on the audiences.

3. Interview with journalist Miguel Manuel (MM)

(Consent given to use his real name and title in this thesis as a Muangolé TV show reporter)

April 12th, 2016

JP: *Miguel what does Domingo a Muangolé mean for you?*

MM: *Domingo a Muangolé* is a TV programme whose objective is to unite the Angolan family around a TV show to watch themselves. The fact is during many years Angolans had no TV attraction on Sundays. We used to watch international TV channels such as *Domingo do Faustão* from Globo channel, a Brazilian TV show. Later on came other programmes from TV Record also from Brazil, their output concentrated our weekend's conversation even though based in a foreign culture.

Domingo a Muangolé's objective is to entertain people. However it has also an education aspect. From its beginning I was invited to be a reporter of the *Muangolé* programme to bring to the show the way Angolans entertain and how they spend their Sundays, their everyday life above all in rural regions of the country. Because of our history, after colonisation, the civil war has scattered people from their rural homeland to littoral Atlantic coastal cities. As a result many young people have lost their history and their roots. In view of this my reports touch basic stories from the interior of Angola like: how do people prepare cassava there compared to the use of milling process for same activity in the cities?

I could also report stories on the use of traditional utensils and the Lunda Chokwe masks

to let Angolans identify themselves with their culture. By watching these stories on the *Muangolé* TV show some people said: that is our province of Uige, other said I am from Lubango, from Malanje and so forth. Yet some people were amazed in seeing stories like traditional entertainment and said: ah, that still exists in my province? These feedbacks from the public had helped us to bring more and more similar stories. In terms of gastronomy for example, I as Angolan only saw Chinese eating frog, because it might be from Chinese gastronomy. From my report I understood that Angolan people from Cunene province also eat frog. They call it *Mafuma*. People from the south of Angola like it. I also tested *Mafuma* and it was very good. Likewise I knew *chissambo* in Uige province. Before any explanation I just consider it as disgusting grubs. However I also tested *chissambo* and it was delicious. People from Uige love it and it is part of their gastronomy and their culture.

JP: *Why the name Domingo a Muangolé?*

MM: Usually when we want to identify something typically Angolan, for example, the way people dress or speak, we say that person is Muangolé …. He is dressed as Muangolé … this is really Muangolé. It means identity. And so we wanted a Sunday in Angolan fashion or style to stay away from Sunday in Brazilian style that was for long time present on Angolan TV screens.

JP: *In your report from Lunda showing Kakweya fish and agriculture as alternative to diamond extraction, audiences said you should give more time to it. Is that your opinion too?*

MM: Yes, that is correct. When I was a teenager all stories from Lunda meant diamonds. Young people from my town wanted to go to Lunda to dig diamonds to sell and suddenly get rich. This happened in the 1980s and 1990s. Today I am 39, and do still remember those stories. And as a journalist I wanted to show the other side of Lunda to our TV audiences. I wanted to show Lunda's culture, stories of their ancestors and many other aspects. I wanted to know Lundas' everyday life, like: what do they eat, what the famous touristic and symbolic mask of *pensador* (thinker) means, why the Lunda Cokwe famous masks were less known than diamonds?

When I was in Lunda I reported the market where common people purchase their daily food, which is different to shopping centres in the main cities of Angola. I talked to mums

what fish was Kakweya and how was it different to ocean fish from Luanda, Namibe and Benguela? I wanted to show to *Muangolé* audiences the diversity of gastronomy, customs. Each Angolan region has different fish and different way to prepare it. In these reports I do use simple words to interact with people in a popular language.

In terms of technics we use environmental microphone (the boom mic) positioned down or up and our camera a little bit far to let people be more comfortable to speak with less attention of being filmed. I know people liked our reportage.

JP: *People criticise the fact that your reportages come too late by the end of two hours of the Muangolé TV show. Another observation is you seem to emphasise more the capital Luanda. How your team dealt with it to better address your audiences' expectations?*

MM: Look, I will start by replying your last question. I was focused in bringing stories from outside the capital Luanda. It was also a decision of the *Muangolé* producers to show to audiences the rural regions of the country called *deep Angola*. The reason is, all media talk about Luanda every day. And so Luanda has few stories to explore in terms of reportage. It is true I have little time in the programme. However I have more stories from the countryside than Luanda. Obviously with such a little time I could not put in the show other stories. When the *Muangolé* TV programme was created the managers did not believe in the impact that reportage features could bring in this TV show. Of course the programme has entertainment, dance and music. However, when reportage features started to bring results it was too late because the format of the programme had already been decided. I honestly must say the less time in the programme is the most criticism I have received from *Muangole* audiences. As a result of the observations I got, I wrote a project and gave it to TPA manager on how reportages from rural areas of Angola could be a TV programme out of *Domingo Muangolé*. Angola Public Television (TPA) managers were unfortunately changed and my project was not approved.

JP: *More than to emphasise Angolan identity you seemed to put forward tourism and the Angolan economic crisis. Is it your creativity or a strategy from TPA managers?*

MM: I want to let you know something: *Domingo a Muangolé* and particularly the reportages' features are creation of our team producers. Even when I am sent to a given region to bring a planned reportage, I also took advantage to research other aspects of a given story

or even other stories. And often stories I researched by my own creativity brought more impact to *Muangolé* TV show than the producer team's scheduled stories. From this experience the director of *Muangolé* programme started to be aware in giving me more freedom in exploring my creativity in countryside reportage features.

Now about tourism I was previously a reporter of *Ray Cuanza Sul*. This was TPA coverage of a vehicles convoy race travelling all the regions of Angola. The main objective of *Ray Cuanza Sul* was to show to audiences Angola's touristic potential. From the experience I gained in that TV programme I also wanted to bring the touristic aspect to *Muangolé*. To me it is good idea to show this beautiful country to audiences as it happens in many parts of the world: there are gastronomic tourism, agricultural tourism. Portugal, for example, receives millions of tourists to taste wine. My knowledge of touristic topic helped me to show to audiences how for example bananas are produced in a way to attract people to learn more how this fruit that comes to our table is grown along the Dande river of Bengo. This was the reason.

JP: *What aspects did you like most in Domingo a Muangolé TV show and what aspects could you improve?*

MM: I would like to have more time. My feature in the programme could have at least 20 minutes. I record so many stories but my feature is allowed just 2 to 3 minutes. And so 20 minutes in each edition should be good. I would obviously also like to have better budget approved to stay longer in the rural areas. I have very little time, even though, with many stories to produce. Moreover my team had to face the bad roads. It is a great sacrifice. We use to spend three to four days in a province. However often we could only produce one story because of difficulties of distance and access in many villages and municipalities. The production itself is expensive because we pay the hotel, fuel and it is very tough. However, despite all these challenges I use to say: in my 15 years of Angolan Public Television (TPA) journalism to date my loved and best job is done in *Domingo a Muangolé*.

4. **Interview with journalist 'Kaholo Nzinga (KN)***(Real name hidden for ethical reasons)*
   April 20ᵗʰ, 2016

JP: *Kaholo tell me what does Telejornal (TV News at 8pm) mean for you from your audiences' feedback?*

KN: You know, our *Telejornal* main objective is the protection and promotion of the Angolan State, specially the President José Eduardo dos Santos. We are committed to promote the leader who never was tired; a leader who had a clear vision, evident and magnanimous. It is about a leader who in 2002 forgave the remaining chief rebels' of UNITA after the death of their commander Jonas Savimbi in the Angolan civil war. Of course in such a context as journalist I am not free as it should be. Nevertheless there are some opening aspects within the framework that TPA intends to promote the Angolan State. I can say that I had to adapt myself to those circumstances in a way to develop my work to let Angolans with an idea about the country we broadcast. We broadcast an Angolan economic growth in two digits, a country with no crisis; a nation in process of reconstruction at all levels (schools, hospitals) and a better live that Angolan people will benefit. And so it is the superficial wellbeing we broadcast nationwide.

JP: *There is an idea according to which you do not narrate the real facts occurring in the country. Many of our interviewees said the real Angola was far from what Telejornal broadcast every day. Are there criteria or that is a result of decisions made by editors and producers?*

KN: There are no clear criteria because we have to cope with a kind of imposition from News director. *Telejornal*'s coordinator edit stories from the provinces or from the capital Luanda and after a meeting with editors, stories are submitted to News Director for corrections. And that was specially the headlines (no titles as it should be done by journalists) but promoting headlines that better represent the country. To let you have an idea of it, TV *News at 8pm* had to be edited until five minutes (7.55pm) before broadcasting. Very often presidential statements are given straight to presenters without any contact with the News editor and coordinator. Those stories usually come from the TPA News Director who at the same time is also a civil servant to the presidency. *News at 8pm* is roughly according to what the Head of State wants.

JP: *Why does Telejornal start always with President's stories?*

KN: That is because TPA has a special desk of journalists working every day to narrate the country from Presidency and government perspective. The coordinator of that desk is Journalist Gonçalves Nhajica who is also the Angolan Public Television (TPA) News

director. Apart from TPA equipment, Director Nhanjica has private cameras and chosen reporters who have always the first and last news stories from the Presidency. According to Nhanjica's team the Head of State is the first and most important person of the country and because of this, he must be always the focus and headlines of TPA's *Telejornal*. In the case that the presidency had no relevant stories worth of broadcasting this team of journalists had to search stories to convey and draw attention to the head of state. In my view this is a strategy to strengthen the president personality who needs more the media to be promoted than to promote himself through the work in behalf of the Angolan people.

JP: *Your audience members in Cubal and Kunhinga challenged by the water scarcity and power electricity shortage commented that Telejornal does not narrate their stories. Is it because you give less importance to rural stories or you have little time to include those stories in News at 8pm?*

KN: What often happen is that TPA has not its own plan. *Telejornal* Journalists are not encouraged to think about stories to broadcast. Directors' choices are more inclined in having the Angolan government agenda to make *Telejornal* guidelines from it. An example of this is when TPA receives an invitation that ministers' council will meet. TPA directors are more focused in making arrangements to attend this kind of event. Many stories from rural areas even though we know them, are not considered important. Things happen according to what TPA directors want.

JP: *Why did you generally not have a contradictory point of view in the News you broadcast?*

KN: That is not possible because the plan is to let audience know that government activities are all good.

JP: *A colleague of yours told me that Telejornal only narrate negative stories of the government if it has solution otherwise you people prefer to not address such story. Is it true?*

KN: Yes; and my discussions with the TPA News director were often about it. The trend is to broadcast projects that will be implemented and not facts. To me stories that have not yet happened are not news and in such perspective do not deserve to be broadcast because may not happen. We broadcast stories such as: *we will have power electricity from Lauca dam in 2017.* Stories like this are pretty and apparently interesting to broadcast. However we are

told to not broadcast stories about bad roads, power electricity shortages, scarcity of water. News producers could even edit stories like this and ready to broadcast, but News director did not allow and very often prefer to broadcast it in TPA programmes other than the privileged space of *Telejornal*. TPA News director has a kind of scissors to cut off unwanted stories.

5- Interview with journalist Teixeira Cândido (TC) *(Consent was given to use his real name)*

April 16th, 2016

JP: *How do you evaluate TPA Telejornal and Angolan public radio (RNA) News at 8pm?*

TC: These two public media (TPA and RNA) produce what I call administrative journalism. And what is it? If you are an observer of *Telejornal* you will acknowledge that a meeting of any ambassador with the Angolan Head of State has always priority. It becomes a headline. A story like this seems to be more important than an identity office flooded by people fighting to have access to national identity documents. A demolition of houses of citizens by heavy rains and an accident of vehicles killing ten to twenty people, for example, are set in second plan if compared to simple meeting of an ambassador with the Angolan President to let him know that his time in our country has finished. I call it administrative journalism.

This kind of journalism is basically composed by administrative news such as: ministers' counsel has approved anti-corruption law, a minister will inaugurate this or that infrastructure, minister X will travel overseas etc. And these stories take the lead in Telejornal while the conflict of land in Gambo's region, Huila Province for example, the scarcity of water, the emigration stories in diamond zones of Lunda, the ethnic conflicts between Bangalas and Cokwe communities brief the citizens daily life has little or no space in *Telejornal*.

Only when we heard in alternative media an interview with human rights activists like Rafael Marques people acknowledge the daily stories of Angolans in rural areas of Angola.

JP: *What reasons, in your opinion, are there for TPA and RNA not narrate the real country?*

TC: There are many reason to explain this situation. One of them is lack of means for

reporters. TPA has no reporters in all regions of Angola. It is easier for instance to send a reporter to Portugal to report presidential and legislative election than to send a journalist to Kuango municipality of Lunda Norte which is 600 to 700 kilometres from Luanda. Managers of TPA seem to not see it as priority. And you know why? It is because they are not interested to this kind of reportage? When journalists go in those regions the trend is to bring to light problems. And those problems represent negative aspects to the government that rules the country. TPA and RNA journalists only slightly address critical issues from rural regions when a governor or an administrator of a municipality talks about it.

JP: *In such environment how do you name Angola public television (TPA) and Angola National Radio (RNA)?*

TC: We call them public service broadcasting. The most recent and complete concept should be: Public media. The concept of public means one thing belonging to all. And this is the reason why it should not depend to a particular group but to all Angolans. I think the concept of public for TPA and RNA is the most complete. Imagine a public enterprise such us the oil company Sonangol belongs to all and so is the same with TPA and RNA. These media belong to all Angolans because we pay for it.

JP: *What concept of nation, in your opinion, do TPA and RNA News at 8pm broadcast,?*

TC: To acknowledge and accept the concept of nation broadcast in *Telejornal* it should bring all Angola cultural, linguistic and economic references. These aspects are what we call the nation. We do not need to speak the same language. However everybody have to feel addressed in *Telejornal (News at 8pm). elejornal* is not a tribal matter. Its contents have to be national.

JP: *Many people say Telejornal stories are more about the capital Luanda. Do you agree?*

TC: Absolutely yes. To travel to Cubal, Cunhinga and Gambos to research stories from people living in those regions and broadcast it in *News at 8pm* means to criticise the government. What TPA management want to broadcast are more stories about reconstruction and development of Angola. That means to show the palace, the new Kilamba city, for example, to let people with an idea that Angolan government is really working. For me if *Telejornal* could show problems happening in rural regions of the

country, Angolans could perceive how different the reality is? However it did not happen that way. This is the reason why people complain that *Telejornal* did not address what is really happening. As a result they do not believe in *Telejornal*.

JP: *Why do professional journalists accept it?*

TC: In one hand is to protect their job. In the other hand is because the country is politically tied. Managers, news directors either from TPA as from Private TV Zimbo are member of the Angola government. If you enter in contradiction with them you are sacked with no daily bread for your family. In such a context between speaking and silence professional journalists in TPA and RNA prefer silence. This attitude is rewarded with a house, a vehicle and healthcare.

Appendix IV: Samples of *News at 8pm*

1) Sample 2

Reporter Lopes Canhina (**RLC**): University student Marcelino Candjango (MC) from Huambo's province won first place in the third edition technology talent competition with the invention of an ecologic generator. The winner has explained what his invention is about:

MC, Digital Registry (**DR1**): This generator avoids pollution, and may help poor rural communities to power electricity with no need of any fuel or oil to function. And when it works one hundred percent it can produce 2040 power.

RLC: The second winner of this competition is a team of two telecommunication institute students (Tiago Muindo and Isabel dos Prazeres) with a domestic telecommunication mobile phone project whose object is the protection of human life because its wireless input activates doors and alarms. INFRASAT executive director Diogo Carvalho (**DC**) admitted there had been an improvement in the quality of work presented by the students:

DC (**DR2**): This is the third edition and in each of them, we felt that participants' quality products are improving every year.

RLC: The third technology talent competition was organized by INFRASAT and Angolan national radio station in Cacuaco's municipality of Luanda; greetings from the reporters Mario Mesquita, Osvaldo Alferes and Lopes Canhina (RNA, News at 8pm on 01/09/2015).

2) Sample 3

TPA presenter Ernesto Bartolomeu (PEB):

Good evening! The national state budget for 2016 was analysed today by the members of the economic commission and real economy of the Angolan ministers' counsel in the presidential palace in Luanda. I will come back later to this story with more details. Now let me first tell you that telephone operators in Angola could now have a signed license for landlines and cable TV. Telecommunication and information technology minister José Carvalho da Rocha (MJCR) asserts that the major Angolan government objective is to guarantee affordable prices to all consumers. Reporter Paulo Duda (RPD):

RPD: The 12th ordinary joint meeting of the economic commission and real economy of the ministers' counsel presided by the chief executive and Republic President JES analysed the establishing of a new method of access to airwaves frequencies and the auctioning of it.

MJCR: What we want is to see the market as customers who are able to access (from our mobiles in our pockets) the internet, calls, TV signals, all on just one device. To achieve it, we need a new paradigm in terms of a license in the way the operators may provide better services to our people. What will happen is we will have three big telephone companies providing all of these services with global licenses. As a result, we'll move in the near future TV and radio broadcasting on the analogic system to broadcasting in digitally with a large bandwidth, allowing more speed and more accessibility to the internet and this is what we, as citizens, need.

RPD: Will this new regime allow customers to access these services with affordable prices?

MJCR: Yes, what we want in fact is for the quality of services and prices of it to be more attractive to our people.

RPD: In this economic commission and real economy ordinary meeting of the ministers' counsel, participants evaluated ways to reform Angola Telecom, the public telephone enterprise, by selling part of its actives through a restructuring process in a way that allows private managers into it (TPA, News at 8pm, October 1, 2015).

3) Sample 4 (TPA)

Presenter Mario Vaz (PMV):

PMV: The Water for All project actually benefits more than three million inhabitants based on the results of the second semester published by the Angolan ministry of water and energy after the joint meeting of the economic commission and real economy of the Angolan ministers' counsel.

The Angolan State Secretary of Water, Luis Filipe, said the water for all project was aimed essentially at providing water to all rural communities in the country by 2017 and had benefited about 80% of the population by providing potable water.

State Secretary of Water, Luis Filipe, (LF) Digital Registry (DR), said: 'At this moment, we support about 3,400,000 inhabitants in variously implemented projects either through the opening of water holes that we call artisan holes or through small cisterns already

concluded.'

PMV: The Angolan government continues to work within the framework of the Water for All project. Water provision will be made at 400 points all over the country.

State Secretary of Water, (LF; DR): We have 2774 points of water provision concluded and we have 344 points of water provision in process and we'll open 490 when the economic conditions are right.

PMV: Water for All project is focused on small water tanks to provide water to Angolan communities.

LF; DR2: We have built about 885 small water tanks since the beginning of the project and we take water either from flowing rivers or from water springs. The project brings the component of water care and delivery to communities through fountains and sometimes at people's homes. The project's first priority is to provide water to infrastructure that has a social character, such as schools and hospitals since it has at least small water tanks even in rural areas or villages.

PMV: Tell us what is the percentage of coverage of this project in provinces other than the capital?

LF; DR3: The percentage of coverage is different from one province to another. In the Lunda Norte and Cunene provinces, for instance, we have reached 80%. There are other provinces where we have reached about 70%, and this is the case for Cuanza Norte and Bié, just to name these two.

PMV: The provinces of Uije, Malanje and Huambo have very a small percentage in terms of water provision. And the ministry of energy and water has guaranteed that he continues to work to create the technical and financial conditions for the next phases of the Water for All project. Operability and maintenance of water system is another challenge that the Angolan government hopes to overcome in a way that guarantees the longevity of this project in the long run (TPA News at 8pm, 23 December, 2015).

4) Sample 5 (TPA)

Presenter Mário Vaz (PMV): The Social Assistance Reinsertion Ministry (MINARS in Portuguese) controls 14 children's institutions in Cabinda province. Six of them are public institutions while eight are private. All of them together care for 2,680 children, up to five

years' old. MINARS minister João Baptista Kussumua (JBK), accompanied by Cabinda governor Albina da Lomba Katembo, have evaluated the work of 30 infancy educators and 74 inspectors and 104 social activists. The MINARS minister had been informed about the difficulties of those institutions in Cabinda province.

Infancy educator (DR1): We need money to maintain and purchase social equipment for our public children institutions and the institution should be implanted in all Cabinda's municipalities, as well as in districts and villages with considerably high population numbers.

Reporter's Voiceover: Apart from visiting children's institutions, the MINARS minister, JBK, also evaluated how first healthcare functions in the mother and children's hospital, Primeiro de Maio (First of May). Minister JBK congratulated Cabinda's provincial government for seeking to sort out problems in the children's care sector and he has promised to help the province in this aspect.

MINARS minister, (DR 2): I think the problems that the sector members have presented may have a solution. I just want to remind you of the context of the competency issues. These are issues that have to be sorted out within local government and I think in the way Mrs. Katembo's provincial Governor is dealing with it addresses government actions in various dimensions and she will, of course, list the questions raised during my visit.

Reporter's voiceover: In the provincial government, palace minister Kussumua has informed the Directive Counsel about the actual challenges of his ministry, the solution for which depends on the expansion of attendant equipment for young children, continuing support for the landmines clearance process, the training of technicians for social services, monitoring and evaluating programmes and projects, as well as production and coordination of help to communities (TPA, News at 8pm, 23 December, 2015).

5) Sample 6 (RNA)

Presenter Amilcar Xavier (PAX): The first MPLA (ruling party) political bureau of the Central Committee held its fourth ordinary meeting this Thursday in Luanda under the direction of its President and Angolan head of state, José Eduardo dos Santos (JES). Participants discussed the party's internal matters and the governance of the country. And in this last aspect, MPLA Political Bureau members discussed the executive macro-economic memorandum programme for 2015 and the operational plan for the available

Chinese credit funds. Political bureau members encouraged the Angolan government to continue implementing the housing national programme as well as the countering hunger and poverty plan to gain Angolan people's wellbeing.

I relation to the account of the MPLA party's internal matters, the political bureau members evaluated the plan for the first MPLA's cadres meeting, scheduled for the next October, with the objective of fostering a deep reflection about cadre policy in the actual context of Angola, touching aspects connected to their value and knowledge (…). The meeting has also approved the log mark for the seventh MPLA ordinary congress, scheduled from 17 to 20 of August 2016 under the slogan 'MPLA with the people to election victory (…) (RNA News at 8pm, on September 3, 2015).

6) **Sample 7 (from TPA)**

TV Presenter Ernesto Bartolomeu (PEB): The new official members of the presidency staff and diplomatic services members appointed recently have signed the possession act in the presence of the head of state, José Eduardo dos Santos; Reporter Silvia Samara (RSS).

RSS: The Angolan head of state has ratified the possession act of Fernando Faustino Muteka as a top adviser of the president; Norberto Garcia and Luis Domingos as technical unit director and as technical unit deputy director respectively of private investment to help the head of state evaluate and negotiate with foreign businessmen to invest in the Angolan economy. Norberto Garcia (NG), tell us about your new job?

NG: It is a big challenge. We have a responsibility to search and secure better investments abroad for our private sector and allow investors establish factories to produce goods in our country. This, I think, is truly important in the national reconstruction context of where we actually live.

RSS: The president of the republic has also appointed António Luvualu de Carvalho (ALC)* as Angolan itinerant ambassador. His priority is to improve Angola's external politics and to implement Angolan effort to maintain peace and stability in Africa.

ALC: My challenge is to maintain the Angolan external political dynamic. We know that our country has succeeded to being known as a peacemaker and a democracy promoter and this has become clearer in the ongoing United Nations General Assembly meeting now in New York, where Angola is receiving much praise from diverse country members as a promoter of peace. And so I will continue implementing this initiative.

RSS: ALC will implement various diplomatic missions under the Angolan chief executive's command.

PEB: Itinerant ambassador António Luvualu de Carvalho (ALC) was up to the beginning of this week one of the Angolan public TV analysts of News at 8pm for about three years. As a university teacher, he has helped TPA audiences to better understand internal and foreign political stories. Reporter Vladimir de Sousa (RVS):

RVS: ALC has arrived at the TPA as an analyst of political affairs of News at 8pm and he was quite good at commenting on stories happening in the country and abroad. His education and the solidity of his arguments made his name as a reference point in the TPA newsroom, from analysis to debate (…), with a good knowledge of various briefs. And because of his university role as a teacher, ALC helped TPA audiences to better understand the twists and turns of international politics (…).

PEB: The national State budget 2016, as I mentioned before, was analysed today in the presidential palace by the Economic Commission and Real Economy members of the ministers' counsel. The document has received income from public funds and expenses from diverse budgets of the state administration. Within the framework of monetary and exchange policy coordination, participants analysed proposals to increase money exchange strategies in the international market (TPA, News at 8pm on October 1, 2015).

7) Sample 8 (RNA)

RNA Presenter Antonio Muaxilela (PAM): Good evening … this is News at 8pm on the 10th of November 2015 in the Angolan National Radio Station (…).

The republic's president José Eduardo dos Santos (JES), will deliver tonight a speech on the Angolan nation on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of independence tomorrow. The speech can be heard on the Angolan public radio station from midnight.

Now let me tell you that the new National Assembly building was inaugurated today by the Angolan President JES. The inauguration happened within the framework of the 40th anniversary of the country's independence (…). The National Assembly president, Fernando Dias dos Santos (FDS), said that this infrastructure proves the reconstruction of the new Angola is taking place:

FDS (DR1): It is a pleasure and a great honour to see distinguished personalities here and once again let me emphasise the Angolan head of state, his excellency, President JES, whose personal effort was important for the construction of this magnificent building that welcomes all of us and has become a reality. I also welcome with special satisfaction the head of states and governments or their representatives here for breaking your schedules (…) to be here with us.

PAM: National Assembly president FDS also emphasised the fact that this new building represents the Angolan new generations that might know the history and sacrifices made to reconstruct the new Angola.

FDS, Digital Record **(DR2):** I hope members of parliament (MPs) working in this new building will be an example and inspiration to the new generations (…) to see in this house the long journey and great sacrifices endured by the Angolan people in the last 40 years to build up a prosperous and united Angolan nation, in peace, reconciled with the political and cultural diversity of our people, the human wealth of our social mosaic, with the equity in terms of gender here represented by MPs, from provincial to national representation. There are irrefutable proofs to elect this hemicycle as a pluralistic space for debate on ideas and action to live in freedom and communion, transforming our plenary as the first political debate space that dignifies and strengthens our Angolan new democracy.

PAM: The National Assembly president guarantees the quality of the MPs' work and approach to citizens:

FDS (DR3): This strong infrastructure will improve MPs' activities at the commission level (…) and the National Assembly as the legitimate representative of Angolan people continues to work to implement Angolan citizens' expectations through discussions and approving proposals, with the objective of improving the basic conditions of Angolan citizens.

I take this opportunity to advise all MPs that consensus must prevail for the common good and the democratic dynamic. Our compromise with our people must remain firm and present in our debates subjects of national and international interest, acknowledging that our good effort will contribute to the protection of peace and strengthen our convictions about citizens' fundamental rights and the national reconciliation process.

PAM: The National Assembly president, FDS, today after the inauguration of the National Assembly new building by the Angolan Republic President José Eduardo dos Santos.

8) Sample 9 (TPA)

TPA presenter Ernesto Bartolomeo (PEB) – Good evening! Republic president José Eduardo dos Santos says today that Angolans are a people open to innovation, cooperation and progress, attuned to their development and attentive to their rights. José Eduardo dos Santos announced this in a speech delivered during the official lunch he offered to heads of states and governments that attended the ceremony marking 40 years of our independence; reporter Gonçalves Nhangica (RGN)…

RGN – The celebrations of 40 years of independence is an occasion of satisfaction and joy for all Angolans. Palmeira Club's restaurant has hosted great personalities, such as presidents Jacob Zuma, of South Africa, Geingob of the Namibia Republic, Sassunguesso, of the republic of Congo, Mário Vaz, from Guine Bissau, Filipe Niusse of Mozambique, (….) many vice-presidents and prime ministers of some African states, first ladies, representatives of diverse institutions and international organisations who join the Angolans in a great celebration in which some nationalists who fought for the liberation of Angola were awarded. To the Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos, the presence of those prestigious guests dignifies the celebrations of November 11.

Republic President José Eduardo dos Santos (JES) – We thanks once more all solidarity and multiple help that our friends from African countries gave to the Angolan people in all stages of the fight for our national liberation. True friendships and the feeling of gratitude are also eternal for people. Those feelings may sometimes be dormant but they are always expressed on special occasions like these. This is the reason why in difficult moments, we rely on those who give us their unconditional support. We maintain good relations and cooperation with all people of the world from the perspective of reciprocal respect and mutual advantage.

RGN– The head of state said that peace has come to stay and for this reason, we pay tribute to those who dreamed of freedom for our motherland and strongly resisted during the course of our history.

JES – We are a people who are open to innovation, to cooperation and to progress, determined to develop and attentive to our rights. From our resistance, we won the independence because our fight and hope to a new future were our strategy to finally achieve peace in 2002. Peace came to stay definitely. Our country has entered on the road

of stability, security, national reconciliation, democracy and tolerance. We greet all who have dreamed of freedom and strongly resisted across our history, inspiring, with their example, the true Angolan patriots. We express our gratitude to the first president, Agostinho Neto, for the important job he has done in all of this process and we bow in memory of those who died for noble ideals. Today, as we announce these awards, we remember those who contribute to Angola becoming an independent, free and sovereign state. Seeing our awarded people here, we are reminded of our heroes' deeds, known and unknown, that made all efforts and sacrifices to let us know that their dreams became reality. I congratulate the present people who are being awarded. They deserve from us this award. Other awards of this kind will happen in other national history dates with significance for our nation.

Four decades after our independence, these examples must now inspire present and future generations in the economic development and social progress spheres to attain scientific and cultural objectives.

RGN– After the president's Speech and awards, there was an emotional moment where a symphonic band of children sung the happy birthday song for 40 years of independence for Angola and the national anthem. The minister of home affairs, Burnito de Sousa (BS), who has coordinated the celebrations of the 40 years of independence called the attention of Angolans to not destroy the process of peace through apparently democratic emotional initiatives.

BS– After the deep disappointment in 1992, Angola has achieved constitutional and democratic stability with the 2008 and 2012 elections and the next one scheduled for 2017, and reinforced representative institutions with the approval of the new constitution in 2010 (…) Angolans reject in this way initiatives that upset the regular electoral process like the Arab Spring, which happened in other countries in the north of Africa, that had transformed those countries for the worse. Let us not accept such an illusion, even though apparently democratic and how its promoters and protagonists present themselves. Let us not apply the technologies they use because its effects could be terrible and disastrous for all past achievements reached up to now. Our situation could become like that of Syria, Libya, etc… medium-developed countries that are literarily forced back into pre-history.

RGN – Does the youth have space to permanently seek the political and socio-economic country's progress?

BS – The pan-African generation that fought for territorial integrity were also young, some of them are here. However, the fight was to promote progress and not draw back with political incitements, insults or calls for change against the constitution. Our country needs unity, it needs a generation of citizens who will deal with the Angolan challenges of work and self-sacrifice, diversification of the economy, science and diversification of technology to improve the quality of our education and health and to improve the transparency of our public institutions. These will help to improve the distribution of national resources and, at the same time, improve. (TPA News at 8pm, November 11, 2015).