The politics of ethnic minority radio in South Africa.

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THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC MINORITY RADIO IN SOUTH AFRICA

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Certificate of Thesis

I certify that the ideas, research, results, and analysis and conclusion reported in this thesis are entirely mine, except where otherwise acknowledged. I further certify that this work is official and has not been previously submitted for any award, except where otherwise acknowledged.

Signature: ……………………………………….   Date: **June 2010**

Brilliant Mhlanga

Acknowledgements

DEDICATIONS

"I am yet to understand the mind of a human being, in particular, that of our Chief. I think so far it is a tragedy. Did you ever know that a human being can be a walking grave? But why is that so? Possibly, only in Heaven shall we find answers to such dilemmas." (Johannes Ben Mgqwetha Sigabade Mhlanga – **My father** - in his endless quest to grasp nature's challenge to our being, in both space and time). Johannes Ben Mgqwetha was the first philosopher I encountered as a Child growing up in rural Matebeleland – Dongamuzi, Lupane. Unfortunately, he never lived to find the answers to his philosophical inquiry. He died a tragic death, in a country that disowned him. Mgqwetha lived a philosophically poetic life and died tragically, leaving a trace of philosophical mysteries about mankind that today continue to perplex a sober mind. Such is the tragedy of life, its mysteries and philosophy. I dedicate this thesis to him.

I also dedicate this thesis to my beloved Brother, Nkosana Graduate Moyo and his wife, Nondlela Moyo (nee Dlamini).

As a rejoinder to my other works, I dedicate this thesis to Arnold Shepperson, whose tragic death, in October 2006, I still have not yet gotten over. Forever, I shall ponder the passing on of the good heart that he displayed while walking and working among us on earth. I shall continue to confess that during his life on earth, he traversed a thin line between genius and insanity; such was the calibre and intensity of his philosophical mind. A Scholar of notable attributes. However, I have learnt a lesson that it is for the ills of mankind that we live and in the same vein, for the ills of mankind we die.

Furthermore, I dedicate this work to all the children and the suffering people of Matabeleland to whom I am indebted for the cause they entrusted me with. I stand firm. Lastly, I dedicate this thesis to the victims and Survivors of the Gukurahundi Genocide. It is through their lenses that I derived this quest to understand ethnicity, its currencies as a natural gift and the structures created by mankind as platforms on which hatred can be created to criminalise and construct labels of 'othering.'

I was born and raised in a country where I belong to the subaltern; where my people are considered to be the 'toxic' 'other ethnie.' And so, as I share in my people's suffering, I am mindful of the fact that I am not Zimbabwean, but a 'Victim of Zimbabwe.' In remembrance of the suffering and toil my people have gone through, I envision them finally settling in their own land. Their story will linger in history, in time, and forever! It is a story whose meaningful solution will one day be translated into a bounty of happiness and harvested by posterity. For we have often lived to tell the tale of the hunted. That day is not far from now!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	African Broadcasting Corporation
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.
AMARC	World Association of Community Broadcasters
ANC	African National Congress
ANCFC	African National Congress Freedom Charter
ANP	Afrikaner National Party
AVF	Afrikaaner Volksfront
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BEAC	British East Africa Company
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CODESA	Convention for the Democratisation of South Africa
COM	Campaign for Open Media
COSATU	Congress of Trade Union of South Africa
COPE	Congress of the People
CPA	Communal Property Association
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSTV	Digital Satellite Television
FAWO	Film and Allied Worker's Organisation
FM	Frequency Modulation
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
GCEO	Group Chief Executive Officer
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
LSM	Living Standard Measure
MMPZ	Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe
M-NET	Electronic Media Network/MultiChoice
NBC	Namibian Broadcasting Corporation
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development.

NKCC	National Khoisan Consultative Council
NP	National Party
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PANSLAB	Pan South African Language Board
PSB	Public Service Broadcasting
RAMS	Research and Analysis of Media Results
RBF	Radio Broadcasting Facility
R&B	Rhythm & Blues
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
RM	Radio Mozambique
RSG	Radio Sonder Grense
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SABC-TV	South African Broadcasting Corporation-Television
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAFM	South African FM
SA	South Africa
SAARF	South African Advertising Research Foundation
SADF	South African Defence Forces
SASI	Southern African San Institute
SATRA	South Africa Telecommunications Regulatory Authority
SWAPO	South West African Peoples' Organisation
TV	Television
UNISA	University of South Africa
VASS	Association for Social Affairs
VOA	Voice of America
WWII	World War Two
XK FM	Xuntali and Khwedam radio station
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZBH	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings

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ABSTRACT

The discourse on the implications of ethnicised radio, for example, in the Nigerian ethnic conflicts, the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and in the Kenyan ethnic violence of 2008 have brought more focus on challenges involved with policing ethnic media and managing ethnic relations in contemporary Africa. This study focuses on attempts by the reformed South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), to develop and manage an ethnic minority radio sector in ways that would promote "simunye" or "national unity" as part of its public service mandate and to foster majority rule, in the post-1994 period with the objective of building a "rainbow nation". The South African case is chosen on account of its long and complex history of apartheid and the overt use of ethnicity for political purposes. Further, it is informed by the post-apartheid efforts to emphasize the centrality of ethnicity; as part of the pluralist policies furthering the neo-liberal economic agenda. My research in 2008-2009 involved five carefully selected ethnic minority radio stations (*Lotus FM, Munghana Lonene FM, Phalaphala FM, Radio Sonder Grense FM (RSG)* and *X-K FM*), all owned and managed by the SABC as part of its public service mandate. Using a case study research methodology, the study investigated the development of ethnic minority radio broadcasting policies in post-apartheid South Africa, in the context of residual and incremental broadcasting policy models from the apartheid era. The nexus of ethnic minority radio and nationalism cohesion is a huge challenge in many other African countries and South Africa's attempts at radio pluralism are a cautious walk on a tight rope given their history, which much like her economy, have local, regional and global aspects. Various theories are used as a conceptual framework; the public service broadcasting (PSB); models of ethnic minority media; and theories of ethnicity and nationalism. The study shows the challenges faced by PSBs in an African context. The discussion also involves the role of radio in the construction of a transient national identity and nation-building as a process. The main findings included the simmering tensions, intense politics and rivalry between groups running the ethnic minority radio stations. The appointment of top SABC personnel on ethnic basis feeds into the perceptions of ethnic relations at the stations and the marked feelings of ethnic consciousness at the radio stations that ubiquitously feed into the 'rainbow nation' project as part of the 'retribalisation' process. It affirms the rights of ethnic minorities to communicate through radio in their own languages within a multi-ethnic society; thereby giving meaning to its enigmatic instance. However, South Africa's bold experiment with cultural pluralism in the radio sector offers Africa a delicate but workable way of dealing with ethnicity in public radio broadcasting. This research is an original analysis of policies, politics, history and aspects on the continuity of the ethnic radio sector in a local but rapidly globalising context. The study is important for its epistemological rethinking of public broadcasting and ethnicity in a non-Western context.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING: INTRODUCING THE STUDY

> Nothing so readily places a voice on the national sound stage as its language of address. That language may already connote a particular group or else an alliance of forces may coalesce to identify it as its proprietary badge. To broadcast in one language is to fail to broadcast in another and that is always taken as a message (Fardon and Furniss 2000: 03).

1.1 Introduction: Mapping the Terrain

This thesis seeks to engage the subject of ethnicity through the lenses of radio broadcasting, another medium of communication which has been neglected, in most African media studies in favour of the breathtaking developments in information and communication technologies. However, this recent 'obsession' with new technologies ignores the widening digital divide and the 'epileptic' nature of ICTs in Africa (Nyamnjoh 2005), which returns a large proportion of those in African communities to the trusted medium, radio broadcasting. In support of the above, David Edgerton (2007: 11) in discussing technology since 1900, writes that human nature has it that new technologies are embraced as 'technologies of choice' and with suspicion. But when it comes to making sense of their world and the fulfilment of a task, people almost always revert to their technologies of necessity. He then gives an example of how even in 'suicide cases', despite all the latest developments in technologies, people still prefer 'hanging and strangulation' (Edgerton 2007: 11) as the tried and tested technologies of necessity. Radio continues to occupy that space as the tried and tested technology of necessity.

However, before engaging on these developments and ultimately on radio broadcasting which is my main focus, mention has to be made that South Africa boasts of having a competitive, rich and thriving media landscape. Global media trends and their influence on the South African media landscape also have to be acknowledged. A lot of literature has been written about the media in South Africa, focusing on different types of media; television, print media (press, magazines etc), cinema and the entire subject of media studies (cf. Tomaselli 1989, 2001, Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli 1996, Zegeye & Harris 2003, Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman & De Beer 2007, Wasserman & De Beer 2009, Wasserman 2010). Some scholars have further explored South Africa's media influence and power within Sub-Saharan

Africa and at global level, including the impact of new technologies (cf. Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman & De Beer 2007, Tomaselli 2000, Mjwacu 2003, Wasserman 2003). This study therefore seeks to make a case for radio broadcasting in South Africa, despite the fast paced growth of technological advances, such as digital satellite television (DStv), sponsored by M-Net and in particular platforms, like MultiChoice and Supersport, that have positioned themselves to distribute their '…own media content as well as content from global networks to African audiences across the continent' (Thussu 2007: 06).

According to Daya Thussu (2007: 14), M-net stands as a pan-African transnational network which falls within the typology of contra- (subaltern) flows. M-Net and MultiChoice, as part of South Africa's booming media industry, enjoys broadcasting American content from channels like Discovery, National Geographic, Hallmark, History Channel, etc. However, acknowledgement is made of its expansion beyond Africa, into countries like Greece, China and Thailand, in the mid-to the late 90s (Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman, De Beer 2003: 156). The latter development deserves special mention as an example of a contra- (subaltern) flow.

Then, in the telecommunications industry, South African companies, like Telkom, MTN and Vodacom have emerged as giants on the African continent. Telkom has become one of Africa's leading telecommunications companies. As a national service provider, its drive to incorporate various corporate strategies to maintain its market grip and development, coupled with a marked technological convergence deserves special attention (Mhlanga 2006). However, we must also mention that, due to its various market strategies, Telkom has earned South Africa a profile as the leading country in telecommunications in Africa, with cellular service providers, like Vodacom, MTN and Cell C, leading MTN's social corporate social responsibility strategies across the African continent have not gone unnoticed; for example, the grand sponsorship of various activities, including the African Cup of Nations Football tournament. Telkom, on the other hand, possesses 40% of all telephone lines on the African continent (Mhlanga 2006: 128). This growth is further characterised by marked increase in levels in the telecommunications sector linked to significant global changes in the institutional environment governing the sector; that is, the International Telecommunications Union (ITU).

Other technological developments, for example, within SABC, include advances in television services, with most of SABC's three television channels (SABC-1, 2 and 3) accessible on MultiChoice in the Sub-Saharan region. SABC-TV 2 performs the role of a pan-African television station which broadcasts across the

African continent. Furthermore, most radio stations owned by SABC are accessible online, with Channel Africa, a pan-African radio station broadcasting live on three platforms; shortwave, satellite and internet, across the African continent. These developments have continued to locate South Africa within the global media landscape. Herman Wasserman (2010) further adds that in print media South Africa currently enjoys a very rich variety of newspapers with a thriving market for both tabloid and 'quality' newspapers (Wasserman 2010).

Following the discussion above, this study will therefore investigate ethnic minority radio stations in South Africa that exist under the auspices of a public broadcaster. The study therefore seeks to create a deep-seated engagement with policy issues in the South African Broadcasting Corporation and its management of ethnic minority radio stations. Its major focus, therefore, is on the policy makers, the politicians, the public broadcaster; South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) management, the SABC board, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) and the radio station management and staff from a selection of radio stations. The study also investigates whether there is uniformity in approaches used by the few selected radio stations. In contextualising this thesis, it is also imperative to further ground and define my working definition of policy. As used here policy refers to the increasingly routinized human activities and ways of life within a given context. In this case, my context is the South African public broadcasting arrangement; that is, the radio broadcasting ambit vis-à-vis ethnicity and the challenge of state formation as an on-going process. In that view James Midgley (2000: 03) adds that '...routinization is particularly noticeable in formal organisations, and…is essential to their functioning', especially government related organisations. In further acknowledging Midgley's position on routinization it would suffice to present his incisive position that;

> Routinization is achieved through the formulation and implementation of policies. Policies are statements that prescribe courses of action in organisation. They govern the internal functioning of organisations, their external relations, and the way they attain their goals. They are codified in documentary form and facilitate standardised decision making. The implementation of policies is known as administration. Management is the direction of policy implementation.

Following this incisive engagement of policy and how it is translated, this study will engage SABC as a public broadcaster with an open eye for routinized activities that have been followed over time. Using five selected ethnic radio stations as case studies, the study presents a case for ethnic minority media. By so doing it investigates the policy models that have been employed by the SABC following the continuation of some of these ethnic radio stations from apartheid. Furthermore, a

typology of ethnic minority radio will be provided following Stephen Riggins' (1992) categorisation, to assist with this critical projection into ethnic minority media. In order to ensure the feasibility of such an ambitious project, five radio stations were analysed as ethnic minority radio stations, and also as decentralised public service broadcasters. These are; a) *Munghana Lonene FM* - for the Tsonga people - located in Polokwane, Limpopo Province, which also covers Gauteng Province, in particular Johannesburg, some parts of Mpumalanga Province, and is also transnational, since it is beamed into Mozambique and Swaziland (see appendices for spectrum coverage); b) *Lotus FM* - for the Indian community - mainly located in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal Province, but which also covers coastal areas, like Port Elizabeth in Eastern Cape Province, Cape Town in Western Cape Province and Johannesburg in Gauteng Province (see appendices for the map of spectrum coverage); c) *Phalaphala FM* – for the Venda people - located in Polokwane, Limpopo Province, which also covers Johannesburg, Gauteng Province and has transnational coverage which extends into Zimbabwe, Beitbridge area (see Appendices for the map of spectrum coverage); d) *Radio Sonder Grense (RSG) FM* - broadcasts for Afrikaans speakers. These include the coloured communities[1] that are commonly referred to as 'people of the brown dialect', and the traditional white Afrikaner community, commonly referred to as, 'people of the white dialect'[2] (see also Leon 1998: 59). The station is located in three provinces; Gauteng, Eastern Cape and Western Cape (see Appendices for the map of spectrum coverage).[3] *RSG FM* is headquartered in Johannesburg, Gauteng Province. The fifth station which is part of this case study research, is *X-K FM* for the !Xû and Khwe people located in Platfontein; a small area ten kilometres outside Kimberley, Northern Province. Its broadcasting spectrum covers a catchment area of 30-50km outside Platfontein. The two ethnic groups being served by the station historically migrated into South Africa from Angola and Namibia in the late nineties with the help of the South African Defence Forces (SADF), which had occupied those countries during the colonial era (Douglas 1996, Voster 1994, Lee & Hitchcock 2001). Upon arrival, they were granted citizenship which enabled them to live and work in South Africa and were first settled in Schmidtsdrift (Northern Province) (Mhlanga 2009, 2006). When the new majority government took over, they were then resettled in Platfontein.

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[1] Coloured people in the South African sense are people of mixed parentage. They are also granted space in the South African constitution as a group of people that was previously disenfranchised.
[2] Information from the programme Manager of RSG FM, Terrance April on February 2, 2009.
[3] Information obtained from the Station Manager, Magdaleen Kruger on February 2, 2009.

These ethnic minority radio stations will be placed beneath the microscope of notions of community and public radio stations in a bid to grasp the salient facts that may have led to their continuation. However, the study will concentrate more in dealing with these radio stations as ethnic minority radio stations. As a disclaimer, Stephen Riggins (1992: 02) makes the contribution that an 'ethnic group' is not a synonym for minority. He adds that 'we are all ethnic…nor should it be assumed that only minority identity is fragile. Majority identities are also poorly defined, ambiguous, and are no doubt composed of conflicting values.' With this position as a point of departure, it is therefore clear that in a question dealing with ethnic minority issues, issues that relate to the majority tend to be acknowledged. However, the latter is not the focus of my study. At least, following Stephen Riggins' assertion, it would suffice to say his simple statement will form the point of departure as the basic locus of enunciation for this study.

An analysis of SABC's residual and incremental policy model will be undertaken (cf. Midgley 1987). In brief; residual policies are those that act, or are perceived to be, relics of previous policies. In the case of South Africa, these are policies that were formulated and implemented by the apartheid regime, notwithstanding the reasons and causes for their formulation at the time, they were later embraced by the new leadership in the post-1994 transformation process and this makes them residual. Of the five selected radio stations, the following serve as examples of the residual policy model: *Munghana Lonene FM, Phalaphala FM, Lotus FM, RSG FM*. Residual policy models sometimes tend to have both negative and positive policy feedback. Their major advantage, however, tends to be that they already exist complete with their own structures, and so it becomes much easier for a new regime to engage them and transform them for its cause. Then, incremental policy models, as the name suggests, are usually new and formulated by the state, partly as a continuation, but they are developed incrementally; in this case an analysis of the post-1994 democratic South African state is when they keep adding new radio stations to the already existing pool of stations. *X-K FM* is a new ethnic minority radio station that was established in 2000. It presents an example of an incremental policy model. As a result this study investigated the politics and character of these ethnically motivated and ethnic community-focused radio stations in the post-1994 South African context.

It is imperative, from the onset, to state that while this is a policy study which focuses on ethnic minority radio from the projections of policy makers (at SABC Headquarters, the Ministry responsible, and the Independent Communications

Authority of South Africa (ICASA). The five ethnic minority radio stations have been selected as policy implementers and the study also attempts to project into the far reaching depths of the target ethnic communities. The study will tease out certain salient issues about ethnic vs. nation-state relations in South Africa. It is this study's ambitious projections which also buoy up its uniqueness as a policy study. Furthermore, as stated above, the notion of ethnic minority radio, in the ambit of a public broadcaster, adds to the study's uniqueness.

More often, policy studies of this nature tend to be institutional without seeking to understand the point of synapse, for example, between the radio presenter, as both a policy implementer and a member of the ethnic community. In this interlocking situation, the research clearly showed that presenters carried with them a multiplicity of characters and social identities. The two main ones were intriguing within my research; first the presenters, while seen as policy implementers employed by SABC, they are still members of the target ethnic minority communities which, through socialisation, have inculcated in them contextualised phanerons of the self and their peoplehood as members of ethnic communities.[4] Second, the presenters, as members of the various ethnic radio stations' staff complement under the employ of the public broadcaster, SABC. They are thus duty bound to act as professionals in the service of their employer, the SABC, and their ethnic minority communities, and they have to skilfully criss-cross and negotiate this cultural double bind. There is also a need to critically engage the point of synapse between policy formulation and implementation as two worlds that may live side-by-side while being in conflict, especially as influenced by changing times, space and ethos.

A statement of caution on this study as a journey should apply when I present my findings on the impact of these ethnic minority radio stations on their target ethnic communities. This is merely a flash-forward, taken from the radio stations' staff (presenters) and management (my research respondents). Since I had the benefit of visiting some of the presenters in their villages and townships, from these visits I was also able to glean the conditions from which they came, their worldviews and

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[4] A phaneron is a state of the mind that acts as the 'script' for the interpretation of daily experiences (Tomaselli 1999). It is not something that we are always categorically conscious of. Individuals do not go around re-learning the meaning of objects of their experience, but the mind holds a 'scripted state' which guides behaviour. The basic premise of the phaneron is the phenomenological experience that human beings bring to social interaction. Whatever human beings encounter as objects of experience is interpreted within an already existing frame of reference. This frame is the phaneron/script which invokes certain sentiments particular to ones designed through socialization. The encountering of objects, therefore, is categorized in forms of a sign, index and symbol. This is because reality is experienced as symbolic (see Hannah Arendt, (1958).The Human Condition, Barthes 1993, Lengwe John-Eudes Kunda 2009).

community life-worlds. The two variables are also very important in our understanding of policy issues (cf. Long 1992). This policy study, therefore, has the capacity to project into these communities, using the 49 presenters that were interviewed during the course of this research, as my lenses. However, as policy research, this study is bound to falter, but that will be left for other researchers, to pick up from where I end. In particular, the need for an audience study, which is not my focus here, will be left for other researchers to pursue.

The following sections will attempt to break the ground by briefly engaging with the history of South Africa's nuanced politics, also giving reasons for the choice of topic. Each section will further be subdivided into different sections to give the reader easy access.

1.2 Reasons for choosing the topic

Although this thesis has chosen to focus on the issue of ethnic minority radio stations that exist as decentralised public broadcasters, I am mindful of South Africa's flourishing media industry – especially commercial media. Issues of ethnic minority media, in particular public radio broadcasting, are of major interest here. Further, South Africa's social transformation process presents an interesting case for analysis, when one critically engages ethnicity and minority language issues; their relationship with public radio broadcasting. It is this organisation at state level that is of interest here without focusing on global media trends.

As presented above, I am aware of global media trends and how they continue to influence the media landscape in South Africa. As a result, it may be asked; why the choice of public service broadcasting in the era of rabid global technological advances that cast a ghost figure to state owned broadcasting in favour of commercial broadcasting? As will be seen in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Eight, public radio with all its challenges continues to occupy its space in the normative responsibility and role of the media in society. Above all, if properly managed, in an ideal situation, a public broadcaster does not only become the soul of the nation but the conduit by which the total summation of people's hopes and aspirations are communicated to the rulers and vice-versa. It is the democratic channel through which political leaders embark in a symbiotic relationship with the citizens as active participants in the process of governance. In the case of South Africa's ethnic groups and the challenge of vestigial apartheid structures public service broadcasting remains a necessity. However, there is need to guard against its transformation towards being a tool for propagating state ideologies as has happened in most African countries. But for the

cause of nation-building project and state formation as an on going process, a public broadcaster which is not subject to the caprices of advertises and interests of big businesses as seen with commercial broadcasting is needed. In African, given the 'curse and bondage of fictitious colonial' boundaries (Mazrui 1994, Davidson 1992), a public broadcaster remains a necessity. This is also due to the fact that the state is constantly facing recrimination to its national project with more challenges posed by the nature of nationalism. Further, if properly managed, a public broadcaster can help in managing ethnic rivalry for the cause of conviviality among different ethnic groups (Nyamnjoh 2010).

Also it is worth emphasizing that public service broadcasting provides citizens with the existentialist responsibility to fully participate in the process of governance and managing their affairs. Unlike what has been seen in countries like Zimbabwe, a public broadcaster has an all embracing citizenry controlled role to play as opposed to being the ideological state apparatus (cf. Althusser 1971) and a tool for political legitimation processes. In the case of South Africa, broadcasting mirrors the state's new liberal economic policies, various broadcasting tiers exist, the most prominent being; public service, commercial and community broadcasting. Furthermore, given the decentralised form of public broadcasting in which each ethnic group has a radio station of its own a public radio (broadcaster) is seen as offering a voice for the people. And so, different ethnic 'voices' are projected in a state with a view to constantly influence governance and preserve ethnic group interests in a state.

According to Nick Couldry (2010) the 'voice' matters, especially its political expression as people communicate their needs in an entrenched system of inequalities. Public service broadcasting 'ideally' is meant to provide that space and act as a voice. Taken further, when the voice is seen this way it forms part of a process. But it is imperative to further stretch to understanding 'voice as value.' In the latter, Couldry says;

> Treating voice as a value means discriminating in favour of organising human life and resources that, through their choices, put the value of voice into practice, by respecting the multiple interlinked processes of voice and sustaining them, not undermining or denying them....Valuing voice then involves particular attention to the conditions under which voice as a process is effective, and how broader forms of organisation may subtly undermine or devalue voice as a process (2010: 02).

Following the above sociological positioning of the 'voice' it can be argued that public broadcasting adds value to the different ethnic minority voices. Further, it sustains them within a given organisational structure of broadcasting.

But at the same time, as will be discussed in Chapter Eight, public broadcasting can provide a hegemonic structural arrangement through which voices are gradually negated, managed and controlled with the aim of projecting a particular perspective. In the case of South Africa, the projected worldview becomes the 'Rainbow Nation' – a perspective which serves the purpose of presenting an ostentatious picture of the nation-state and not the various ethnic groups constituting it. However, public service broadcasting continues to be a necessary structure in Africa, more-so given the global challenges that seem to want to sink the position of collective society in favour of the individual following the liberal economic agenda. If properly managed, a public broadcaster when blended with ethnic diversity, can lead to a form of cultural tourism in which different ethnic groups stand to benefit, thus benefiting society as opposed to the individual.

In view of the interdisciplinary nature of issues at hand, this thesis' entry point into media studies is via a political gate, particularly focusing on identity and nation-building and the rights of ethnic minorities to communicate in their own languages within the multi-ethnic and multi-racial society of South Africa that claims to respect diversity. South Africa is unique in that it has eleven official languages that are still competing for airspace. In view of these developments I was forced to ponder on the question: How is this society, which prides itself as being a 'Rainbow Nation', affording airspace to all the officially recognised languages? This provoked my interest in understanding the politics behind the existence of ethnic minority radio stations as a means to acknowledge and cement this idea of the 'Rainbow Nation.' Research into this subject was further provoked by the fact that these radio stations have their roots in the apartheid era. I had to ask another question: Why, then, did the post-apartheid state not abolish them as seedbeds of ethnic nationalism, since their presence has been deplored in other African scenarios? This question is related to broadcasting trends elsewhere in Africa, as shown in Chapters Four and Five.

In line with the above positions, the uniqueness of my case study, South Africa, is that it is quite clear that nation-building is not placed under the monolithic nationalistic lens. These monolithic lenses, as seen across Africa, have particularly been encouraged by the liberation ethos that is hinged on the dictum, 'for the nation to live, the tribe (ethnicity) must die.'[5] However, in the case of South Africa, the new

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[5] This slogan meant encouraging unity in oneness, in the process criminalising and excoriating ethnicity as backward forms of tribalism. It was popularised by most left leaning liberation movements in Africa. It even became more popular during Amilcar Cabral's revolutionary leadership in Guinée Bissau, for more information refer to Jihan El Tahri (2007). *Cuba Une Odyssée Africaine: Che*

mindset seems to suggest that 'for the nation to live, everybody must be included.' In that regard, South Africa, therefore, is a typical critic of the monolithic presentation of an ideal nation-building process. Possibly, one may conjecture here that this uniqueness is also aggravated by the fact that South Africa as a late decoloniser has been able to assess the pitfalls of denying the existence of ethnicity in other African countries and set out to do things differently. As a result of being a new decoloniser, monolithic national culture is now being turned into an issue of the previous era. By encompassing everybody; that is, allowing for the celebration of ethnic diversity, we see the creation of a PSB in which all ethnic groups are represented (Lekgoathi 2009).

Without seeking to dramatise South Africa's uniqueness, hence its interest as a case study, it must be emphasised that, unlike most Sub-Saharan states that settled for 'nativised' naming of the state, with the name of the state, usually taken from the major ethnic group, South Africa opted for mere geographical cardinal locations. Unlike other African states, where the naming of the state used a name from a major ethnic group was seen to be part of the decolonisation process, yet caused internal turmoil among the new citizens, South Africa's approach to using the geographical location as a name has been further translated into eleven official languages. Of the eleven languages, English is the main language of business transaction; conversely it stands out as the main beneficiary in terms of usage unlike most other ethnic languages (cf. Mazrui and Mazrui 1998, Leon 1998, Moyo 2010). Further, the fact that the name of the country, to start with, is merely a geographical location presents a unique case. It can be further projected that in this scenario the English, Afrikaners and black Africans continue to contribute to balancing the nation-state. Further, the notion of continuity is witnessed.

Apart from the fact that ethnicity has often been considered anathema to the nationalist cause across Africa, South Africa's uniqueness is that by learning from other African countries, they instead decided to acknowledge ethnic identities, at the same time contradicting the ideals of the ANC Charter[6] on which the social transformation process was rooted. The 'charterist nationalism' which buoyed the social transformation process denounced race-inclined nationalism in the same way as it dismissed ethnic nationalism (Wesemüller 2005). Could this have been a deliberate move aimed at gradually coming back to a nativist form of African nationalism,

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Guevara, Fidel Castro, Patrice Lumumba, Amilcar Cabral, Agostinho Neto, Congo, Guinée Bissau, Angola: 1961-1991. Paris: Temps Noir Big Sister – ITVS – BBC.
[6] As espoused in the ANC People's Charter of 1955. The charter's preamble captures the spirit that influenced the social transformation.

which was later introduced by Thabo Mbeki? These and other questions to be asked later have influenced this thesis' entry into media studies through the political gate.

However, I remain mindful of the 'accusation' that this thesis leans too much towards politics and, somehow, neglects media studies. Indeed, it is a plausible challenge, but one that ignores the centrality of media studies in politics, and vice-versa, in particular when ethnicity becomes an added facet. I find it tempting to seek for support from Crawford Young who, in his narration of encounters with naked ethnicity in Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo, in the 1970s opines that, '…I found particularly perplexing and elusive: defining the role and scope of ethnicity as a determinant behaviour and conflict: Extant paradigms of nationalist politics offered no conceptual basis for incorporating into the pattern of explanation a factor whose central importance was reconfirmed by daily observation' (1976: 03). This statement might seem old and far fetched, since it was written in the '70s, but what of one in which one of my respondents, an official at SABC strongly intervened that,

> …if you want to build a strong nation, it has become clear now that you can only ignore ethnicity and minority languages at your own peril. In South Africa, we have the advantage as a new nation of being born when all nations were already born, so we learnt lessons from them. One major lesson is how to encourage ethnic diversity and yet still celebrate our nation and its ethos. We call that unity in diversity.' [7]

This thesis has been inspired by the fact that, 'ethnicity in Africa is more than a mere relic from the past. It is at the heart of the everyday realities of morality, accountability and representation and, as such, needs to form the bedrock of any realistic political theory of the continent' and cannot ignore that fact of life (Chabal 2009: 06). In view of Chabal's intervention it can be further suggested that media and politics are inextricably intertwined, particularly where nation building is at the centre and political elites are engaged in a ceaseless effort to unite races and ethnicities. In such a situation, media, especially public radio broadcasting, tends to be organised in a particular way to mediate the nation. SABC serves as an example, with its slogan *'Broadcasting for Total Citizen Empowerment.'* [8] In acknowledgement of this fact, Daya Thussu (2009: 02), quoting from Silverstone, acknowledges that media in society act as a contributor 'to our variable capacity to make sense of the world, to make and share its meanings.' In Thussu's view, it is in this ubiquity and complexity,

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[7] This statement was echoed by Zolisile Mapipa, one respondent with whom I enjoyed my encounter, in particular with his intellectual engagement with my research. Zolisile Mapipa is the Programme Strategist for Public Service Broadcasting Radio. I interviewed him in February 2009, in Johannesburg, South Africa.

[8] For more information on this slogan see the following website:
http://www.sabc.co.za/portal/site/sabc/menuitem.3eb4c4b520e08a22f22fa121a24daeb9/

its interlocking with the centrality of our everyday lives, that we must understand media with all their social, cultural and economic dimensions. This, to me, provides a strong grounding for my point of entry into media via the political gate, given that this thesis also deals with media vis-à-vis power relations.

Furthermore, given the surge in media scholarship and on the global stage of technological innovation highlighted in the section above, my focus will shift towards radio broadcasting and, in particular, ethnic minority media. Had resources permitted I could possibly have added new technologies and global trends, but the requirements and demands of a thesis at this level; that is, the limitations in terms of space, time and word limits, since resources did not permit it. It is, however, not that one is not aware of these global media trends, flows and developments. As shown above, I am aware of them, but they are not the focus of my study. My study seeks to make a case for the centrality of radio broadcasting in post-apartheid South Africa; a country with 50% of its population living below the poverty line,[9] with 109, 9% or 14, 7 million radio sets in South African households, thus clearly implying that radio is the most listened to medium of communication.[10] Furthermore, South Africa's rural poverty-stricken population is estimated at between 40-49% of the total. This implies that radio especially that which broadcasts in their own ethnic language becomes their basic source of information. Given the unemployment rate of over 24%, it also becomes difficult for most of them to have access to other forms of media, like television and newspapers. This is further exacerbated by the remote nature of rural areas. In support of this view, Nkonko Kamwangamalu (2003: 233) and Last Moyo (2010: 427) adds that radio broadcasting seems to have excelled as both a medium and platform for ethnic and linguistic minorities, especially in encouraging the celebration of their cultures, but the experience of television has been poor. Kamwangamalu adds that 'in spite of the change from apartheid to democracy, the indigenous African languages remain marginalised (by television and higher education), much as they were in the apartheid era' (2003: 233). For example, SABC television has continued to sideline ethnic minority languages, to the extent of prompting some sections of society to begin calling for ethnic minority television

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[9] For more information please refer to: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sf.html

[10] This information was obtained from Mpho Mokone of South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) on 16 September 2009. Further information was obtained from the AMPS 2010 Branded BA (Jul. 2009 – June 2010). The weighting used configures household from 15+ years. This means respondents start from 15+.

stations in the same way as there are ethnic minority radio stations.[11] This information provides a case for radio and is quite telling about the state of radio broadcasting in South Africa. It further compounds Louise Bourgault's (1995) and Fardon and Furniss' (2000) assertion that radio broadcasting continues to occupy a central position as the major medium in Africa. South Africa is, therefore, not a peculiar case, given that even the digital gap between the rich and the poor continues to be wide.

However, it is worth acknowledging that South Africa has moved mountains in seeking to balance ethnicity and manage ethnic minority issues and rights. Even during the CODESA negotiations, this issue became one major item on the transitional agenda. Given the fact that South Africa during apartheid was under the tight grip of the Afrikaner ethnic minority group and, partly, other white ethnic minorities who converged on the use of English as their language of communication, the Convention for Democratic South Africa (CODESA) era, as a watershed stage of transition, found itself having to deal with the issue of ethnic minority groups and, in particular, in the safeguarding of their languages. Similarly, Last Moyo (2010: 426) trenchantly writes;

> CODESA aimed to ensure that most of the democratic values, especially the respect for minority rights, became the hallmark of the new post-apartheid dispensation. This was done partly to allay the White minority fears of the retributive backlash from the Black majority who were the victims of the apartheid system……the agenda-setting in the negotiations was actually based on direct influence from the lobby groups that represented the economic, political and cultural interests of the Afrikaner and English people. As minorities they had more to lose if change was spontaneous, unnegotiated and revolutionary.

The suggestion above presents an interesting thesis on ethnic minority issues; especially the views that while the creation of a post-apartheid landing pad and constitutional safeguards was intended for Afrikaner and English people, its catchment area tended to benefit other ethnic minority groups. Tony Leon (1998: 57) in his argument around the need to protect Afrikaans and all other language rights, shares the same view. He adds that,

> A language does not become a living, breathing, growing thing merely because it is officially recognised. A language lives because it is used and respected…..if it is not used and respected it can die despite all the constitutional guarantees in the world, choked by the restrictions of practicality. The future of Afrikaans and other African languages in South Africa will not be determined by legal and philosophical debates about group or individual rights. It will be determined by the actions and decisions of the government, business and those who hold the language dear.'

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[11] This information was shared with me by two senior officers at SABC, one being the Head of Radio News and Current Affairs, the other being the Group Executive News and Current Affairs.

From this, it is clear that in a new dispensation there was a need for constitutional safeguards for Afrikaans, as the language of the former coloniser and the colonised (Zegeye & Harris 2003: 14), especially the coloured communities. It must be highlighted that this forms a point of departure from the attitudes of most other African nation-states as they emerged from colonial rule. While ethnic minority language issues were important, most tended to take the language of the departing colonial administration as the language of business, thereby directly or indirectly making it official. For other ethnic minorities, it became easy to coerce governments to take on the language of the majority ethnic groups. However, for business, English, French and occasionally Portuguese, have been the greatest beneficiaries of these policies (Mazrui and Mazrui 1998). In the case of South Africa, however, a new challenge was obtaining whereby Afrikaans, a home grown language which is partly a dialect of Dutch, but has grown out of its mix with other African languages, could not be considered as the language for business. This new policy implied that Afrikaans, as both a language and an ethnic group, was being demoted. In view of this development, Ali and Alamin Mazrui (1998: 205) ask whether Afrikaans 'should be treated as just another 'native vernacular'? In response to the question about whether Afrikaans should now be viewed in the same light as other African indigenous languages. One coloured presenter,[12] who was interviewed at *RSG FM,* summed it up as follows;

> Afrikaans is our language. We can claim ownership as Coloured people. We developed it. When Whites came they only spoke Dutch, etc. Us, their off spring, produced a mixture of these languages. An amalgamation of languages taken from our black mothers, who were either San, Khoe or other Bantu languages fused with the Dutch to produce a brand of it commonly referred to as 'Fanikalo.' Out of 'Fanikalo', Afrikaans was born. But because White people are academic, they started to develop it at that level. They put the comma & full-stops, and then claimed it was theirs thereafter. The truth is, we are the original speakers of Afrikaans. In that case, we are the rightful owners of RSG FM.

This is a well intentioned and pertinent debate, but this study will not seek to partake further than this, since its focus is on ethnic minority radio. The intention of raising it thus far was to locate this study of ethnic minority radio stations within the matrix of South Africa's ethnic language policy and to tease out issues of ethnicity and radio broadcasting within the official public broadcaster, SABC. However, if the thesis is that other ethnic minority groups have benefitted from a policy motion that

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[12] Coloured people refers to people of mixed parentage. As opposed to other perspectives of Black people being people of Colour as it is commonly known in America, in the case of South Africa Coloured people became known for their phenotypical features in terms of skin colour which placed them in between the white and black parents. As a result, the Coloured people became a race on their own, and also an ethnic group in South Africa.

had initially been raised with the intention of offering Afrikaans a lifeline, then this study has an interesting issue to address. Further, Tony Leon's assertion that, like any other African language, it needed to be safeguarded, holds water. It also creates more impetus for the inclusion of *RSG FM* in this study as an ethnic minority radio station.

However, we must mention that by relegating Afrikaans to being one of South Africa's ethnic minority languages, conversely, English became the biggest beneficiary (Mazrui and Mazrui 1998, Moyo 2010). This will be shown in this study on ethnic minority radio, but it suffices to state that English is now the language of business, and radio stations have been established to broadcast in English with a view of catering for a mix of listeners: South Africans of English descent, other English speakers, and foreigners who live in South Africa. This will be touched on in Chapter Two. On television, English remains the main language of broadcasting and it is punctuated by a few programmes in other languages. As a result, public radio stations that broadcast in English, together with television stations, will not be the focus of my study, except for Lotus FM, which forms a mix given that it also has a mandate to broadcast in the five languages found among the Indian communities; Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu. The latter are therefore part of the ambit of ethnic minority languages, thus making *Lotus FM* an ethnic minority radio station. Furthermore, during my research, my respondents (station managers) highlighted that sometimes they do string live broadcasts in English from SABC headquarters, especially if there is a presidential State of the Nation Address, any other special national event or occasion.

1.2.1 Ethnic Minority Radio Stations as Residual Policy Models

Following the discussion above and the developments, it is worth highlighting that this informed the quest to understand the social responsibility role of ethnic minority radio stations, and in particular, how they have contributed to state formation through the prism of social transformation. The issue of ethnic cohesion in a new nation-state, and the giving of a voice to the previously disenfranchised communities, form part of its focus. As stated above, South Africa forms the locus of this study, given the history of apartheid policies and, in particular, how radio broadcasting was seen as fragmenting various ethnic groups that inhabited the Bantustan homelands (Moyo 2010: 426). This policy was also seen as encouraging separateness among South Africa's different ethnic groups, thereby causing cultural domination. However, questions arise as to whether this cultural domination, which was seen during apartheid, did not find its way into the new structures of the post-apartheid era.

Further, the changes and the gradual embracing of these ethnic radio stations by South Africa's new leadership not a form of elite transition?

However, one feature stands out from these ethnic radio stations; that they had existed during apartheid as Bantu radio, and were then later established to serve different ethnic groups within the demarcated Bantustans, thus implying that these ethnic radio stations did actually exist during apartheid, as will be shown in Chapter Two. That being the case, it is made clear that the new leadership found these ethnic minority radio stations useful in the social transformation process. They were then further entrenched under the command of the public broadcaster, SABC, rebranded and given clear ethnic-related symbols, as will be shown in Chapter Two. While it may be acknowledged that in Southern Africa, South Africa and Namibia stand out as examples of states that have inherited apartheid structures, and so now have unique public broadcasting arrangements, one other issue clearly emerges from this process of rebranding these radio stations. The process of rebranding them clearly stands out as a point of convergence between tradition and modernity. It follows from this perspective that South Africa's new nationalism had a neoliberal agenda with a major economic thrust. The intention was not to continue with apartheid's exclusionary agenda on the economic front, but to rally all ethnic groups using the mantra of the 'Rainbow Nation' to conjure up a face-valued multiculturalism whose gradual implication is assimilationist. In this salient assimilationist agenda, traditional symbols are used, in the case of five selected ethnic radio stations. Chapter Two will discuss this rebranding process. Chapters Seven and Eight will further pick up this issue to validate it through qualitative research findings and to discuss it showing how ethnic alignment, bias and belonging have been gradually entrenched. By engaging the management teams and presenters at these radio stations, the intention is to make more sense of the question; how, then, was this process negotiated?

These radio stations now stand out as residual policy models, given that they are relics of the apartheid era. It is therefore imperative to inquire more into the nature of these ethnic radio stations, their foci and policy drivers. Further, another question can be asked: In whose interests was this residual policy pursued? In reference to their genesis during the apartheid era, Robert Horowitz (2001: 56) argues that through their creation within the frame of 'native' and 'African-language radio services', these ethnic radio stations were consciously designed to fit the ideological necessities of maintaining white domination and apartheid. Could it be assumed that this ideological necessity suddenly found another meaning, this time in the service of the

new ethos of state-formation with its new nationalism? In attempting to answer this question, a statement from one of my key research respondents at *RSG FM* is telling;

> I think what has happened now is that what the apartheid government used to do with our radio station, as their mouth-piece, has been shifted to these other radio stations, especially those that broadcast in local languages and English. At least, for now we have been spared the task. I sympathise with them.[13]

The above statement requires a critical engagement in order to show its veracity and possible conjecture. I leave that for Chapter Eight, in particular, the section on 'ethnic minority radio stations, 'Community Ownership' or 'new hegemony.'

However, in validating my interest in this study, I must mention that I have researched ethnic minority radio in South Africa before, for the Master of Arts Degree in Cultural and Media Studies (Mhlanga 2006, 2009). The research focused on the !Xû and Khwe of Southern Africa; their community radio station, also a decentralised public broadcaster, *XK FM*. After doing this research, some questions developed about the nature of public radio broadcasting policies for minorities in South Africa. This quest to find answers gave impetus to this study. I have also created a rapport with some of the communities concerned in South Africa; a major prerequisite for gate-keeping in the field of research. I have also published in journals and a book Chapter (Mhlanga 2009, 2010) and have given presentations at conferences and seminars on this topic. The other major impetus to this study is that no such research has been done, particularly research with a bias towards ethnic minority issues, yet the topic remains integral to state formation and the maintenance of a nation-state in Africa (cf. Ake, 1993; Fardon & Furniss, 2000; Wedell, 1986; Mhlanga, 2009, 2010). South Africa then became my area of interest and focus, given my previous experience while researching on community radio and also given the language advantage. I was able to do this research in South Africa because I speak four of the main South African languages (Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Ndebele and English).

Furthermore, South Africa since it has a young and intriguing democracy, which seems to be reinventing the wheel in terms of most political ideation processes in Africa. Stephen Riggins (1992: 03) asks for more research on the social influence of ethnic minority media; an area which he refers to as being relatively neglected. The fact that this study focuses on the ethnic question in radio broadcasting gives impetus to the attempt to unravel nuances that make up the political cleavages in South Africa. Ethnicity is an old and deliberately ignored phenomenon in Southern Africa (Vail

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[13] This statement was made by one of my research respondents at RSG FM during my February 2008 fieldwork. Given the sensitivity and political nature of such a statement, I have decided not to give his/her name.

1997, 1989); this study therefore presents a ground breaking advantage in both its focus on and locus in public radio broadcasting. The other reason is that radio remains the most widely used medium for information access in Africa, yet studies on this important subject remain scanty and underdeveloped (Fardon & Furniss 2000: 08, Mytton 1983).

1.3 Focus of the study

This study provides a critical understanding of the policy, theory, politics and practice of accommodation of ethnic minority groups in South Africa through public radio broadcasting. Its focus will be to investigate the move by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), since the attainment of independence in 1994, to create ethnic 'community' focused radio stations. As already stated, it also aims to understand the political nuances that have led to this policy model. However, mention has to be made that, in South Africa, these radio stations are commonly referred to as decentralised 'public broadcasters.'[14] Investigating this public radio broadcasting policy will enable me to understand the varied reasons behind this policy and how ethnic identities and belonging have been encouraged as a nationalist project in South Africa, especially in entrenching the 'rainbownation' concept.

However, it remains to be seen whether national broadcasting policies in South Africa serve the interests of the various ethnic minorities that they are meant to serve, or instead the political elite. This forms one of the major objectives of this study, including examining the meaning and sustainability of the nation-state. In this study an overview of radio broadcasting systems in South Africa will be employed, with a view to understanding how ethnic minorities have been served by public radio broadcasting. The reasons for this approach are that this study presents a ground breaking advantage; firstly, there has not been any policy study which seeks to address the notion of ethnic minorities vis-à-vis public radio broadcasting in South Africa. Secondly, this study seeks to contribute to a slightly different, existing body of knowledge written by scholars about radio in general, which simply focuses on radio and public service broadcasting in Africa without any regard for minority issues or ethnicity.

This study will analyse the history and purpose of public service broadcasting as a way to deepen our understanding of public radio broadcasting systems in current

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[14] This information was provided by Trevor Mlaudzi (Manager SABC call centre, Johannesburg) in October 2007, during one of my telephone conversations with him. It was further confirmed during my research with officials at SABC and public radio stations, in October 2008.

efforts by governments to handle emerging diasporic yearnings and feelings of ethnic marginalisation and belonging in South Africa, especially among those of Indian origins and the !Xû and Khwe communities. It is imperative to acknowledge that most political boundaries in Africa are fictitious and fluid.[15] As a result, the South African case becomes one way of investigating the challenges of managing multi-ethnic nationalities in one state. Further, this study will show, through its findings and discussion Chapter, the case of transnational radio stations, in particular, how some of the five selected ethnic radio stations perform this role; that is, between the South Africa - Zimbabwe border, for Phalaphala FM, a station for the Venda people and the South Africa – Mozambique and South Africa – Swaziland borders for Munghana Lonene FM, a station for the Tsonga people. It must be emphasised that these ethnic groups are found in all these countries and so listenership tends to extend that far. This new phenomenon of trans-national broadcasting includes some of South Africa's ethnic groups which are divided by these political boundaries.[16] This study will therefore focus on the politics of radio broadcasting strategies that were used to balance the ethnic question in South Africa in view of the potential challenge from fictitious boundaries.

Furthermore, the study will address the gains from such a policy in tandem with the nation-state project. The following background question will be raised; how has radio in South Africa been used as a tool for nation-state building? This question was first informed by the observations made during preliminary research. It was later concretised by six months of research conducted in South Africa.[17] The questions raised above will also help to address the issue of circumstances leading to the

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[15] For more information on the notion of fictitious boundaries please refer to works by Davidson, 1992; Diescho, 1997; Mazrui, 1994; Young, 1993, 1997, and Mudimbe, 1988. This view has been held by most African and political scholars with interests in African political history. This view calls for a deep-seated analysis of conflicts in Africa. I argue that, to start, the whole idea of Africa was the invention of a few people, who were by no means African, but who went on to decide what Africa and Africans should strive to be (Mudimbe, 1988; Mazrui, 1994). Diescho (1997) says the deal was sealed by the signatures of the European potentates in Berlin in 1885, seen as the definition of African identities and nationalities within borders that were not negotiated by Africans. They established communities, which had not previously existed. Mudimbe (1988) says the entire description of the African continent was a European invention, with which Africans have had to contend.

[16] Examples of transnational public radio stations are that of *Phalaphala FM* and *Mungana Lonene FM* on the border between South Africa and Zimbabwe. These two radio stations serve two ethnic communities that are each found across the border; the Shangani and Venda people.

[17] For more information on preliminary research, please refer to the section on; The Problem and its setting: Background to the study. This section was developed following the views of people interviewed in various Southern African countries; Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. For a more detailed analysis of the South Africa case of ethnic radio stations, also refer to my Master of Arts thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, entitled: 'Community radio as dialogic and participatory: A critical analysis of governance, control and community participation, a case study of XK FM radio station'.

establishment of these radio stations during the apartheid period, and their current position in the nation-state project.

1.3.1 SABC and the Ethnic Imperative: In Defence of Ethnic Minority Radio

This section will not discuss in detail the dialectical arrangements that informed the formation of ethnic minority radio stations under the auspices of SABC. That will be left for Chapters Two, Four, Six, Seven and Eight. However, in this section it is my suggestion that the five selected ethnic minority radio stations (*Lotus FM, Munghana Lonene FM, Phalaphala FM, Radio Sonder Grense FM (RSG)* and *X-K FM*), provides an ambivalent case of ethnic minority media in South Africa; a state where celebration of ethnic diversity is encouraged while at the same time it is expected to gradually translate to broader nationalism in the face of being South African (Chipkin 2007). This ambivalence is further exacerbated by South Africa's forms of nationalism with an ethnic imperative that has continued to shape it at every stage of development. As Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Wendy Williams (2010: 05) suggest that South Africanism took many forms since the 1830s and;

> …was imbricated in versions of imperial conquest, colonial, dominion, English colonial settler nationalism, Afrikanner nationalism, and African nationalism.

Further, they contend that South Africanism has always been faced by competing versions of nationalism, with ethnicity playing centre stage. However, even more evident is the fact that the advent of radio broadcasting in South Africa (from the early 1920s to date) has continued to provide the platform for competing ideas on nationalism. In this study it would be further argued that, apartheid used radio to broadcast into ethnic Bantustan homelands with a view to maintain and manage its nationalism; Afrikanner nationalism. On the other end, liberation movements, in particular ANC, found radio useful in their campaigns for an end to apartheid. The end of apartheid in 1994 then saw the continuation of ethnically motivated radio stations, to broadcast into transformed regions that were formerly Bantustan homelands, this time the intention being to serve the new leadership. One major common thread between the current arrangement and the previous apartheid system is that ethnicity and radio occupies the centre stage; with the former being rooted on the discourses of identity consciousness, nativity and contiguity, while the latter (radio) provides the platform on which ethnic inclined nationalism is configured. It is on this note that ethnic minorities also benefit by having radio stations that are managed by the public broadcaster.

Given that it is clear that ethnic minority media exist by dint of their ethnic alignment, a need arises, therefore, to provide a working definition of ethnicity. This will be further discussed in Chapter Five (pages 128ff). In attempting to define ethnicity, Richard Schermerhorn (1978) provides a comprehensive definition that defines ethnicity through group identity;

> An ethnic group is defined here as a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are; kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group (1978:12).

From the definition of ethnic group above, it is clear that ethnicity exists within a given understanding of a boundary, as suggested by Fredrick Barth, cited in Chapters Five and Eight. Furthermore, it is imperative to emphasise that an ethnic group does not necessarily translate into a minority. A majority can still be an ethnic group (Cottle 2000; Riggins 1992). As stated above, this thesis engages the role of radio as a mass communication tool in mediation of ethnic minority groups within the broader nation-building project.

It is now agreed that mass media plays a pivotal role in the dynamic processes that defines, preserve or awaken ethnic (and national) identities (Mhlanga 2010). Similarly, Riggins (1992) and Cottle (2000) contends that all mass media could easily be analysed from the perspective of what is revealed about ethnicity. The same can be said about the five ethnic minority radio stations. However, it is worth emphasising that in most mainstream media often ethnic minorities and their constituent issues are considered peripheral, except in situations where for political reasons a picture of ethnic accommodation is posted. In that case, they even essentialise their presentation in terms of the social problems they create for the majority (Cottle 2000, Mhlanga 2010). In the case of the five radio stations as exemplars of ethnic minority media, the stations have another role to play, that is, to contribute towards ethnic cohesion and cultural maintenance among their target ethnic groups. Research shows that these radio stations are perceived by the station management and radio presenters as being the epitome of their survival and peoplehood.

Added to this, is the enigma and novelty of having their local languages on radio as a modern technological development. However, the major notion is that the government, policy makers and implementers ensure that respective local languages

and cultural traditions are not reduced to mere folklore. Rather, these languages are encouraged to evolve in tandem with the requirements of modern societies. Other than this, there is little justification for the continuation of these radio stations after apartheid, except as marketing tools of political posturing and of their use by the élite in a new hegemony.

Another point to emphasise is that these radio stations, as ethnic minority media, have the potential, albeit unintentionally, to assimilate (integrate) its audiences into mainstream values: the nationalist ethos – hence the dictum 'Proudly South African' and the values espoused by the 'Rainbow Nation' concept. This will be discussed at length in Chapter Eight. Whether or not the latter have direct and meaningful translation on the ground for the locals seems immaterial, although from time to time these social inadequacies can easily be gleaned through deep-seated, nostalgic feelings, in the case of !Xû and Khwe for *X-K FM,* and those of Indian descent at *Lotus FM*. This is because they perceive themselves as being part of diasporic groups from Angola, Namibia and India, respectively. Outcomes of this study observe some changes in cultural practices among radio station staff and management. For most youthful presenters at these radio stations, urban culture, with its influence from Johannesburg's townships, seemed to be demonstrated, notwithstanding, the fact that the presenters also profess strong allegiance to their ethnic identities. Considering that culture generally depends on two variables – being learned and being shared – this research has shown, for example, that among the young presenters at *X-K FM, Lotus FM, Munghana Lonene FM* and *Phalaphala FM,* what happened in their towns had a profound influence on their lives.

Furthermore, in response to global trends, these presenters show how global influences and cultural tendencies are replicating themselves within their societies, despite the continued celebration of ethnic identities. It would appear this continued celebration of their ethnic identities is conjured up by a need for cultural survival, while global trends are seen to be ephemeral and 'trendy' in some instances.[18] These include dress codes, use of ear rings among male youths in some cases, other forms of social-protest culture and a taste for different types of music genres (mostly, urban groove music produced within South Africa). This is because South Africa has a clear local content policy, which encourages a high percentage of local music, and local

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[18] Most respondents who are presenters in these radio stations said this. For some of my male respondents, asked about the significance of wearing ear rings, for example, they only expressed that for them it was fashionable.

languages per radio station. See licences (in the appendix section) for local language specification per radio station.

According to Riggins (1992) this form of assimilation can be defined as a type of ethnic change in which people become similar and are contrasted through differentiation where groups stress their distinctiveness. In further discussing the notion of differentiation, Riggins (1992: 5) provides categories of ethnic minorities as follows:

- Indigenous people who remain committed to traditional values. This group of people have a political advantage in that, as indigenous residents, their claims for language and cultural protection are likely to be seen by others as more legitimate than the claims of immigrants;

- Indigenous people whose modern values appear to be primarily a sub-cultural variation of the dominant values. In most cases this group's pre-occupation tends to be with language retention rather than cultural values;

- Voluntary or immigrant minorities – the focus for this group is usually more economic or political. This group is not considered to be a threat in terms of linguistic survival, because of limited rights to cultural determination and protection in the host country. However, their continued attachment to their country of origin may be resented by the host country.

- Immigrant groups with traditional values – in this case, a group's preferred medium of communication can be related to its cultural characteristics.

In some cases these categories do not function in isolation. For example, among the !Xû, Khwe and those of Indian descent the first and final category do apply in that, while these groups of people have diasporic elements within South Africa, they are now considered to be locals. The notion of indigeneity is not invoked. Then, for the Tsonga and Shangaan, their identity is firmly placed in the first category. However, one thing common to all these ethnic groups is that they have clearly defined traditional values. The same traditional values have been used to conjure up the need for a radio station that broadcasts in their languages.

However, there has seemingly been an obvious failure to understand the contribution and influence of radio to cultural change, given its intrusive nature in both the home and general social sphere. It is this enigmatic element of broadcasting in one's ethnic language that creates a profound psychological influence on various social innuendos and other vices (Mhlanga 2010). Without being too judgmental, given that ethnic radio broadcasting is a fairly modern phenomenon, it would possibly

suffice to give these ethnic groups some benefit of the doubt by suggesting that radio, as one of the modern mass-media, can be situated by these ethnic minority groups to suit their own contexts and historical experiences. This is also because audiences are not passive recipients of media messages; rather, they are active social interpreters (Tomaselli, 1999).

This concept of ethnic radio broadcasting stations as decentralised regional public broadcasters seems to be peculiar to the South African and Namibian cases in Southern Africa. However, as a global phenomenon in the United Kingdom, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has regional language radio stations for specific ethnic groups, for example, *Radio nan Gaidheal* (*Gaelic Radio*) which broadcasts to areas like Oban, Inverness and Glasgow (Scotland) (Bristow & Bovill 1988: 111). Bristow and Bovill adds that Gaelic Radio was officially launched in 1985 with a special task of providing a comprehensive and considerably increased service in Gaelic.

Various cases from other parts of the world, like the case of the Mapuches of Chile (Colle, 1992), the Kabyle in Algeria (Ihaddaden, 1992) are other examples. It must be emphasised, however, that these ethnic minorities act as examples of state efforts aimed at keeping the nation-state afloat. However, resources tend to be a major setback. In the case of South Africa, availability of resources is a major boost, while in most Sub-Saharan countries the lack of resources continues to be a major challenge (Mytton 2001, 1983). Given this scenario, while it has been noted that these new systems were inherited from apartheid, it is clear that the new leadership of South Africa further entrenched their inheritance by taking lessons learnt from countries like the United Kingdom and Australia. As will be shown in Chapter Two, the founding Director of BBC, Lord John Reith, was consulted by the apartheid government and all his recommendations were followed, leading to the establishment of SABC in 1937. The challenge now is to understand how the new leadership has been able to transform these ethnic radio stations. This quest requires a detailed engagement with models of ethnic minority media.

1.3.2 Models of Ethnic Minority Media

The discussion of five selected ethnic minority media would not be complete if Stephen Riggins' five models were not presented here. These models of ethnic minority media, together with John Comaroff's (1997: 69-85) five propositions on ethnicity, will provide the theoretical locus on which this thesis is hinged. Further, theories of public service broadcasting, as discussed in Chapter Four, and a detailed

engagement with both ethnicity and nationalism in Chapter Five will lead the way. Comaroff's propositions will be presented at the end of this section. For now, I turn to Stephen Riggins' (1992) five models, namely: the Integrationist model; the Economic model; the Divisive model; the Pre-emptive model, and the Proselytism model. It is also worth mentioning that there is no clear-cut model that neatly fits a radio station, instead these models tend to overlap. A brief breakdown of these models remains necessary:

a) Integrationist model – in this model state authorities tend to subsidise minority media following the assumption that such a move might better integrate minorities into national life. The underlying factor for this model encourages the impression of the state as a 'benevolent institution' (Riggins 1992). However, on the part of the state, the intention would be to monitor minorities and to ensure that it impedes them from imagining political independence. The other aspect is to encourage 'functional bilingualism', as a way of gradually assimilating minorities into majority languages.

b) The Economic Model – this model is encouraged by the state to push for the spread of a managed form of multiculturalism which is groomed for the good of the state. Usually a managed literacy campaign is created, targeted at enveloping minorities. In such a situation, the preservation of a language and culture is not the concern of the state, but the creation of a vibrant economy is. Multiculturalism, in this case, is superficial, but may be publicly proclaimed as a façade, in the hope that it will not ultimately modify the state's core values. This form of multiculturalism is usually shallow and not genuine (Riggins 1992: 10).

c) The Divisive Model – this model was common during colonialism, with the state encouraging ethnicity as a divisive means through which to further its agenda. The case of ethnic radio stations that broadcast into Bantustans during apartheid provides a case in point.

d) The Pre-emptive Model – in this model the state usually encourages the establishment of minority radio stations that it will fund as a pre-emptive arrangement. Further, the intention is to ensure that minorities do not obtain funding from other external sources. The case of *X-K FM*, for the !Xû and Khwe, presents a case in point. According to William Heath,[19] when the Xû

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[19] William Heath was one of my key respondents at X-K FM. He is the Manager of Radio Broadcasting Facility, a broadcasting section dealing with the management of technical aspects of broadcasting.

and Khwe communities organised themselves following the purchase of land at Platfontein, they set out to establish a radio station for themselves. They approached *RSG FM* for assistance, as well as other local radio stations. The Government, through SABC, expressed a keen interest (Mhlanga 2006, 2009, 2010). This led to the establishment of the radio station, *X-K FM,* as a decentralised public broadcaster. From this explanation it emerged that the state's approach through SABC was a form of pre-emptive engagement with a view to repelling potential external sponsors. This argument holds in that South Africa now has more than hundred community radio stations (Mhlanga 2006).[20]

e) The Proselytism Model – in this model the state, or any external organisation, tries to reach minorities by establishing a media in their language. The intention here is to promote values through the use of a language. In some cases, it can be a faith-based organisation that sponsors the establishment of a media institution.

Following the discussion of the five models of ethnic minority media, above, it can be gleaned that policies are most often formulated as a way of containing and managing ethnic minorities. The case of some radio stations, among the five selected seems to suggest the possibility that containment is giving way to 'new assimilationism', as will be discussed in Chapter Eight. While it may be acknowledged that during apartheid, the policy of containment was the major issue; pointers seem to suggest that even the new social transformation process had its policies anchored in the integrationist, economic and the pre-emptive models. However, this will be further discussed in Chapter Eight.

Turning to John Comaroff's five propositions, the intention is to imbricate them within the discussion of Stephen Riggins' models, presented above. The imperative is to first state, as Comaroff (1997: 70) suggests, that the five propositions are in pursuit of an analytic position capable of accounting for the genesis, persistence and transformation of ethnicity and ethnic consciousness, in a case like South Africa, with a view to making sense of the nation-building crusade. Further, their theoretical significance lies more in the systematic relations among them; that is, each proposition's substance.

The five propositions are as follows:

Heath was very instrumental in the formation of X-K FM. He considers it to be his 'baby', as he put it during my face-to-face interview with him.

[20] For more information on Community radio in South Africa see :
http://www.southafrica.info/about/media/community-radio.htm

a) Contrary to the tendency in the Weberian tradition to view ethnicity as a function of primordial ties, ethnicity always has its genesis in specific historical forces, which are simultaneously structural and cultural,

b) Far from being a uniting phenomenon, ethnic describes both a set of relations and mode of consciousness,

c) Ethnicity has its origins in the asymmetric incorporation of structurally dissimilar groupings into a single political economy,

d) While ethnicity is a product of a specific historical process, it tends to take on the natural appearance of an autonomous force and a principle capable of determining the course of life,

e) Ethnicity, as an objectified principle of collective consciousness of society, may be perpetuated by factors quite different from those that caused its emergence, and this may have a direct or independent impact on the context in which it arose.

Given this conceptual locus of ethnicity and the models of ethnic minority media in my study of SABC's policies as a public broadcaster, it can be further suggested that ethnicity, with its currency located in consciousness, finds meaning through ethnic radio's mediation of group identities. This collective identity, particularly when interpreted using the concept of public service broadcasting, the principle that a public broadcaster must be in proximity with its audience and cater for ethnic minorities, leads to the notion of a 'we' feeling (Scannell 1992, Mhlanga 2010). In addition, following the case of South Africa in which each ethnic group has a radio station broadcasting in their language, as Comaroff presents in his second proposition, a new set of social relations and consciousness is created in which the group becomes conscious of itself and also of other neighbouring ethnic groups that may or may not be in competition with it. Due to the latter development, it emerged in my research that ethnic rivalry tends to be more pronounced in situations where ethnic groups live in proximity (see Chapters Seven, in particular page, 194 and Eight for more information on this).

Similarly, Comaroff adds that, in as much as collective social identity always entails some form of communal self-definition; it is invariably founded on a marked opposition between 'we' and 'others.' As stated above, while the PSB theory allows

for the conjuring up of the 'we' feeling, by providing a public realm for engagement, it also leads to the creation of boundaries between ethnic groups. This then implies that ethnicity, which is then translated into the collective identity of 'we' against 'them', becomes the new 'public' in PSB, thus, as suggested in the fourth proposition, it provides impetus to the ability to constantly arouse the consciousness of ethnic belonging using various social symbols and narrations of the past. While this may be progressive and positive, it can also lead to a form of backlash and chaos. However, in the case of South Africa, this challenge has been managed by allowing each ethnic group to have its own radio station.

The above position also links with the fifth proposition: that ethnicity may be perpetuated by factors different from those that aroused it, in that, by continuing the ethnic radio stations inherited from apartheid, for example, the post-apartheid leadership has created a new ideology. This new ideology acts as a counter balance that progressively dismantles apartheid structures while also embracing the audience as rational agents who constantly negotiate their position in society. It is on this note that these five models of ethnic minority radio stations will be engaged in Chapter Eight in conjunction with Comaroff's (1997) five propositions. However, for a detailed discussion of theories of public service broadcasting and ethnicity, please refer to Chapters Four and Five, respectively.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study derives its significance from the recognition of the nexus of ethnic minority radio and nationalist cohesion, in particular the huge challenges posed by failure to embrace ethnicity in many other African countries. This study forms the ground breaking engagement of ethnic minority media in Southern Africa, and its contribution to knowledge derives its niche from its uniqueness. South Africa's attempts at radio pluralism are a cautious walk on a tight rope given their history, which much like her economy, have local, regional and global aspects. Furthermore, as a glossy continental catalyst, South Africa provides impetus for an in-depth engagement of ethnic minority radio and identity issues within an African context. Also the significance of this study is hinged on the complexity of the theories used to carefully produce a rich conceptual blend as a framework; that is, the public service broadcasting (PSB); models of ethnic minority media; and theories of ethnicity and nationalism. In most studies these theories tend to be read separately as belonging to different fields. It is this interdisciplinarity, therefore, which intends to bring in an

array of academic engagement of media, politics and cultural issues in filling a policy gap on ethnic minority radio broadcasting in Africa.

Furthermore, the study shows the challenges of 'PSB' in an African context. The discussion will involve the role of ethnic minority radio in the construction of a transient national identity parapeted on the political platform of a 'Rainbow Nation', which gives impetus to a vibrant neo-liberal economic agenda. In this neo-liberal economic mode radio broadcasting has contributed in causing various ethnic groups to be conscious of ethnic identities and hence transform their celebration into an economic good which can be packaged and marketed as part of 'cultural tourism' (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009). It is clear following this agenda that the form of ethnicity which was initially aroused during apartheid through the Bantustan homelands has since been given a new form and is being perpetuated for reasons other than the ones in which it was constructed (Comaroff 1997: 71ff). The latter is acknowledged in this study marks its significance too as part of contribution to knowledge. The findings of the study include an interesting blend of marked progress on the part of South Africa's ethnic pluralist policies on radio and challenge of continuity in the face of ethnicity which through human agency has a habit of developing a life of its own; thus sometimes can cause problems for state formation as a continuous process. It affirms the rights of ethnic minorities to communicate through radio in their own languages within a multi-ethnic society. Further South Africa's bold experiment with cultural pluralism in the radio sector offers Africa a delicate but workable way of dealing with ethnicity in public radio broadcasting. The research is an original analysis of policies, politics, history and aspects on the continuity of the ethnic radio sector in a local but rapidly globalising context. The study is important for rethinking public broadcasting and ethnicity in non-Western contexts.

This study further derives its knowledge on the change of internal politics and policies in South Africa following the release of Nelson Mandela in 1989 which paved the way for the National Conference under the auspices of the Conference for the Democratisation of South Africa (CODESA) as the seedbed for the social transformation process. The genesis of this process resonated with African state systems that had a clear sense of inter-state dialogue and of communication within different groups. This acknowledgement led to change which could no longer be resisted. While, in South Africa, political change drew lessons from other African countries, internal politics and the way it was communicated to the masses through radio broadcasting also shaped the context in which the encounter between the

liberalised polity and cultural pluralism became visible. This also meant that the new leaders were adroit enough to ride on the democratic wave, thus successfully employing the important resources of control of the state apparatus, such as the public radio broadcaster, SABC, and regional administration of resources, to secure continuity of its control of ethnic radio stations.[21]

This thesis further attempts to make a case for South Africa's attempt to embrace the emancipatory project which is analysed by way of critically engaging with socially defined ideals, like ethnic pluralism (Young 1993), and diversity after apartheid. The reason for the choice of South Africa as a case study, as presented above, remains an attempt to show how this newly formed state has sought to embrace a new path towards retribalisation; a process which is still considered as retrogressive in most African states. As a result, much of the analysis in the following Chapters will blend with my understanding of ethnicity and identity issues in Africa. The use of radio broadcasting in South Africa to create ethnic accommodation, particularly of minority ethnic groups in the different ethnic regions, presents a unique case. It is hereby presented that the social transformation process came riding on the shoulders of the Bantustan homelands' policy, in particular on ethnic radio broadcasting. By inheriting these radio stations and rebranding them, the new era of retribalisation as part of nation-building had begun. As a way of focusing this study's significance and contribution to knowledge, the following questions may not be the main, but do inform the study: a) how has South Africa dealt with the question of ethnic minorities? b) has the re-establishment of ethnically motivated radio stations in the regions become one way of catering to ethnic minorities by the public broadcaster?

In seeking to address the problematic of the concept of ethnic minority issues, the notion of the nation-state is called into question; thus seeking to show how it has

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[21] In order to understand the changes that ethnic pluralism brought and how it has progressed there is need to have a grasp of the efforts that were made to transform the media industry (for more detail on this see P. Eric Louw 1993). In re-aligning public broadcasting with the broader ethos of social transformation, as negotiated through CODESA's various conferences and media policy, workshops were held. Key among them were; the Viljoen Task Group and the *Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves Conference,* held in the Netherlands in 1991. The major objective of all these initiatives was to model broadcasting along socially inclusive lines, given apartheid's history of exclusion of the majority black people. Furthermore, these activities sought to provide a foundation for the state's emancipatory project, in particular, given the power of radio broadcasting. The emergent feature of these conferences, workshops and seminars was the creation of a three tier broadcasting arrangement; public service, commercial and community broadcasting (cf. Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves 1991, Tomaselli, Tomaselli & Muller 1989, Louw 1993). This study focuses on the public broadcasting tier, which has led to the formation of ethnic minority radio stations under the auspices of SABC. Details of these ethnic minority radio stations and a critical appreciation of this arrangement will be made later, particularly in Chapter Two.

been maintained following the criminalisation of ethnicity. By problematising state formation, nation-ness and the nation-state project as a whole (in Chapter Five), this is not an act aimed at 'rabble-rousing', but is located within the current ideation in Southern Africa (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009a, 2010) with a view to making sense of the current crisis in the sustainability of the nation-state. Further arguments will be presented in Chapters Five, Seven and Eight on prebendal politics and how nationalism has also led to the concept of 'supertribalisation', suggested by Achille Mbembe (1992, 2001), Crawford Young (1997), Immanuel Wallerstein (1960) and Masiphula Sithole (1995).

However, unlike in most of Africa, political opening was accompanied by a more visible expression of the cultural diversity of the great majority of African polities. South Africa's new leaders seemed to accept that even electoral competition is readily defined by ethnicity, as witnessed in the first wave of ethnic upheavals in 1993 between the Zulu and the Xhosa. Again, unlike the broader African scenario, the South African experience marked a new rhetoric of reconciliation and the celebration of a rainbow nation.

Apartheid, with Bantustan homelands as its offspring, was not an attempt to find a niche for the ethnic question in South Africa. Rather, its expression was more focused on keeping the natives in their reserves far from the colonial administrators. It became the basis for the bifurcation of the state (Mamdani, 1996); that is, between the urban polity, which lays claim to ownership of the economy, and the poor ruralised homelands, now called provinces that are out of the mainstream economy. From the forgoing it can be gleaned that the path followed by South Africa is in a way different from the one pursued in most African countries. However, what remains to be explained, as raised above, is how public radio stations have managed to ride on the ethnic platform to champion the nationalist cause and the nativist agenda. In this attempt to understand the ethnic phenomenon and its engagement in South Africa, especially among those ethnic minority groups that are being serviced by the public broadcaster (SABC), there is a need for a clearly defined methodology which explains how this research was conducted. Chapter Two will outline the historical background of radio broadcasting in South Africa. Then Chapter Three as a research compass provides the bearings on which this study is located, in particular for its significance. The other chapters will further provide a practical outline to the research on the role of ethnic minority radio broadcasting, in their pursuit of South Africa's 'rainbow nation' and the gradual shift to nativist nationalism (African nationalism – Mazrui & Mazrui 1998).

1.5 Key Research Questions:

The overarching questions to be investigated are: Has the decentralisation of public service broadcasting to ethnic minorities undermined or promoted the policy of post-1994 national reconciliation and nation-building in South Africa? What politics do ethnic minority public radio stations get involved in, and how do they influence South Africa's broader emancipatory project together with is projections of democratisation in a neoliberal economy?

In an effort to answer these questions the following guiding questions (sub-questions) had to be answered:

a) Why and how were ethnic minority public radio stations continued (and established for others) in post-1994 South Africa?

b) Has the use of public radio broadcasting in South Africa managed to resolve ethnic tensions?

c) How effective has the use of public radio in managing ethnicity's exclusionary tendencies in South Africa?

d) Can this be seen as a viable solution of managing ethnic belonging in the context of nationalism and nation-building in post-apartheid era?

1.6 Working Definition of Terms

This section attempts to provide a working definition of ethnicity and race. Other terms such as nationalism, nation, and nation-state will be presented in Chapter Five. Emphasis has to be made that race is not given much attention in this thesis. But a need arises to engage the general tendency by most social scientist to conflate ethnicity and race. Therefore instead of focusing on the already over emphasized story of race, especially in the case of South Africa, this study does not seek to merely change course by engaging ethnicity for the sake of looking for virgin academic terrain. Rather, it seeks to critically juxtapose ethnicity and power in South Africa; a young nation-state. As stated above, it has become clear that engagement of ethnicity is of two minds. First, ethnicity is seen as a form of tribal identity which is quite retrogressive and likely to pull the nation-state formation project backwards if embraced. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the continued bifurcation of the state between rural tribalism - which is seen as traditional and modernity which forms an inclusivist form of identity has often been on ethnic lines. Through the latter various identities are seen as engaged in an endless dialogue (conviviality), though in hushed tones, given the explosive nature of ethnicity (Nyamnjoh 2010). This 'modernised'

perspective of ethnicity discourages deep-seated engagements of the subject. The nation-state is, therefore, seen as a modern structure as opposed to the 'irredentist' nature of traditional tribal identity.

The second perspective of ethnicity is that it is a useful resource which much like any other natural resource can be harnessed for the good cause of the nation-state. This forms the spine of my thesis. Further, this thesis challenges the grotesque nature of nationalism together with its criminalisation of ethnicity. It seeks to engage virgin academic territory in that there has not been a study pitying ethnicity and public service broadcasting in a liberalised nation-state like South Africa. Further more the study engages the point at which the media as a structure of power and communication intersects with ethnicity to cause conviviality (Nyamnjoh 2010).

However, as a disclaimer, the definitions given here are meant to encourage the reader to exercise extreme versatility in their grasp of these terms given that these definitions will be further problematised in the thesis.

Ethnicity: As already discussed in brief from page, 20ff, it generally follows putative commonalities that according to Clifford Geertz (1963: 109) include congruities of blood, speech and custom. Chris Barker (2008: 249) refers to the latter characteristics as cultural signifiers that have are strongly anchored in 'common mythological ancestry' or 'primordiality.' Furthermore, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, scholars like John Hutchinson & Anthony Smith (1996), and Smith (1986: 15) emphasize 'myths, memories, values and symbols.' In addition, Horowitz (1985: 139) describes its characteristics as ranging from 'birth and blood, beliefs in a common ancestry, a common history with common heroes and enemies' to a particularised historical attachment to a particular territory. In essence, ethnicity's nativist adage can be closely linked with territory and indigeneity in a given space and time. Similarly, Claude Ake (2000) posits that ethnicity and ethnic consciousness have to be treated as forms of living presence, and that they do have features of being produced and driven by material and innate historical forces. It is on that note that I seek to posit, as have been argued above and will be seen later, that ethnicity is positively functional and is a natural resource.

Comaroff (1997) adds that the way in which ethnicity is experienced and expressed may vary among social groupings. However, in Africa, failure to accept the reality of its existence, positive value and influence in the distribution of resources has tended to aggravate its conflictual potential, hence its recriminations whenever it appears. Further, it is imperative to also accept that ethnic relations rest on how differences are understood interpreted represented and sometimes decided by the

cultural exigencies of history in any given context (Comaroff 1997: 73). Also ethnicity may be seen as part of the interpellation of social differences depending on how actors are socially situated, how they are perceived and perceive of themselves and their interests in competition for economic goods, status and power. In such a situation, ethnicity works as an emblem of common interest with a shared commitment to the order of symbols and meanings defined. As a result this leads to the creation of a reciprocal negation of the humanity of those perceived to be part of the oppressors or those who benefit (Comaroff 1997), hence the existence of the dichotomies of 'us' and 'them.'

Race: the concept of race has its origins dating to the discourses of social Darwinism, with is emphasis on the phenotype, physical appearances and pigmentation. While as in the case of ethnicity race places emphasis on the 'lines of descent' and 'types of people' (Barker 2008: 247), biological attributes relating to skin pigmentation or colour feature most. However, as presented elsewhere by most scholars of cultural studies, race exists within the prism of representation; that is, through the symbolisation process whereby signifiers of race are produced to enable differentiation in social and political power struggles (Hall 1997).

1.7 Synopsis of Chapters in this Thesis

In presenting this thesis to the reader, one is warned of the minefield contained therein; that is, the controversies, colossal nature of theoretical exigencies and presentation of ambivalent situations regarding ethnicity, nationalism and the media – public service broadcasting. The provocative nature of the writer's mind comes into play, but above all the controversy and ambivalence surrounding ethnicity, nationalism and the media deserves special emphasis as a minefield. Given these challenges and the provocative nature of the thesis, I deliberately present it by way of spreading theory across without necessarily having to confine it to one chapter as in the traditional sense of presenting a thesis. Theory in this case is presented as the spectacles worn to further enhance vision and understanding of social phenomena. In support of this position, Clifford Christians *et al* (2009: ix) add that theory is a 'reasoned explanation of why particular actions lead to certain outcomes.' They further present two types of theories of the media; first, those prescribing the normative tasks for the media in society. Second, those dealing with the 'subjective' culturally related values held by various actors about the media in society. It will then be noted, for example, that Chapter Five which constitutes the bulk of theories of nationalism, ethnicity and radical epistemological engagement of the sociology of

ethnicity in Africa is placed next to the chapters on research findings instead of being placed before the research chapter; that is, Chapter Two. This is a deliberate move to qualitatively use theory within the 'subjective' engagement of the nature of various actors involved in my study; that is, myself as the researcher and various respondents as subjective individuals and actors. Further, such an engagement of theory, by way of spreading it, allows for a detailed understanding of media structures, the actors as both conscious agents and the agency of public service broadcasting system being researched – understanding of structure and action.

Given the explanation above, it should be emphasized that theory stretches and is dotted throughout the entire thesis. Chapter one for example introduces Stephen Riggins' models of ethnic minority media and John Comaroff's five theses on ethnicity. As a flash-forward, it immediately links with Chapter Eight; another chapter which due to the strength of research findings is able to ground theory as part of the subjective nature of the actor-oriented process. This chapter enjoys being the nexus which links all the chapters, leading to the conclusion as the exit from my research as a journey. For example, Chapter Three which is largely seen as the research chapter provides a detailed theoretical engagement of social research as a process and academic enterprise. It deals with research epistemology, and links with Chapter Four, another theoretical chapter which while attempting to show case why public service broadcasting has to undergo transformation it further projects on the challenge of nationalism as an ideology.

This thesis will be divided into the following chapters:

Chapter One: Provides an introduction to the study. It also gives reasons and justifications for it and identifies the problem and its setting, and also outlines key research questions.

Chapter Two: Provides background information on radio broadcasting in South Africa. It also outlines the history of radio broadcasting from the Apartheid era to the formation of an independent 'black majority' government in South Africa. Further, the five radio stations that were selected to illuminate my case study research methodology are also introduced.

Chapter Three: Provides an outline of the research methodology used in this study. In this chapter, research epistemologies, qualitative paradigms and case study research methods are discussed, together with data gathering and sampling techniques.

Chapter Four: This chapter provides the literature review section of the thesis. It also briefly discusses other broadcasting systems on the African continent,

particularly in Southern Africa, to show the differences in the pathways followed by other countries. Public Service Broadcasting (PSB), as a concept, is also discussed by paying particular attention to its tenets and primary constituents. The chapter also discusses the use of these ethnic public radio stations as public spheres in their respective areas.

Chapter Five: This chapter seeks to contribute to the body of knowledge on ethnic studies by providing a critical engagement with various existing schools of thought. In this chapter, my central locus of enunciation is that spectacles used to critically engage and interrogate ethnicity have often been foreign to Africa, and are mainly European. In that regard, I further challenge for an African sociology of ethnicity that provides for an African conceptualization of it, as it is clear that issues of kinship and nativity in ethnicity in Africa cannot be ignored. I also argue that, with this position in mind, ethnicity will not only be conceptually cross-examined and dealt with, if such an arrangement is followed, but will be explained as one of the sources of Africa's problems. From the foregoing, I hold that Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1997: 71) has a point when he argues that: '…ethnicity, although generally considered a cause for conflict, is not an explanation but rather that which is to be explained. The terminology of ethnicity is part of the conflict and cannot serve as the language of analysis.'[22]

The chapter also discusses the philosophies and general ideology that informed apartheid and its Bantustan policies. In addition it lays the foundation for a discussion of post-1994 South Africa, in particular on how some of these policies were later embraced by the new government.

Chapter Six: This chapter attempts to present the picture of the research field and the political situation that was obtaining at the time during which the research was conducted. It also discusses the various strategies that were used to enter the field and to become accepted as a researcher, given the bureaucracy at SABC. Furthermore, some of the qualitative engagements with the research findings are presented in this

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[22]Jan Nederveen Pieterse, 'Sociology of Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia Compared,' in *International Political Science Review,* 18 (1), (1997), p. 71; Jan Nederveen Pieterse quoted in S. L. Carruthers, 'Tribalism and Tribulation: Media Constructions of 'African Savagery' and 'Western Humanitarianism' in the 1990s,' in S. Allan & B. Zelizer (eds.) Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime, (Routledge, London, 2004), p. 165. See also Jan Nederveen Pieterse, 'Varieties of Ethnic Politics and Ethnic Discourse,' in Edmund Wilmsen & Patrick McAllister (eds.), *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power*, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996).

chapter as soundbites, but with a view to showing the nature of the South African political landscape.

Chapter Seven: This chapter is mainly on the presentation of findings and analysis. It starts by outlining what was undertaken in the field, it explains the challenges and the general setting in which the research was conducted. Then, a qualitative presentation of findings is put forward, together with presentation of data from face-to-face interviews.

Chapter Eight: This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the findings. It also offers a closing epilogue to the discourse of the politics of ethnic minority media and challenges of conviviality as presented by Francis Nyamnjoh (2010). Furthermore, this chapter offers a critical engagement of the entire thesis. Various theoretical projections offered in Chapters One, Four, and Five are further distilled with a view to illuminate the research findings as presented in detail in Chapters Six and Seven.

As a discussion chapter which will ultimately lead to the conclusion of this thesis, this chapter's contribution to knowledge is by linking theory and practice, from research findings, to provide conjecture on ethnic minority media, notions of language and the new nativist nationalism as a product and vehicle of the 'babelian motif.' It also discusses the conceptualisation of hegemony and then concludes the thesis by offering a mixture of both careful scholarship into the future of ethnicity and nationalism studies within the discipline of media studies. Added to it, is the polemical engagement of the subject of ethnicity through conjecture given the ambivalence of having to balance ethnic celebration within a state, South Africa, which also celebrates a marked dose of nationalism.

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICAL HISTORY OF BROADCASTING IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to illuminate the argument that the history of broadcasting in South Africa follows deeply entrenched contours of contestation and exclusion of other ethnic groups by the apartheid system (Teer-Tomaselli 2001; Hayman & Teer-Tomaselli 1989). It will also move the position that the history of radio broadcasting in South Africa, its birth and genesis, spurn the entire period of apartheid. It can be dated as far back as 18th December, 1923, when the South African Railways made the first 'wireless' broadcast in Johannesburg. This move was then followed by the formation of three main organisations that introduced radio broadcasting, otherwise known as 'wireless', into three main regions of the country: Durban, Cape Peninsula and Witwatersrand. The three organisations that were formed were the Scientific and Technical Company, Cape Peninsula Publicity Association and Durban Corporation. In April 1924, the Scientific and Technical Company took over transmissions in the Witwatersrand area. In the same year, the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association formed a similar service in Cape Town. Towards the end of 1924, this 'wireless'[23] enigma was introduced to listeners in Durban by an organisation called Durban Corporation. However, mention has to be made that these three organisations faced a number of limitations, key among them were problems of limited coverage area, as well as low revenue from licensed listeners. This automatically made radio broadcasting unprofitable and difficult to maintain. Then, on April 1st 1927, Schlesinger; a financially strong organisation, combined the three organisations that had pioneered 'wireless' across South Africa under the aegis of African Broadcasting Company (ABC). This move to concentrate them into one organisation did not cause a great impact in terms of offsetting financial difficulties. However, the following sections of this chapter will provide further information on how the African Broadcasting Company managed to briefly spread its wings in the broadcasting sector, later to have them clipped following Sir John Reith's recommendations. Its demise (the ABC) will also be discussed.

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[23] The concept of a 'wireless' created some kind of vocabulary, even among the African listeners who continue to this day to refer to it as a wireless, otherwise, it is known in most local languages as 'wayilesi.'

It suffices at this juncture to attempt to provide a political background to the history of broadcasting in South Africa. This explains how certain decisions were later made by the apartheid regime. The history of broadcasting in South Africa cannot afford to ignore the resultant impact following the antagonism that existed between those of British descent (stock) and those who were primarily of Dutch descent. The latter refers to the group who were gradually transformed into the people who later became known as the Afrikaners. In regard to actually locating the history of broadcasting in South Africa, it is worth highlighting that this history follows the contour lines of conflict that date as far back as the Anglo-Boer wars (1899-1902). It was during this period that the Afrikaners imported German wireless telegraphy sets for use during these wars. However, Orlik (1974: 140) says these communication technologies were captured by the British armies, who did not find them useful and who somehow impeded any military use of wireless. In response to all these developments and forms of promise and collapse in wireless broadcasting, Eric Rosenthal (1961: 583) tells the story of an engineer (Edward Jennings) who later 'invented wireless telegraphy independently of Marconi, but received no encouragement'.

However, it is worth noting that South Africa's location on the world's shipping map encouraged advances in telegraphy and wireless telephony. These developments forced the government to consider coining some kind of wireless and telephony regulatory framework: a move which finally happened in August, 1923. Following the formation of a regulatory framework, Orlik (1974: 141) adds that, '…the licensing of radio transmitters and receiving sets, as with the stipulating of the advertising limit (six minutes an hour) rested with the postmaster general.' Further, this led to the formation of a handful of stations that faced the problem of low power from the stations to the receivers, thereby leading to most listeners refusing to pay the listeners' fees. This refusal to pay listeners' fees subsequently led to viability problems in radio broadcasting. However, I. W. Schlesinger, the founding father of South Africa's film industry, saw potential in broadcasting and decided to secure a ten year license from the government, and opened an African Broadcasting Company (ABC). What later transpired and how the African Broadcasting Corporation fared at a later date, leading up to the government takeover of the whole broadcasting organisation, is discussed later in this Chapter.

According to Orlik (1974: 141), after surviving all the challenges of broadcasting, Schlesinger emerged popular but with fiscal liability. This move was driven only by commercial interests. In effect, it formed part of what in broadcasting

terms today would be referred to as, 'commercial broadcasting services'. The period of economic crisis in the late 1930s, commonly referred to as the 'Great Depression', also affected the newly formed broadcasting industry and forced the government to reconsider commercial broadcasting. Further, ABC was considered to have a problem due to overreliance on entertainment programming and avoidance of the Afrikaans language in most of its programming, a feature which tended to affect white South Africans (Orlik 1974). However, these problems, coupled with the general state of world economics, forced General Hertzog's government to toy with the idea of a broadcasting regime which was state controlled and owned. This perspective even led to the setting-up of a commission which was to be chaired by Sir John Reith, then the Director General of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The terms of reference for this commission were to investigate the possibility of having a national broadcaster in South Africa. It can be added that it was the recommendations of the Reith Report that led to the formation of the South African Broadcasting Corporation along the lines of the BBC.

2.2 The Reithian Credo: The New Broadcasting Landscape in South Africa

In 1934, having assessed and toyed with the idea of a state controlled broadcasting system, the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, invited Sir John Reith to give more insight into these possibilities. This invitation was obviously influenced by John Reith's contribution to broadcasting in Britain and the way he had managed to transform the British Broadcasting Corporation. His reputation is said to have influenced even the conversion of the BBC from a company to a corporation (cf. Scannell & Cardiff 1991). The same influence Reith displayed at the BBC was later to be passed on to the SABC; it has since lingered since then up to the post-apartheid era. John Reith finally visited South Africa and immediately set to work on the terms of reference outlined by General Hertzog.

On his arrival in South Africa, Reith began his work in Cape Town and travelled across the country. He sought audience with leaders from various fields: politicians, editors, Members of Parliament and university professors (Theunissen, Nikitin & Pillay, 1996). In thirty nine days he had managed to interview 200 people. He then set out to prepare a report for the Prime Minister. The report emphasised the importance of broadcasting in South Africa. In that regard, he praised the African Broadcasting Company and stressed the need to separate private commercial enterprise from broader state broadcasting. He also suggested that there was a need for legislation that would allow for the formation of a public corporation. Such an

entity would ensure some modicum of independence, although with the tacit leadership of government as a form of control. This proposal set up an ambivalent situation in the management of South African broadcasting to this day, thereby setting the stage for SABC as a state broadcaster during the apartheid years, and then becoming a public broadcaster in the post-apartheid period. However, the latter will be given more attention in the following chapters, since the five radio stations being studied here are owned by SABC. Even the notion of public broadcasting, as opposed to state broadcasting, will be critically engaged with.

In his report, John Reith spoke about how the corporation would have to work. He suggested the formation of a board made up of six or seven people with 'good social standing' (Theunissen, Nikitin & Pillay, 1996). The appointment of such a board was supposed to be placed under the leadership of the Governor General and would serve a term of five years. Further, the responsibilities of the board were to be broad; to serve as the authority responsible for the running of the corporation and general control. However, all the authority that the board would have was to be managed and vetoed by the Chief Executive. The report also discussed the problems faced by radio broadcasting and called urgently to have them addressed. This was followed by a proposal for the formation of a network of transmitters to cover the whole country. A suggestion was made that the large sum of money involved in such an enterprise should come from the state. The report also suggested that once this form of upgrade was complete, general standards would be boosted, with all the studios being able to link up by telephone. In turn, this would lead to the interspersing of national broadcasting into the programming of the various regions. It was this suggestion that set up the call for decentralised regional radio stations. At first these radio stations were merely decentralised to cover the various regions of the country and continued to broadcast in English. Then, in the years that followed, as we will see later, Afrikaans took over as the main language of broadcasting. Following this approach and when the power of radio was discovered by the apartheid government, radio stations were created to serve different homelands in the languages of those homelands. These radio stations were commonly referred to 'Bantu radio stations' and were meant to broadcast in the different 'native languages' of South Africa (Teer-Tomaselli, Tomaselli & Muller 1989; Goos 1954; Orlik 1974, Lekgoathi 2009).

John Reith also criticised ABC for using a transmitter to promote the products of profit-oriented companies and for government propaganda. This, he argued, led to a reduction in ethical and intellectual standards. Emphasis was made, however, on suggesting that the government consider compensating Schlesinger for the creation

and maintenance of a vibrant broadcasting system, should it be taken over. The report also proposed that Schlesinger be offered a seat on the Board. This submission followed the observation that he had been at the helm of ABC and had amassed a lot of knowledge about broadcasting management and policy. It was believed that he would make a meaningful contribution to the development of broadcasting in South Africa.

Furthermore, Reith gave the basic characteristics of such a corporation in his report and of these the following three points were emphasized:

➢ Public control over decisions of a policy nature,

➢ No public or political interference in management,

➢ The right to access and control areas of operations.

The report also emphasised that if telephone lines were improved in South Africa; broadcasting could afford to have a national network and would even generate income by transmitting programmes both within the country and overseas.

2.3 The Demise of ABC and the Rise of a New Broadcasting Policy

After the submission of the Reith report, ABC and the South African government entered into negotiations, following suggestions made by John Reith. Then a detailed accounting of ABC's finances was made. Schlesinger finally agreed to cede control of broadcasting to the government. A draft bill, paving the way for a government take-over was discussed in 1936. Most of the issues contained in the draft bill were agreed on by the stakeholders. A further comparison with national broadcasters elsewhere was done, and it showed that ABC's budget was a tenth of that of the BBC. The process of deliberating finally ended on August 1st, 1936, with the passing of a bill. An amount of £150, 000 was paid to ABC as a way of sealing the government take-over (Orlik 1974). This move marked the formation of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

Following its official formation, SABC began with around 150 000 licensed sets (Theunissen, Nikitin & Pillay 1996: 20). More modern structures at SABC were created, coupled with the appointment of Major Rene Caprara as the Director General. Staff conditions were improved, together with an increased staff compliment of 272, including the Corporation's orchestras. Further work was undertaken to upgrade the broadcasting service. This was done with the formation of new studios in Pretoria and Bloemfontein. To further improve reception, two new transmitters were

added at Robert's Heights and Klipheuwel. The new board cancelled the existing news services and put out a tender for a single service. Only one response, from Reuters South Africa, was tendered. Due to this low response, the application by Reuters South Africa was accepted. This meant that the SABC had secured the services of an international news agency.

2.4 On the Broadcasting Policy

After an almost entire overhaul of the system and its replacement with a new broadcasting order, one more sensitive issue remained outstanding; the issue of broadcasting policy. Broadcasting policy has always been a sensitive issue in most African countries and always requires the creation of systems that are all inclusive (cf. Teer-Tomaselli, Tomaselli & Muller 1989; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Orlik, 1974; Mytton, 1983, Bourgault, 1995; Mano, 2004). Due to an urgent need for an inclusive broadcasting policy, a referendum had to be held to decide on the percentage of the split between Afrikaans and English programmes. The results showed that English speakers formed eighty percent of the listenership, while Afrikaans listenership formed twenty percent. However, it must be emphasised that only thirty percent of the eligible voters had participated in this referendum (Theunissen, Nikitin & Pillay, 1996). Further, eligibility was clearly premised on race, meaning that only whites had been allowed to vote.

Following the referendum, the idea of separating the radio transmission of the two languages was abandoned due to various factors. First, costs proved to be prohibitive. Second, translating policy to action has its own negative political ramifications. Separating the two languages was seen as being likely to divide the two cultures, a move which was considered to be inimical to an already ailing South African national culture. Due to these inhibitions, a decision was made which sought to include Afrikaans in all programmes. This meant announcements had to be fully bilingual. This move irked a lot of people, and later forced the board to consider creating a system of two services that would run concurrently. A system of segmented services was introduced which meant the creation of two services, one for the English and one for the Afrikaans speakers.

The programme for English listeners was referred to as the 'A service', while that for Afrikaans was known as the 'B service'. Despite all the displeasure with the programmes, many of them still managed to gain some status, as each section of listenership zealously followed them to the extent of developing some sort of cult status. The main reason for this unparalleled listenership was due to people's support

for their mother languages and the 'we feeling' created by radio when broadcasting is carried out in a particular language (Scannell & Cardiff, 1991); a political feature of the psychology of ethnicity which eluded the minds of those in power at the time. Instead, growing support for these services along ethnic lines was interpreted as a major step in the South African broadcasting industry and was erroneously referred to as the 'Golden Age.' It was also characterised by a lot of technological improvisation and originality, given that broadcasting was still a new phenomenon. However, very limited scholarly engagement with the broadcasting of this period has acknowledged the main reason for this overwhelming response by English and Afrikaans listeners to these services (Services A and B) was a clear political move that drew future lines of contestation between these two main ethnic groups.

Furthermore, a critical appreciation of the outcome of the referendum shows that ethnic divisions between the English and Afrikaans speakers were marked and further entrenched points of contestation and dissent along ethnic lines. In essence, the results of the referendum served as an expression of subtle ethnic social cleavages that already existed as undercurrents. This served as both a warning device and a safety valve. Mindful, or probably ignorant, of these bigger problems, the government sought to avoid the mess by downplaying it and instead raised the spectre of success as the case with most political establishments at the expense of impending ethnic tensions and currencies of turmoil. However, this failure to acknowledge the impact of these undercurrents would later haunt the broadcasting corridors at SABC and even led to the reversal of roles during the World War II era. It is my contention that this reversal of roles sowed the seeds of apartheid's demise, as most English speakers also felt alienated within a system that had already disenfranchised the black communities. This disorder would find expression with the development of a larger community of white English liberals who, much as they benefited from some of apartheid's policies, would not help in its sustenance and general upkeep. The following section, on the birth of SABC, will further explain how this development led to more ethnic problems and hatred between the English and Afrikaans speakers, with the latter even refusing to participate in World War II.

2.5 The Birth of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)

A closer analysis of the period from the 1930s to late 40s, shows that these years were further marked by what was to be referred to as the 'Great Depression.'[24] As if that were not enough, the broadcasting fraternity suffered serious setbacks, particularly through economic viability related problems. This forced the then Prime Minister, General Hertzog, to order an inquiry into how broadcasting could be managed and taken under the wing of the government. This inquiry, as stated above, followed Sir John Reith's visit and led to the establishment of SABC, thus the broadcasting service was effectively placed in the hands of the state through the formation of SABC. Following this development, a new 'national' radio service, which broadcast in English, was formed. Then, in 1937, Afrikaans was added as a second 'national' language of broadcasting.

Following Sir John Reith's report, the South African government passed legislation which was later known as the Broadcasting Act of 1936. This legislation officially dissolved and ended the African Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) and formed the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). On August 1st, 1936, there was an official changeover. This new formation was not only premised on the law, but was concretised through the formation of various structures of governance. This was done through the formation of a 'Board of Governors', whose main function was to bring Afrikaans programming up to qualitative parity with English programming (Orlik, 1974). Given this urgent need another problem arose; the difficulty of managing simultaneous bilingual announcements, further aggravated by the limited facilities that would not permit the establishment of two separate language services.

Following the crisis in ensuring parity of broadcasting in both the Afrikaans and English languages, together with limited facilities, it was then decided that Afrikaans programming would be aired via two rented shortwave transmitters until additional funds and facilities were secured. In view of this development, Gideon

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[24] The era of depression spanned from around October 29th, 1929, the day commonly referred to as the 'Black Tuesday', right across the 1930s up to the beginning of the 1940s. Some scholars even argue that its end was marked by the beginning of World War II. However, mention has to be made that this period caused a large and marked economic downturn for most countries in the world, having started in the United States during President Herbert Hoover's time in office with the crash of the New York Stock Exchange. This era was also characterised by optimistic statements from leading figures, like John D. Rockefeller, who said: "These are days when many are discouraged. In the 93 years of my life, depressions have come and gone. Prosperity has always returned and will again." (http://us.history.wisc.edu/hist102/lectures/lecture18.html).
South Africa, like other countries, was not spared. Given this economic depression, new inventions like wireless broadcasting, which required financial backing, were also affected. This influenced the then Prime Minister, General Hertzog, to call an inquiry into how this new invention could be financially assisted.

Roos (1954: 42) adds that such a move not only attracted anger and disillusionment among Afrikaans speakers, but meant that the bulk of them lived outside the range of the city-based Medium Wave transmitters, thereby having to depend on the shortwave service. Further, the advent of World War II disenfranchised most Afrikaners, who migrated into the city in-search of industrial jobs. This form of migration towards the city accelerated the demand for an adequate medium-wave Afrikaans service. Orlik (1974) contends that the war situation and its demands also created a change in terms of personnel at SABC. This change was caused by the failure of the government to draw up a conscription act, as most Afrikanners opposed the idea of ever fighting alongside the British. As a result, those of British stock (English speakers), including English SABC employees, volunteered for military service and left their positions. This created vacancies, and these new posts would later be filled by the Afrikaners, who had long complained about the general management set up, which they held to be skewed in favour of English speakers. Their main aim was to rectify what they had long fought against; the imbalance in terms of staffing and management between the English and the Afrikaans service.

The advent of WWII, as stated above, created conducive conditions for the take-over of SABC by Afrikaans speakers. This found greater expression in 1948, with the victory of the Afrikaaner Nationalist Party (ANP), led by Daniel F. Malan who is greatly credited for coining the policy of 'racial separation under white guardianship.' This policy later became the pattern upon which his successor, Hendrik F. Verwoerd (1958-66), located an amplified programme of 'white guardianship', this time called 'Apartheid'.[25] The coming to power of the Afrikaaner Nationalist Party led to a serious shift in the broadcasting landscape of South Africa. Further, the SABC Board of Governors was also clinched and controlled. Such a move to control the SABC Board of Governors was accompanied by the establishment of the Corporation's own newsgathering service and the discontinuation of the practice of accessing BBC news by means of Corporation facilities; a form of practice which was considered to be pro-British (English speakers), geared to entrench their domination and was resented by the Afrikaners. In response to this process of gradual alienation that was being purveyed, by the Afrikaner leadership; the English speakers created Springbok Radio, which was launched on May 1st, 1950, and quickly became the pseudo-outlet of their expression.

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[25] For more information on these programmes and apartheid please refer to the following link: http://www.nytimes.com/1989/09/07/world/south-africa-s-national-party-vehicle-for-afrikaner-power.html

This station enjoyed financial success and popularity among the English speakers well after 1957.

The discussion above has at least managed to illuminate the argument that the history of broadcasting in South Africa follows deeply entrenched contours of contestation, exclusion and inclusion of one group by the other (Teer-Tomaselli 2001; Hayman & Teer-Tomaselli 1989). It further shows us the road traversed by the Afrikaner Nationalist Party as they finally formed what Orlik (1974) aptly described as follows:,

> South Africa has developed the most sophisticated radio broadcasting system on the continent, whether viewed in terms of technology, economics or organisational ingenuity (1974: 141).

Following the World War II years and the 'Great Depression,' an era that spanned 1940-1950, new developments in broadcasting were introduced. These developments marked the government's objective to widen radio broadcasting by way of introducing broadcasting to African communities. Broadcasting in this case was to be undertaken in African languages. This can be explained by assessing the views of scholars like Graham Mytton (1983), Louise Bourgault (1995) and Francis Nyamnjoh (2005), who suggest that the power of broadcasting, when discovered by the colonial administrators, called for marked state control, and that this form of state control was later transferred to the new independence leadership in most African states. This further explains how important broadcasting is to the maintenance of power in Africa. Following this observation, it is worth noting that in 1940, the first direct transmissions in South Africa's African languages[26] were made using telephone lines and were then shifted onto the Medium Wave in 1942. However, more developments followed in the 1960s with the creation of a Frequency Modulation (FM) network and the introduction of additional programmes and more radio stations in other African languages. At the same time, regional services for regions like Transvaal, the Cape Province and Natal were introduced, together with an external Radio Service broadcasting on Short Wave; a system of broadcasting that was commonly referred to as the 're-diffusion system.'

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[26] These were commonly referred to as 'native languages', for more information on the 'native question' please refer to Mahmood Mamdani (1996) *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

2.6 A Brief History of Ethnic Broadcasting: Bantu Languages in South Africa

In furthering the re-diffusion system, in 1952 a system which specifically focused on communicating to Black South Africans in their different languages was formed. Officially these were called 'Bantu programmes' (Lekgoathi 2009). This broadcasting arrangement targeted Orlando Township. Broadcasting was done through a single channel wired loudspeaker system. This approach managed to garner more than 11,910 Black African subscribers by 1987 (Theunissen *et al* 1996). These listeners were enthused by the enigma of broadcasting and how it managed to transform their languages into wired loud speakers. This enigmatic instance of broadcasting and the subsequent advent of wireless broadcasting is further discussed by Graham Mytton (1983) in his analysis of letters from the listeners to wireless that were sent to colonial broadcasters and newspapers in Zambia.

The first broadcasts in African languages were in Zulu, Xhosa and Southern Sotho.[27] This was done via telephone lines to different townships in South Africa. Then direct broadcasts were introduced in 1942 on Medium Wave. However, this was first done as an experiment. In the years that followed, the introduction of broadcasts on Medium Wave was broadcast simultaneously with those using telephone lines. This was continued until 1945, when the use of telephone lines had to be discontinued. Medium Wave broadcasts in Zulu, Xhosa and Southern Sotho took over and were broadcast for at least half an hour a day every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. It was not long after the formation of this type of broadcasting in 1947, that Zulu broadcasting was shifted to Durban, and then Xhosa was moved to Cape Town from Johannesburg. When closely analysed, this move marked the beginning of the decentralisation of radio broadcasting along ethnic lines to various regions of the country. This policy was concretised by the apartheid government in the years that followed, and later served to entrench the policy of 'separate development' whose nexus was the concentration of 'natives' into homelands (Mamdani, 1996). From around 1965, Xhosa programmes were broadcast from Grahamstown; an area that is geographically considered a home of the Xhosa people. However, some programmes in Zulu, Xhosa and Southern Sotho continued to be broadcast from Johannesburg and were meant to serve those who had migrated to the big city in search of employment. 1953 brought with it some changes in broadcasting; that same year the re-diffusion service to Orlando was introduced. Following this service, programmes were relayed by wire, in the same fashion as the telephone service, to wireless receivers in homes.

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[27] See Sekibakiba Lekgoathi (2009) for more information on the history of Southern Sotho and their radio station.

This created the 'enigma of wireless' radio, which became commonly known as *iwayilesi*[28] in most African communities.

Furthermore, this re-diffusion process was expanded to places like; Jabavu, Dube and Molofo. According to Malcolm Theunissen *et al* (1996: 75) wireless accretion in homes totalled six thousand as a result of this re-diffusion service. Due to these developments, broadcasting in African languages had to be taken seriously and was developing. As a result, Radio Bantu was established on January 1st, 1960, as a fully fledged radio station which broadcast in several of the African languages of South Africa (Lekgoathi 2009: 578). This followed the initial promulgation of the Broadcasting Amendment Act, No. 49 of 1960 which gave the SABC's Board of Governors increased powers to control the affairs and interpret the functions of Radio Bantu (Lekgoathi 2009). Ultimately, this led to the formation of the Bantu Programme Control Board, an exclusively white board. Its tasks were to manage and endorse programmes for the radio station together with the employment of staff. This new radio station broadcast for an hour a day alternately in Zulu, Xhosa and Southern Sotho, using the Medium Wave transmitters of the already functioning English and Afrikaans services. In addition, this introduction did not cause a halt in broadcasts already taking place on Medium Wave on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, following the re-diffusion service, as it was some kind of experimental project. These changes were simultaneously continued with a view to improving broadcasting in African languages. On January 1st, 1962, two radio services were introduced as separate stations; *Radio Sesotho*[29] and *Radio Zulu*[30]. These new radio stations were broadcast on the just introduced FM transmitters. This was followed by *Radio*

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[28] The word 'iwayilesi' is a Nguni word which is a direct translation of the English word 'wireless'. It became a common name referring to the gadget-stereo that receives radio signals in the home. The word is still being used in some communities in Southern Africa to this day.

[29] Radio Sesotho continued for a while and was then changed on May 2nd, 1994, to Sesotho Stereo. The station catered for another dialect of the Sotho speakers, commonly known as Southern Sotho. The station was recently rebranded and repositioned following the calls for social transformation, and embraced the name Lesedi FM. Emphasis has to be made here that Sotho in South Africa exists in two main dialects that have since been delineated geographically as; Northern and Southern Sotho, respectively. Northern Sotho is commonly known as sePedi and is found in the areas covering Polokwane (formerly Pietersburg), Gauteng, Tshwane (formerly Pretoria), parts of Mpumalanga and Limpopo provinces. While Southern Sotho is commonly found in the areas covering Bloemfontein, Northern Cape towards Lesotho, Gauteng, and Tshwane. This station is not part of the focus of my study, and so not much attention is given in terms of discussion and the general exposition of what later happened during its transformation to Lesedi FM.

[30] Radio Zulu has a rich history within the annals of South Africa's broadcasting. It catered for the Zulu people. Since it is not my major focus in this study, it suffices to highlight that this station continued up the broadcasting ladder until it was rebranded with a new name, Ukhozi FM (meaning the Eagle), in September, 1996. The latter's continuation and change were part of South Africa's social transformation process and also a mark of repositioning for it to fit into the competitive PBS market.

Setswana and *Radio Lebowa*[31] introduced on June 1st of the same year (Lekgoathi 2009). Furthermore, 1964 became the year characterised by the introduction of the *School Radio Service,* which broadcast in African languages. This service was run in conjunction with the Department of Education and Training and was meant to supply educational programmes to schools and children at home. Then, in 1965, two more radio stations were introduced on the FM service; *Radio Tsonga and Radio Venda,* leading to a total of six ethnic focused radio stations, all of them managed by the SABC. These two radio stations form the subject of this thesis and will be discussed in detail in the following sections and chapters.

The continued introduction of various radio services on FM meant that the re-diffusion service to the townships had to be continued, and it was finally done in 1967. It is worth emphasising that the apartheid administration managing South Africa had extended its influence and control to South West Africa (present day Namibia). With this expanded colonial catchment area, radio services were also simultaneously introduced in Windhoek and Oshakati on FM in 1969. These programmes followed the broadcast pattern that had been created in South Africa, on local languages. In the case of Namibia, the local languages that were targeted were; Ovambo, Herero, Damara and Nama. These are the radio services that were later inherited by the Namibian government upon attainment of independence after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. While the South African colonial administration continued with the expansion of its political grip and influence in the extreme southern region of Africa, its domestic African languages broadcasting crusade simultaneously continued. This was followed by the establishment of *Radio Swazi* and *Radio Ndebele*[32] on FM in 1982 and 1983 respectively.

The broadcast services whose history has been explained above were later expanded by the SABC board in 1993 making them accessible to millions of South Africans. However, it is noteworthy that the coming of black majority rule in 1994 saw the new government embracing the old broadcasting services together with its

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[31] Radio Setswana catered for the Tswana people. The station was situated in Pretoria, where it is still located today. The station underwent some changes on July 2nd, 1992, when it changed its name to Setswana Stereo. However, on September 1st, 1996, it was relaunched as Motsweding FM. The station is also a public broadcaster. Then Radio Lebowa targeted the Northern Sotho ethnic group. It broadcasts from Pietersburg and was later relaunched in 1996 as Thobela FM, a public broadcaster, this time targeting another dialect of the Sotho people; Northern Sotho, commonly known as sePedi.

[32] Radio Swazi, targeted the SiSwati people and originally broadcast from the Pretoria studios of SABC, but has since moved its headquarters to Nelspruit. The station changed its name to LiGwalagwala FM in 1996. Then Radio Ndebele targeted Ndebele people and has a huge listenership of 80% in the Mpumalanga region, where it is located (Theunissen *et al* 1996: 85). In 1996, the station was relaunched as Ikwekwezi FM. These two radio stations are part of SABC's public service broadcasting crusade.

confluences. In embracing the old SABC pattern, with its radio stations the new government enshrined it in Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999. The Act sought to repeal the Broadcasting Act of 1976 (Act No. 73 of 1976) with a view to establishing a new broadcasting policy for the public and a new South Africa. The Act also transformed SABC from a State Broadcaster to a Public Broadcasting Service (PBS).[33] In seeking to confirm SABC as a PBS, the defining section of South Africa's Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999 provides the following three key pointers;

➤ Any broadcasting service provided by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC);

➤ A broadcasting service provided by any other statutory body; or

➤ A broadcasting service provided by a person who receives his or her revenue, either wholly or partly, from licence fees levied in respect of the licensing of persons in relation to sound radio sets and in relation to television sets, or from the state.

In essence, this new policy approach sought neither to completely dismantle, nor to discontinue broadcasting structures that were created by the apartheid regime. Instead, it embraced the already existing broadcast pattern. Furthermore, this move meant that this was a residual policy model whose focus is to tape into already existing structures of broadcasting. By so doing, few structural changes were made at first; although with time this has meant an incremental policy model whereby the new black leaders continue to add policy focus to already existing programmes. It is these two policy models: the residual and incremental that inform this research on SABC's radio broadcasting policies. Furthermore, this policy move in fulfilment of the residual policy model will be shown in detail through discussion on the five radio stations selected as case studies. Suffice it to say that the incremental component will also be evidenced, particularly with the focus on the rebranding and relaunching of these radio stations as part of the social transformation process. These case studies include: *Munghana Lonene* (formerly *Radio Tsonga*); *Phalaphala* (formerly *Radio Venda*); *Lotus FM* (formerly *Radio Lotus*), *Radio Sonder Grense,* formerly *'B Programme', 'Afrikaans Diens' or Afrikaans Stereo* and *XK FM*, a new radio station for the San community.

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[33]This view was further buttressed by my respondent from ICASA during my research in South Africa in March 2009.

Given the information above, it can be gleaned that the history of current ethnically focused radio stations in South Africa dates back to the 1960s and the apartheid period. These ethnically focused radio stations were managed by the then Apartheid government under the auspices of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), as discussed above. Further, they were kept within the framework of 'Bantu radio stations', as will be discussed in later sections of this chapter and also later in this thesis. However, this time, it will be considered through a more in-depth approach that looks at the broadcasting policy embraced by the new South African government. Since the focus of this thesis is on five current public radio stations that serve clearly defined 'ethnic communities, and the politics of accommodation sponsored by the public broadcaster, my emphasis in this chapter will shift its locus to the era of intensified anti-apartheid struggle in the 1980s so as to provide a background to events in later years, including the post-apartheid period, which is the object of my research.

2.7 Old Wine in New Skins: Current Trends in Radio Broadcasting[34]

Following discussion of the history of African ethnic language radio broadcasting, above, this section defines the nexus upon which public radio broadcasting policies in South Africa have evolved. Furthermore, it intends to discuss an overview of radio broadcasting trends in post-apartheid South Africa to show a mixed approach in which apartheid radio broadcasting structures are continued, together with an incrementalist model. It is imperative to mention that this arrangement of radio broadcasting along ethnic lines sponsored by the public broadcaster now forms a major public broadcasting policy in South Africa. Emphasis has to be made at this juncture that, as a way of re-organising SABC, the government of Nelson Mandela streamlined the broadcasting spectrum for various public radio stations. By streamlining the broadcasting spectrum, eighteen radio stations were created, fifteen of them operating as public service broadcasters. Of the fifteen radio stations, eleven are full spectrum stations. The following are the eighteen radio stations;

- ✓ *5 FM*
- ✓ *Channel Africa*

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[34] The transformation of radio broadcasting in South Africa as a process was not done in isolation. It was done in tandem with that of the broader media landscape. As a result, a level ground had to be encouraged through the promulgation of legislation to manage and regulate the functions o the media. At first this dealt separately with the areas of broadcasting (TV & radio) and the telecommunications industry (Moyo & Hlongwane 2009). Please refer to *page, 109* for a brief discussion of the regulatory landscape. However, for a detailed engagement of South Africa's media regulatory framework refer to D. Moyo & S. Hlongwane (2009: 279-294)

- ✓ *Ikwekwezi FM*
- ✓ *Lesedi FM*
- ✓ *LiGwalagwala FM*
- ✓ *Lotus FM*
- ✓ *Metro FM*
- ✓ *Motsweding FM*
- ✓ *Munghana Lonene FM*
- ✓ *Phalaphala FM*
- ✓ *Radio 2000*
- ✓ *Radio Sonder Grense (RSG) FM*
- ✓ *SA FM*
- ✓ *Thobela FM*
- ✓ *Ukhozi FM*
- ✓ *Umhlobo Wenene FM*
- ✓ *X-K FM*

Then, from the list above, the table below seeks to further present the organisation of ethnic radio stations within SABC. They are presented according to their language of broadcasting to show the precise link that exists between the radio station and the ethnic group. Furthermore, this follows South Africa's new policy in having eleven official languages (Zegeye & Harris, 2003: 02). The radio stations are as follows:

LANGUAGE	RADIO STATION
1) Afrikaans	Radio Sonder Grense (RSG) FM
2) English	SA FM
3) IsiNdebele (Ndebele)	Inkwenkwezi FM
4) IsiXhosa (Xhosa)	Umhlobo Wenene
5) IsiZulu (Zulu)	Ukhozi FM
6) Northern Sotho (SePedi)	Thobela FM
7) Southern Sotho (SeSotho)	Lesedi FM
8) Setswana (Tswana)	Mostweding FM
9) SiSwati (Swati)	Ligwalagwala FM
10) tshiVenda (Venda)	Phalaphala FM
11) XiTsonga (Tsonga/Shangaan)	Munghana Lonone FM

Figure 1: Shows the distribution of radio stations on language (ethnic) basis.

Then the twelfth group of languages, also identified within the ambit of the Pan-South African Language Board (PANSLAB), are the languages of the San people. However, for this group of languages only one radio station was established in 2000 for the !Xû and Khwe communities of Platfontein in Kimberley; that is, *X-K FM*. This radio station is strikingly unique if compared to all the other radio stations listed above, in that in terms of its remit it is limited to serving these two communities, which implies that it also doubles as a quasi-community radio station, while, on the other hand, it remains fully answerable to the public broadcaster, SABC (Mhlanga 2009, 2010). More detail and engagement with this radio station and its uniqueness will be dealt with in Chapters Seven and Eight, but it will suffice at this juncture to highlight that this radio station's uniqueness was even emphasised by the Group Executive News and Current Affairs, Dr Snuki Zikalala in one of my interviews with him. He stated that when one is studying public radio stations in South African it is advisable to grant considerable attention to *X-K FM* in order to understand the factors that led to its formation. He added that its uniqueness is not only in its remit and general mandate, but even in the history of the two communities (!Xû and Khwe). On that note, I rest this case for now; it will be picked up later in my detailed engagement with general broadcast policies, the regulations and spread of these radio stations following ethnic lines.

Lotus FM is another radio station that is not in the table above. *Lotus FM* is located in Durban; it was established to serve the Indian community. More information on the station will be presented in the section on the five selected case studies, below. Like all of the other ethnic radio stations this station is part of the public broadcaster, and it reports directly to the SABC Headquarters (the centre) in Johannesburg. According to one of my key informants, a Regional General Manager, this policy centralises control of SABC operations, in particular broadcasting as a security-oriented resource. In support of the above, another Regional Administrator added that the concept of a 'wireless' created some kind of vocabulary, even among the African listeners who continue to this day to refer to it as a wireless, otherwise, it is known in most local languages as 'wayilesi', unlike in the past when radio stations used to report to their regional administrations, but, *'....now the lines of command from the radio stations to my office are clearly dotted if not completely broken, whereas those to Radio Park in Johannesburg (the centre) are bold and very visible.'* He added that: *'...if the stations have any activities or community programmes they merely inform me. In fact, they are not obliged to ask for authorisation. In the same*

way, if I have regional projects, I have to request them to be part of my team and they reserve the right to refuse if they are busy.[35]

This is a telling statement in terms of ownership, control and management of public radio stations by SABC. It also shows the ambivalence of policy continuities, especially when a state emerges from colonialism. The broadcasting pattern used in this case clearly resembles that of the apartheid era in terms of structural arrangement. However there still is a marked difference, although, in the case of ethnic radio stations the challenge continues to show as retribalisation of the state. This means that the social transformation process, by seeking to protect ethnic minority rights, in a way is encouraging the process of retribalisation. As will be discussed further in Chapter Five, one may want to pose the question as to whether retribalising the state is wrong.

Using the radio stations listed above, the following organogram presents the current management structure of the public radio broadcasting section at SABC. This section is commonly referred to as Public Broadcasting Services (PBS).
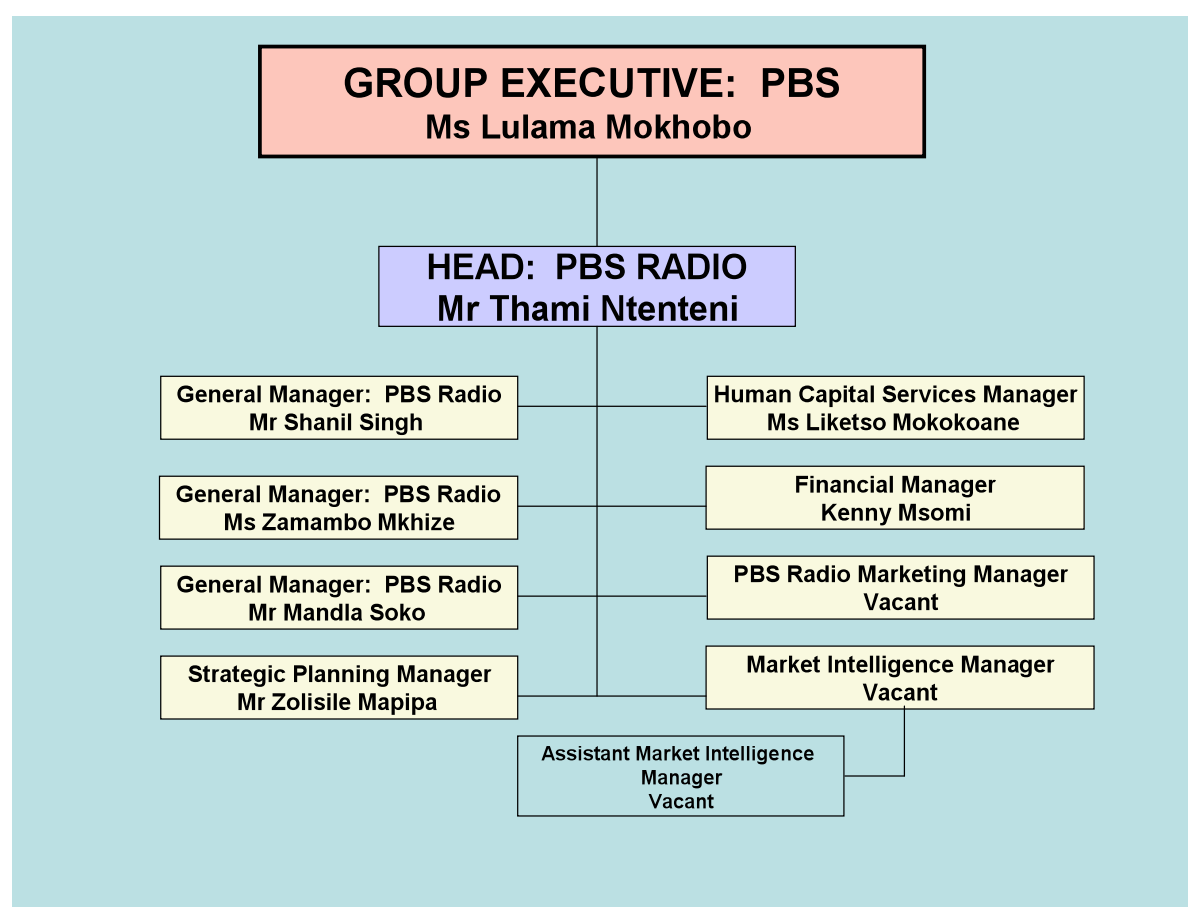
Figure 2: shows the organizational structure of PBS management at SABC.

Source: Training Manager – PBS Radio (2009).

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[35] This was said by one of SABC's Regional Administrators in March 2009.

The above organogram shows the arrangement of a section that deals specifically with public radio broadcasting. It must be stated that this is just one of the structures of SABC radio broadcasting. Commercial broadcasting forms another major section which generates revenue for the public broadcaster, but because commercial radio broadcasting is not the focus of my thesis, I leave this to other researchers.

A closer analysis of the organogram shows three positions that are designated for General Managers, whose tasks are to deal directly with these public radio stations. These positions are occupied by Shanil Singh, Zamambo Mkhize and Mandla Shoko. General Managers report directly to the Head of PBS Radio, Thami Ntenteni. However, what the organogram does not show is the line of command from the radio stations. Then an organogram showing a sectoral chain of command, or at least that from one Radio Station Manager to the SABC Board, would look like this;
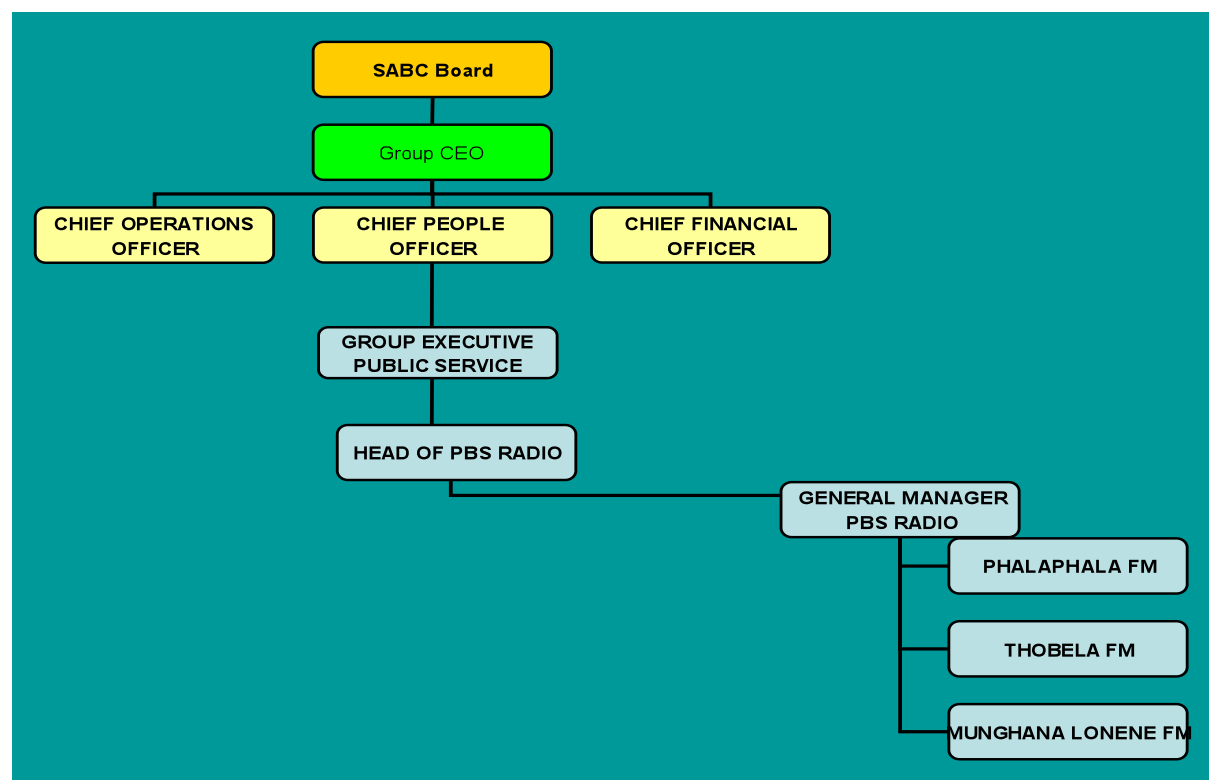
Figure 3: Is an organogram which defines the chain of command from the SABC Board to the public radio stations. (Source: Training Manager – PBS 2009)

From the foregoing it is worth highlighting, therefore, that all Station Managers report directly to the General Managers, as confirmed by the regional administrators above. Further, it might be imperative to also emphasise that these

public radio stations were neatly divided between the three General Managers who are shown in Figures 2 and 3 above. Figure 3 also shows clearly that the chain of command now links directly to the centre. Another issue that is evident is that SABC is answerable to the government through the Minister responsible and the Board. However, these may be seen as pressure gauges that are coupled with a parliamentary oversight, which usually is boosted through the parliamentary portfolio committee. However, the issue of political allegiance featured more in the responses from my research, as most of my respondents acknowledged that their representatives are voted into parliament on political party tickets.

Another issue which emerges is how the same old radio stations have been transformed into 'new' structures to serve a new agenda. Despite these changes, as some of my respondents suggested, this change seems to present a shift whereby the responsibilities of the former Afrikaans radio station now lie with the other radio stations. In further seeking to present the case of these radio stations as 'old wine in new skins', the following section will show how the five selected ethnic minority radio stations were transformed, but still kept within their confines to serve the new government. In Chapter Eight, this is presented as a new form of hegemony (in page 249 ff).

2.8 Case Study of Five Selected Radio Stations as of Decentralised PSB

This section focuses on the five selected radio stations which are the case studies for this thesis; *Lotus FM, Radio Sonder Grense (RGS), Phalaphala FM, Munghana Lonene FM and XK FM*. As stated above, this thesis seeks to critically engage with and understand the notion of ethnic accommodation and the major role played by public radio in purveying state formation as a process. Further, I contend that what is commonly referred to as social transformation in South Africa forms both a major socio-political build-up to state formation and a new epoch of change in discourse and semantics within the SABC's corridors. It marks an order where most strategic political positions previously occupied by white administrators were substituted by black ones. This time around, differences in ethnicity, to better suit democratic taste have been subtly referred to as 'diversity' within the discourse of public service broadcasting. In addition, this is considered to function in congruence with the democratic ideation; a process grandiosely masked to cover an elite transformation and political continuity in the broadcasting sector and other state spheres (cf. Sparks 2009).

The discussion on broadcasting systems using the five selected case studies will further show varied forms of social engineering in terms of the politics of ethnic accommodation. It will also tease out the state's capacity to recompense disenfranchised groups in the case of XK FM; a station which was created solely to cater for a fraction of the South African population: the !Xû and Khwe. It is further noted that four of these five selected radio stations were established during the apartheid era and had to be transformed in 1994 to suit the demands for political change in South Africa. However, as stated above, the broadcasting landscape and the mediascape in general had been in the hands of the apartheid government, as seen in the case of SABC which was managed and run like a state broadcaster. The new South African government thus sought to transform that arrangement by redefining broadcasting policy.[36] This was done through the dismantling of various apartheid created structures and the formation of new ones. However, it is also noted that while most of these structures were being dismantled, some were simply converted to suit the needs of a changing political terrain. These included setting a new SABC management structure, ranging from the SABC board to the creation of a separate regulating body (ICASA) (Moyo & Hlongwane 2009; Louw 1993). The general administration of radio stations at SABC was also transformed, including their names, in a bid to mask their ethnic focus and leanings. However, ownership of these radio stations was not ceded to the communities in whose languages they broadcast instead, the new government continued with the policy of owning and controlling them, this time using extended control, since they are now answerable to parliament through the SABC board, with some modicum of public involvement.

These radio stations served the apartheid ethos, as will also be seen in the discussion of findings following the research undertaken at SABC headquarters and these individual radio stations. These five selected radio stations will be discussed in detail one by one.

2.8.1 Lotus FM: For the Indian Community

The history of Lotus FM shows humble beginnings for a station which started in 1932 as a service for the Indian community, playing music and slightly culturally formatted programming. Most of the Indian programmes started in Natal and were broadcast

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[36] Please refer to the SABC Editorial Policy document which provides policy guidelines as well as the SABC Mandate as enunciated on in the broadcasting Charter. The policy document further outlines the core editorial values as follows: equality, editorial independence, nation-building, diversity, human dignity, accountability and transparency (pg. 03). Also included in this document is the editorial code of the SABC.

from the old studios in the Durban City Hall on Mondays and Fridays from 6pm to 6:20pm. Emphasis has to be made here that during these sessions there were no 'live broadcasts.' These programmes were broadcast in Tamil, Telegu, Hindi, Urdu and Gujarati. They also consisted entirely of music gramophone records. However, the outbreak of World War II (1939-1945) caused the Indian programmes to be discontinued following the resignation of the announcer, Abel Peters, who preferred to join the army. Then, during the war, the Civilian Protection Service of the Army resumed Indian programmes from new studios in Aliwal Street. A place which today is known as the BP centre. These programmes were broadcast on Sundays from 9:15-9:30am and took the form of cultural talks, instead of the earlier musical sessions.

When the war ended in 1945, regular Indian programmes, this time with music, continued on Sundays from 9:15-9:45am. From January 2nd, 1955, onwards, these programmes were to be broadcast on Sundays morning from 9:00-9:30 am. The duration was extended by half-an-hour on February 4th, 1962, thus they broadcast from 8:30-9:30. The programme was called *'Sunday morning Indian Music'*. Further, a 10 minute Children's Corner was also introduced. Then a Saturday "Sports Review" was started on February 10th, 1962, from 13:45-14:00PM. The first announcer to present the programme was Mr. Rajendra Chetty, followed by T.P. Naidoo, Tony Iyavoo, Ebrahim Osman, Ronnie Govender, and the renowned Ruthnam Pillay, who had joined the African Broadcasting Company as a youth messenger in November, 1930. On January 26th, 1946, he was appointed programme assistant of the Indian programmes from Durban. In February, 1960, he took over the duties of announcing the Tamil and Telegu programmes.

The Sports Review programme was introduced at the end of 1978. However, it is worth noting that on January 1st, 1972, Juggadesan Devar, a well known presenter, joined the Indian Radio Service of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). He introduced the first National Indian programme called *'Saturday Mirror'*, which was broadcast on Saturdays from 7:15-8:00am. Its first programme was aired on Saturday, 15th January, 1972. Further, he presented *'Music in the Morning'* on Sundays from 9:00-9:30am. This programme went live on Sunday, 16th January, 1972. Another programme was then introduced to cater for the children on *Saturday Mirror*. The programme was commonly known as the *"Children's Corner."*

Saturday Mirror and *Music in the Morning* continued until the closure of the English Radio Service of the SABC on December 31st, 1985. In 1986, it was relaunched as *Radio South Africa,* and then became SAFM in 1995. The Indian

programmes were always broadcast from the transmitters of the English Radio Service at SABC. In 1973, another Indian Radio Station opened; Radio Truro. This station was available on Medium Wave. However, the station did not last, as it was forced to close in 1985. It was at this stage that SABC realised the need for a fully fledged radio station that would target the Indian community. Following this realisation, Radio Lotus was established at 8:00am on January 8th, 1983. It broadcast in stereo from Durban and has been on air since then for 24 hours a day, seven days a week. When it started, its spectrum covered the whole of KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and the Western Cape now it has expanded (see Appendices for Coverage Area of each region).

In 1985, Fakir Hassen took over as station manager and continued until 1986. Thereafter, Khalik Sheriff, who was a presenter on Radio Lotus, succeeded Hassen. Khalik, who saw the need to attract a younger audience and who transformed the station into what it is called today: Lotus FM. The station reaches almost half a million listeners and targets mainly the South African Indian Communities. This community consists of five main language groups: Hindi, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu and Gujarati. Further, these languages span three different religious groupings; Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. According to Malcolm Theunissen *et al* (1996: 72), around 90% of the South African Indian Community uses English as a home language, though the Indian languages above are also understood to varying degrees.

When the radio station was relaunched, the process of transformation in broadcasting caused the name Radio Lotus to be changed to Lotus FM. The station changed from being a music formatted service to a public broadcaster catering for the religious, cultural and linguistic needs of South African citizens of Indian descent. Further, the move operated within the stipulated radio station's licence conditions (for more information on the licence, please refer to the station license in the appendices). The new format is as follows: Sport 2%, with 156 hours, Youth 3%, with 260 hours; Religion, 6% with 481 hours; Magazine 5%, with 416 hours; Talk shows 5%, with 468 hours; Women's Interest 6%, with 572 hours; News 8%, with 728 hours; Current Affairs 11%, with 936 hours; Cultural 11%, with 936 hours; Music 43%, 783 hours. The total is 8736 hours, which rounds up to 100% of the radio station's formatting.[37]

However, religion, which has been further broken down into various percentages of listeners for this radio station is as follows; Hinduism is pegged at

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[37] This information was obtained from a document entitled: Developing Delivering Value: Particulars and Financial Implications of the SAB Radio and Television Portfolios. Supplementary submission by the South African Broadcasting Corporation to the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in May 30 1995, pages 01-25.

70%, Islam 25% and Christianity 5%. Cultural programmes cater for specific linguistic and cultural needs; that is, 66% for the North Indians. Under this segment the following ethnic groups are included; Hindi, Urdu and Gujarati. The 34% allocated for the cultural needs of South Indians includes; Tamil and Telegu. Despite this breakdown, emphasis is placed on the extensive use of all these languages. The principal and dominant language of broadcasting is English, with emphasis on Hindi, Tamil, Urdu, Gujarati and Telegu as specialist languages (see station licence for more information). Music played on radio is exclusively of a cultural nature, that is, in the languages mentioned above. Following these specifications, one major problem is noted: Lotus FM's lack of locally produced music. As a result, much of the music is foreign (Indian origins), rather than being originally South African. It should be stated that during apartheid these languages were not granted any recognition, but for the new leaders in the post-apartheid era these languages were given prominence; thus emphasizing the new nation-state's retribalisation process.

2.8.2 Munghana Lonene FM: For the Tsonga Community

This radio station was originally established on February 1st, 1965, as a station for the Tsonga people, and was given the name Radio Tsonga. The station broadcast from Pietersburg, and its first broadcasts were for less than five hours daily. The target listenership at that time was the rural community of the Tsonga or Shangaan speaking people. As a result, it became the most reliable source of information, since over 65% of its listeners could not read and write. This followed the usual trend of radio in the African setting: radio being seen as the voice of the state to the community, but gradually leading to the interpretation by the receivers for radio to be seen as the voice of the community. It is this enigmatic element of radio that captured the minds of the rural listeners, to the extent that they accepted this radio station (Radio Tsonga) as the most reliable source of news and information from the government and about them. Then, in 1996, when the new South African government undertook to transform the broadcasting landscape and the general mediascape, Radio Tsonga was relaunched as Munghana Lonene, which means 'best friend'. Again, as in all the public radio stations, the state is the sole shareholder; that is, controls 100% of the shares. According to Theunissen *et al* (1996: 82), this station provides information to over 65% of its listeners who are also based in the rural areas. The music format for Munghana Lonene FM is regarded as 'fast beat', in the categories of Jazz, Choral, traditional, Gospel, Reggae, Golden Oldies and Hymns. Furthermore, Theunissen *et*

al (1996) contend that 80% of the music played is local. As a free spectrum radio, the station caters for all ages.

The station prides itself for having made inroads into the community as a vehicle for development. The development venture undertaken by its Station Manager in 1996 is particularly notable, Chris Phepheyane, who fundraised for school classrooms to be built in the area, managed to raise R1,4 million. Added to that, the station has established various running development projects such as; an Education Trust that sponsors Standard Ten students for further education, and a Radio Tsonga Listeners' club, a watchdog programme that allows listeners to criticise and make suggestions for programmes. Given this involvement in community development, the station also increased it listenership in the 1990s from 250,000 to 930,000 (Theunissen *et al* 1996). This section on Munghana Lonene FM is bent on creating a brief background and general history of the station. More information on the station will be given in the chapter on the data presentation and can also be obtained in the appendices.

2.8.3 Phalaphala FM: For the Venda Community

This radio station was established on February 1st 1965, and it broadcast from Pietersburg. Established as Radio Venda, it also broadcast in Venda. Then, in 1996, following the new South African government's media drive to transform the broadcast landscape from state broadcasting to public broadcasting, Radio Venda was also transformed. Its policies began with its change of name to Phalaphala FM, which means a traditional horn that was used to call people to a meeting, or whenever there was a very important announcement to make[38]. However, the station has continued to broadcast from its original location in Polokwane (formerly Pietersburg), Limpopo Province. Its broadcast spectrum also covers Gauteng, North West and Mpumalanga Provinces (refer to appendices for a map of the broadcasting spectrum). Emphasis has to be made that the station is still owned by SABC, with the state controlling 100% of shares, a policy that is a residue of the apartheid regime's policy (for more information on the license, terms and conditions refer to the license in the Appendices). According to John Farquhar (2006: 44), Phalaphala FM 'talks to young aspirational and upwardly-mobile black people living mainly in Limpopo. The primary target market is 25-49 age groups in LSM 4-8, with a secondary target audience being the 16-24 age groups.' The format of this radio station is mostly

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[38] This information was obtained from one of my respondents, who also belongs to the management team at Phalaphala FM. He added that the station therefore occupies a very special role within the Venda community, since it symbolises their identity and peoplehood. More information will be discussed in the section of this thesis on the data presentation.

music, with a sizable portion of talking. Furthermore, 80% of the music played is of South African origin, with a relatively good amount of Rhythm and Blues (R&B) and Hip-hop. In defining the social positioning of the radio station, John Farquhar (2006: 44) says;

> Phalaphala FM encourages listeners to have a stronger sense of personal and social identity, and develops feelings of pride, self-worth and confidence. By standing taller and knowing better 'who they are,' the potential for personal growth and a higher quality of life is increased.

As a PSB, the radio station has an advertising policy that clearly stipulates that three adverts are allowed per break. Its broadcasting period is 24 hours per day, and it broadcasts daily. This station will be discussed in detail in the chapter on data presentation.

2.8.4 Radio Sonder Grense: For the Afrikaans Community

Radio Sonder Grense broadcasts in Afrikaans and was first launched in 1937, a year after the formation of SABC. During those days, it was commonly referred to as the *'B Programme'* or *'Afrikaans Diens'* (Afrikaans service).[39] In those days, popular broadcast material was made up of satirical and humorous (comedy) programmes. Efforts to kindle the notion of identity through the radio station and the representation for Afrikaans speakers attained its peak in 1986, when the station even changed its name to *'Radio Suid-Afrika'*. Then, in 1992, the transitional period sought to engrave within the station a clearer birth-mark of its identity by making the station more appealing to the Afrikaans-speaking communities. This was accomplished mainly with the arrival of *'Afrikaans Stereo.'*[40] The Afrikaans Stereo logo was used until the relaunch of the SABC radio stations in 1996. The station then changed its name from *Radio Suid-Afrika* to *Radio Sonder Grense (RSG)* in 1996. This means, 'radio without borders' and it was granted a new mandate (see station license in the Appendices for more information). The relaunch of *RSG* as an inclusive radio station for all Afrikaans speakers, regardless of colour, also meant that the station now functions in dual format; both as a commercial radio and public service broadcaster (PSB). According to John Farquhar (2006: 27), this move alone meant that *RSG* became the first PSB to operate in a dual format, as stated above. However, mention has to be made that the radio station's leaning is towards the PSB mandate. According to Theunissen *et al* (1996: 70), this approach, informal as it appeared, has caused many Afrikaans-

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[39] This information was obtained from the station manager (of RSG FM) on 24th February, 2009.
[40] For a clearer view of the old and new logos see the appendices.

speaking people to identify with the station. In view of these changes, Mohammed Shaik said;

> The transformation that swept the country over the last few years indeed has far reaching implications. Not only have we experienced the birth of a new democracy, but changes that went to the root of our very existence became imperative. As the national Afrikaans radio station, the channel had to be transformed to serve all the Afrikaans-speaking peoples in the country. In the past the station focused primarily on the needs of the white Afrikaners- at the expense of the vast number of non-white Afrikaans-speakers. The programme content and schedules thus had to undergo significant change. For the first time, we can rightly say: *RSG* is the one station for the Afrikaans *nation,*[41] (cited in Theunissen *et al* 1996: 70).

Radio Sonder Grense, as a relaunched and repackaged brand, went on air on September 27th, 1996. This time the radio station broadcast 24 hours a day, for seven days a week in full Frequency Modulation (FM) stereo. Given this new structure, *RSG* now broadcasts to all Afrikaans communities. Further, its target is no longer the white Afrikaner community but also the non-white who can understand and converse in Afrikaans. Its broadcast area now covers a wide national spectrum (see Appendices for more information about the spectrum). The station also has repositioned itself to focus on a much younger audience (30+). John Farquhar (2006: 27) adds that the station's targets, 'forward thinking' Afrikaans-speaking and understanding people between the ages 25 and 49, from the upper Living Standard Measure (LSM 7-10). The AMPS ratings, as of 2006, showed that the station had an audience close to 700 000 listeners (Theunissen *et al* 1996: 71). Then, as of 2006, the listenership is said to have increased to 1, 843 million (John Farquhar (2006: 27). As a public service broadcaster (PSB) the station aims to inform, educate and entertain. Further, the content strategy, as enunciated in the *Frequency Advantage Magazine* by John Farquhar (2006: 27), is to offer a full spectrum Afrikaans radio station which includes: news, current affairs, sport, lifestyle, education and music *(alles in een – sonder grense).*[42] In seeking to present a picture which is in keeping with Mohammed Shaik's view of an Afrikaans 'nation', which belongs to the 'new' South Africa, John Farquhar adds that the station seeks to champion *'the image of the Afrikaans-speaking South African, reflecting a new persona for the group, providing a sense of belonging*

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[41] My emphasis. Note the way how the word nation is used in this case.
[42] Alles in een – sonder grense – means 'all in one' or 'everything in one.' According to Fritz Klaaste, one of my respondents, this payoff line was initially adopted as a political statement with a view to emphasize that their radio stations covers and encompasses everyone since it is without boundaries. He further sees this as an articulation of their mandate as a station, thus giving RSG FM the duty to serve the Afrikaans community. This he views as a functional mandate and not defining their business strategy. Fritz Klaaste then added that their new payoff line is; *dis in een* meaning, 'that's the one' or 'the station of choice.' "We want to be with the Afrikaans community not as one of their competing stations, but as the only station for our people. We want to be the one, they must tune in to us because we are the one", he added (Interview with Fritz Klaaste, in February 2009, Johannesburg).

and empowerment in the new South Africa'. Furthermore, RSG is considered as a national station, given its wide spectrum. More information on the station will be given in the chapter on the data presentation.

2.8.5 X-K FM: For the !Xû and Khwe

This study also deals with the *X-K FM* radio station, established in August, 2000, as a development project under the auspices of SABC. *X-K FM's* uniqueness as a community radio station, if compared to other ethnic minority public radio stations, is hinged on the following:

a) it is managed partly as a self-determining arrangement by the local communities and ,

b) it broadcasts to two different communities that have a history of ethnic conflict which sometimes turns violent (Mhlanga 2009)

The first position, as a quasi-self-determining arrangement, is further challenged by the fact that the state, through SABC, has devised control measures in a bid to ensure that such a community-centred project wholly remains in the hands of the community. These control measures are mainly through the production of programmes, as will be shown in the presentation findings. Further, this uniqueness has also been acknowledged by most of my respondents, who are at the helm of PBS radio at SABC.[43] The station broadcasts from 0600am to 2100pm, seven days a week. The station's languages of broadcasting is mainly !Xûntali and Khwedam (please refer to the Appendices for more information on the station's licence);[44] with Afrikaans as the language that bridges the ethnic divide. Its footprint covers a radius of between 30 and 50km, and it reaches around 4,500 !Xûntali and 2,000 Khwedam speakers (Mhlanga 2006). One of the objectives of this study was to investigate factors that qualified the !Xû and Khwe for a radio station, since they had recently migrated from Namibia and Angola respectively, rather than South Africa's Khomani and South African Khoisan groups. The station's target audience is the San people of Platfontein of all ages, falling into LSM 1-3 and 3-6. The station also plays predominantly South African and traditional music, with a limited variety of international music. It is further projected as the leading voice of the !Xû and Khwe San communities in Northern Cape, and uplift, develop and inform them (Mhlanga 2006). The majority of !Xûntali and Khwedam speakers who did not migrate to South

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[43] This acknowledgement was made by the Group Executive Officer, News and Current Affairs, Dr Snuki Zikalala.
[44] !Xû is the name given to the speakers, the language they speak is !Xûntali, for the Khwe, the latter refers to the speakers, whereas the language is referred to as Khwedam.

Africa live in southern Angola, western Zambia, and along the Namibian–Botswana border of the Caprivi Strip.

The discourses of cultural/linguistic survival and development will also underpin my analysis of *X-K FM's* formation.[45]   These discourses link to the objectives of the National Khoisan Consultative Council's (NKCC) work across the Khoisan as a whole. As a social movement, the Council's work can be characterized as shared activities and beliefs directed towards the demand for change in some aspect of the social order (cf. Mhlanga 2006, Douglas 1996: 08 Gusfield 1970: 02). The Angolan-based !Xû and Khwe were recruited to the South African Defence Force (SADF) and relocated to South Africa at the end of the war (1976-1990) between South Africa and the liberation armies of Angola and South West African People's Liberation Army (Douglas 1996, Chamberlin 2003, Lee and Hitchcock 2001: 13). On arrival in South Africa these two ethnic groups were immediately granted citizenship (Douglas 1996: 8). Some members of the two ethnic groups chose to remain in Angola and Namibia while others were settled at Schmidtsdrift, an army base, and later moved to their present location in Platfontein near Kimberly (see the map in the appendices). These migrants lived in tents and were promised proper housing by the SADF and the Nationalist Party (NP) government after 1990.

While in South Africa the !Xû and Khwe migrants were caught between the old regime and the new government. The case of their origins, linguistic and cultural distinctiveness worsened their situation in that neither of the two dominant groups, the new Black Nationalist leaders nor the White Afrikanner government, was prepared to absorb them. This forced them to remain in Schmidtsdrift where they lived in temporary military bivouac until 1999 (Lee and Hitchcock 2001: 13). While stationed at the Schmidtsdrift tent camp they were divided into separate residential sections (cf. Voster 1994). In 1999 the base was returned to its legal owners (the Tswana and Griqua people) following a land restitution case. This meant that the !Xû and Khwe were now landless, leading to the formation of the !Xû and Khwe Trust which was established in 1993, and was instrumental in obtaining land for the displaced communities at Platfontein, ten kilometres outside Kimberly, much closer than was Schmidtsdrift (Lee and Hitchcock 2001, Mhlanga 2010).

The Khwe are socially mobile and are better educated than their !Xu counterparts owing to their differential treatment during the days of the military activity while in Angola, Namibia and at Schmidtsdrift; a form of stratification which

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[45] For more information see:
http://www.sabc.co.za/portal/site/menuitem.01b93ed679dcd7e48891f2e75401aeb9/

aggravates inter-group conflict (Douglas 1996; Archer 1995). Khwedam is a *Khoe* dialect, and related to a cluster of languages including *Naro* and *Khoekhoegowap* (Voster 1994: 70). The !Xû belong to the *Zhu* language family. These languages are not mutually intelligible. The languages are mainly spoken in military bases outside Kimberley, Platfontein and some parts of the Northern Cape (Vorster 1994). A sizable number of !Xûntali - speaking homes also use Khwedam as a second language due to the fact that differential treatment which tended to favour the Khwe was somehow officialised and given sub-status even in general day to day businesses and offices. However, this relationship in terms of most !Xû being able to speak Khwedam with the latter not, confirms the argument that Khwedam is dominant linguistically (cf. Archer 1995).

The speech communities within the Kimberley area are heterogeneous, including majority languages such as Afrikaans (69, 3%) with Setswana constituting 19, 9%. Xuntali and Khwedam are recognised in Article 6.5 (a) (ii) of the South African Constitution which states that the Pan South African Languages Board (PSALB) must promote and create conditions for the development and use of the Khoi, Nama and San languages.[46] It facilitated the formation of an Association for Social Affairs (VASS) for the two languages[47] and the radio station was set up to provide a media channel for them as will be seen in the Chapter on data presentation.

2.9 Conclusion

It is noteworthy to emphasise that of the five radio stations discussed above *X-K FM* and *Lotus FM* have one major common feature; that is, the diasporic element in them. This forms part of my area of interest for this study. *RSG FM* radio station as will be discussed later is a radio station which serves the interests of the Afrikaans-speaking community of South Africa. These groups have continued to harbour diasporic feelings as they hold that they are still in constant communication with their relatives who are in Namibia (for the !Xû and Khwe) and India (for the Indian community in South Africa). While the Afrikaners can be perceived in a way as a diasporic group given their link with South Africa as a colonial heritage, they seem to have undergone various stages of natal alienation with their Dutch origins, hence the adoption of the name Afrikaner and the change of their language from Dutch to

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[46] For more information on language policy and constitutional guarantees see the following websites:
    http://www.dac.gov.za/reports/unesco_report/unesco_world_languages_survey.htm
 http://www.lac.org.na/lead/Pdf/sanintro.pdf
http://www.channelviewpublications.net/cilp/002/0361/cilp0020361.pdf
[47] http://www.dac.gov.za/reports/unesco_report/unesco_world_languages_survey.htm

Afrikaans. However, the diasporic nature of the Afrikaans speakers presents an interesting case, as they have been advocating for what they call, 'Afrikaner-homeland' through the 'Broederbond' (Afrikaner-Brotherhood).[48] This forms a different form of identity which seeks to locate the current and recently passed generations of Afrikaans speakers within the South African history. It is within the ambit of these identities that Homi Bhabha (2002: 02) refers to as fluid and having mutated over time and space. However, the genesis of this notion of identity and belonging remains hinged on the diasporic feelings that have always informed dichotomies of 'us' and 'them' (Allan 2004: 57, Hall 1997), which where the founding bedrock of 'apartheid' as a system of identity formation and maintenance.

Following the above discussion on the genesis of broadcasting in South Africa, ranging from private broadcasting (Schlesinger's African Broadcasting Company), to state broadcasting (following John Reith's recommendations and the demise of ABC) with the subsequent years in South African broadcasting history, given the corporation arrangement, which saw the formation of various African radio stations under the aegis of Radio Bantu and to its current state as a public broadcaster, it follows that radio still controls and commands a big slot as a symbol of national pride. Different ethnic groups regard these radio station that broadcast in their languages as mediums of continued regeneration of their sense of belonging within their respective ethnic groups and to South Africa as a state. This will be presented in the Chapter on findings. What is even more interesting is the fact that these radio stations are a relic of the structural arrangement of the much hated apartheid regime. The discussion of apartheid, in particular, its philosophy and the attendant 'Bantustan' policy of homelands will be provided in detail in Chapter four of this thesis. However, it suffices to highlight from the on-set that while apartheid was terrible in most of its policies, it was borne of a well thought out and polished system that began from 1948, to be precise, (although it is my contention that it began well before that period) to 1994. It is my contention that apartheid stretched for more than three quarters of a century and its structures could not be easily repealed within last fifteen years (from 1994 to date). It is on this note that these radio stations continue to exist following the original configurations, as shown in my five selected case studies.

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[48] For more information on Afrikaner-brotherhood, refer to this website:
http://www.davidicke.com/content/view/595/62/

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

'The meticulous description of a case can have an impact greater than almost any other form of research................The case is unarguable' Bill Gillham (2000: 101).

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on research epistemologies, paradigms, methods and techniques that were used as a research pattern for this study. It presents the constituent tenets that informed the selection and use of the case study research methodology. The four main issues are outlined; firstly, the theory of knowledge which informs the chosen research methodology (that is, whether objectivism or subjectivism) research epistemology. Secondly, the philosophical stance that informs the research paradigm (whether qualitative or quantitative) also determines which strategic philosophical enquiry will then be used (in which case both interpretive and critical theory will be engaged). Thirdly, the Case study research methodology will be discussed. Further, the influence of phenomenology in the creation of a strong epistemological pattern on which this qualitative research paradigm will be rooted is acknowledged. In appreciating the chosen research focus of this paradigm and those of the data gathering techniques, the weaknesses will be highlighted. Fourthly, the choice of research methodology will lead to a clear delineation of the data gathering techniques and procedures that were followed. In this, an outline of the research strategies employed during fieldwork in South Africa from October, 2008, to April, 2009, is given. While in the field, slight changes had to be effected, in particular on the targeted study population. Creswell's (2003: 03) recommendation informed the designing of this study through his view, '*that a general framework be adopted to provide guidance about all facets of the study, from assessing the general philosophical ideas behind the inquiry to the detailed data collection and analysis procedures'.* In that regard, an argument is presented in motivation of the need to combine broad approaches to research with specific procedures in the methodology.

Furthermore, it is my contention that the approach I have taken by first engaging philosophy and epistemologies of research might be deemed by some scholars to be unnecessary and laborious. However, I submit that any failure to locate research within its proper epistemological and philosophical foundations is similar to a failure to locate the history of a society while seeking to understand it's progression

into the future. The history of radio broadcasting in South Africa has been dealt with in Chapter Two, thus providing background information on its progression from 1937 to date. This was further supported by the discussion of five selected radio stations that will be used to bolster my case of the uniqueness of South Africa's politics of ethnic minority radio stations and ethnic accommodation in Africa. This engagement is a way to create an interface between research theory and its philosophical projections that have influenced my research. Otherwise, denying these theoretical and philosophical tenets of research is like an individual who denies his shadow. This means that all research processes are firmly located within some kind of philosophical and epistemological foundations. They are also expected to pay particular attention to the research context. In this case, it is the South African context. A detailed engagement with this research context, taken from my experiences in the field, will be presented in Chapters Six and Seven. In order to achieve this, I first had to delineate the broad assumptions that informed the choice of case study research methodology. This, in turn, influenced the data collection techniques and how that data would be analysed.

Given that my research focus is a policy study of ethnic minority public radio stations, the data collection techniques that were used include: in-depth interviews (face-to-face), with open-ended question guidelines; participant and non-participant observation and the desk-top technique, especially when using the Internet to access more information about ethnic minority radio stations that exist under the public service broadcaster in South Africa. The desk-top technique was used particularly when accessing information about SABC online. In addition, Simeon Yates (2004: 133) says non-participant observation entails a situation where a researcher observes, but does not take part in the social activity under study. The latter was employed as a technique. Furthermore, a cluster (area) random sampling technique was combined with judgmental sampling. The former technique was influenced by the focus, given that my research is a policy study and my respondents were Officials at SABC, ICASA and represented station management and staff (presenters) from the five selected radio stations.

The fact that this is a policy study influenced the need to use this sampling technique, since I had to choose from a cluster of policy makers and implementers only, and not from the audience of these radio stations. The advantage of using this technique is that it can be combined with other sampling techniques and can easily be used, even in pursuit of qualitative research, by clustering respondents into simple categories, which makes the research easy to follow. Judgemental sampling first

entails having prior knowledge of the research outlines and subject. With that knowledge, I was able to make informed decisions on how; for example, I was going to pick my respondents from within the stations. When combined with cluster sampling, the great advantage is in the deliberate probability of having everyone who belongs to a cluster. I would then have to choose to ensure equal opportunity to be interviewed.

3.2 Epistemological Underpinnings and Research Knowledge Claims

In explaining the framework of this research chapter, a need arises to first provide a philosophical background to the research in terms of epistemology (knowledge – how we know what we know), ontology (the nature of reality), and methodology (the research processes employed) (Lincoln & Guba 2000). These philosophical underpinnings provide the basis and understanding of the case study research methodology employed and the kind of data and information amassed from it. Creswell (2004: 06) emphasises that a researcher must always consider the values embedded in an inquiry (axiology) and how they will then have to be presented, given the processes available in a study.

Following these scholarly suggestions, this study also uses social constructivism as the basis of its knowledge claims. The reasons for this choice are that, as a researcher, one's understanding of the world is developed in association with the acceptance of subjective meanings conjured up by individual experiences (cf. Gadamer, 1976; Fischer, 2003; Shepperson, 2008). In support of this assertion, Creswell (2004) adds that;

> These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. The goal of research then is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied (2004: 08)

Given this perspective as a researcher, my predilections were limited, although subjectivity, as a natural human element, remains inherent. This approach allows for broad open-ended questions. Creswell (2004: 08) further suggests that the more opened ended the questioning, the better. This allows the researcher to listen carefully to what people say or do in their setting, thus presenting the narrative momentum as discussed by Sandra Jovchelovitch and Martin Bauer (2002) when they suggested that there is no human experience that cannot be expressed in the form of a narrative. Such an approach allows for socially constructed meanings to be generated and negotiated (Fischer, 2003). A negotiated process also has the advantage of historical

links and of being linked with cultural narratives and norms. As Roland Barthes suggested;

> Narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting............, stained-glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation. Moreover, under this almost infinite diversity of forms, narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative…..narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself (1993: 251).

This engagement with ethnic minority media and the presentation of South Africa's unique story as a policy study is a narrative. Furthermore, as a researcher I was always aware of the influence exerted by my own background and how it shaped the ultimate interpretation of events: subjectivity. Chapter Six attempts to spell out this influence and challenges faced, given the knowledge of many of those involved that I was an outsider and not an SABC worker. As a researcher in this school of thought, I was interested in interpreting other people's worldviews and life-worlds. In so doing, another link was created with theories generated as spectacles for understanding ethnicity as part of social phenomena being studied.

From the foregoing, it can be gleaned that socially constructed knowledge claims, as Crotty (1998) opines, allow for the vexation of human beings who inherently take advantage of the world of meaning and culture as a product of interaction. He adds that by engaging in social inquiry, a researcher seeks to understand the context of the research participants (research respondents) by visiting their contexts and gathering information personally. Further, the process of making qualitative interpretations is largely inductive. Due to this, this research epistemology is intertwined with participatory knowledge claims, otherwise known as advocacy knowledge claim.[49] However, it will not fully embrace the research methodology that develops therefrom, such as action research (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Lowe, 1991: 08, Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 1996). It is not my intention to embark on action research, and this will be left for other researchers. My area of focus will later be discussed in detail when we discuss the case study research method. However, some tenets emerging from participatory knowledge claims will be embraced, as they have a tendency to cut across various knowledge fields. Scholars from this school have claimed that the social constructivists limited their approach and they called for an inquiry that advocates for action in dealing with marginalised communities.

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[49] Some of the celebrated participatory (emancipatory) writers include; Karl Max, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas, Walter Benjamin (Critical thinkers- Frankfurt Scholars) and Keyan Tomaselli, Paulo Freire (1996) - the latter are considered to be scholars from the South.

The central tenet of the participatory knowledge claim is that social enquiry should be linked to politics and broader inquiry. Given that my research pursues ethnic minority radio broadcasting and the politics of ethnic accommodation, it allows for the investigation of political ideation and belonging. It is this need for research that contains an action agenda for reform of the lives of the participants, which has further influenced my ideas. In undertaking this policy study, I also sought to access the views of participants and the institutions in which they work, in conjunction with my life-world. This is because, as a researcher, there is no way I can completely remove my life-world, rather, I should attempt to minimise subjectivity. Participatory knowledge claims further call for research inquiry that deals with social issues in a state. These issues include: empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression and alienation (Creswell 2004: 10). The advantage of using such an epistemological pattern is that research, as a form of social inquiry, may be able to penetratively engage with the core of social issues and deal with the politics of marginality or accommodation. This entails dealing with the control and production of information, particularly on issues of ethnic belonging (Kemmis & Wilkinson, 1998). This also requires critical engagement with theory, as seen in Chapter One, which will be done in the following chapters, especially, Chapter Eight, in which a connection between the public sphere and the concept of public service broadcasting is developed.

3.3 Qualitative Research Paradigm as a Strategy of Inquiry

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world of the observed. However, acknowledgement is made that the observer has human historical predilections (subjectivity) that form part of the lenses and spectacles with which the world is perceived. In summarising what a qualitative research paradigm is, Creswell says;

> The inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives (i.e., the multiple meanings of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed, with an intent of developing a theory or pattern) or advocacy/participatory perspectives (i.e., political, issues-oriented, collaborative, or change oriented) or both, (2004: 18).

This approach cuts across three main epistemological foundations: phenomenological, hermeneutics and relativist (Yates, 2004: 135). In brief, it would suffice to dissect hermeneutic and relativist approaches, since the greater part of this section will be devoted to the discussion of phenomenology. Hermeneutics deals with the meanings accorded to objects and actions as participants in social enquiry.

Historically, hermeneutics was used in the study of biblical texts in order to uncover what was called 'true meaning' (Gadamer, 1976). This approach provides a philosophical premise which emphasises the need to understand society as the abode of meaning-making and meaning, with human beings playing the agency role. In this case, the study of ethnic minority radio stations from within the stable of SABC, working as public broadcasters, provides a deeper meaning than would generally be understood, given the politics of broadcasting. Broadcasting, as both a contested terrain and a security area, is considered one section of the media which can be used to create, control and manage ideology. These radio stations, as political structures, therefore provide meaning to an observer. This attempt to discover social phenomena as a product of human interactions provides the link between hermeneutics and phenomenology as approaches to social enquiry (cf. May, 2001).

It is imperative to also engage with the relativist approaches here. Relativist positions question the existence of a single 'reality' or truth, particularly in any inquiry which focuses on social phenomena. In that regard, it provides a platform from which to reject the positivists' positions (cf. Popper, 1962, 1961, Yates, 2004). An example here is the focus of my study on the politics of ethnic accommodation in South Africa: the South African state as a social construct had reasons for reconfiguring itself in that way in 1994. However, my attempt to engage and grapple with some of the political nuances surrounding ethnicity provides a daring engagement with the hidden meaning of the paradox of the 'Rainbow Nation.' This is also because the information obtained will provide knowledge about South African politics and the issues of ethnicity that are deeply embedded in the matrices of state formation in Africa.

However, in my attempt to uncover all these, borrowing from the relativist approach, I also acknowledge that there is no single way to evaluate truthfulness. Room is left to accommodate my personal predilections as forms of subjectivity in my interaction with the Indians, Venda, Tsonga/Shangani, the !Xûntali and Khwedam who, in this case, form part of the subject of my research focus. Using a relativist position, I also acknowledge that no single account is better in anyway than any other that was obtained elsewhere. In seeking to avoid an information gridlock, my study provides an interpretation of cultures and contexts that include accounts of some events in South Africa from 1994 to date. In so doing, this research provides a narrative and communicative element which seeks to provide information balance and the interpretation of social meanings.

However, as will be shown below, the overall foundational position of qualitative research as a paradigm can be described as 'idealist', in that, as a philosophical construct, some of its tenets prioritise ways in which ideas are generated and used in society. This position forms a line of departure from the positivists, whose view is that observed empirical facts provide guidance to the truth (May, 2001). The use of rationalism as a qualitative perspective allows for ideas and thoughts to provide guidance to the 'truth.' In so doing, complexities of social life are embraced. Such a position acknowledges that there are different approaches to the creation of valid knowledge, but ultimately this depends on the objectives of the study (Yates, 2004: 135). These different study objectives are based on whether the research paradigm is nomothetic or idiographic in approach. The former, entails a goal whose aim is the construction of generalised laws, whereas, an idiographic approach seeks to provide a detailed description of particular circumstances. Idiographic approaches are mainly used in qualitative paradigms.

This use of case study research methodology will partly borrow from hermeneutics and relativism, but will fully ground itself in phenomenology. Phenomenology consists of material practices that make the world visible while, at the same time, seeking to transform it through a set of interpretive practices (cf. Schutz, 1967; Heidegger, 1962). Similarly, Alfred Schutz (1967) says the constructs that people use in order to render the world meaningful and intelligible to them forms the main focus of a phenomenologically grounded social science inquiry. This, in essence, implies that human behaviour is a product of human interpretation based on meanings that people accord as they seek to explain the world. In this case, a phenomenological paradigm which focuses on interpretation, description and/or constructed multiple realities will be used to investigate the case study of Lotus FM (for the Indian community), Phalaphala FM (for the Venda), Mungana Lonene FM (for the Shangani/Tsonga), Radio Sonder Grense (RSG FM- for the Afrikaans) and XK FM (for the !Xû and Khwe) as ethnic minority communities who benefit from a decentralised public broadcaster. In addition, Yates (2004: 156) says phenomenology acknowledges the existence of a multiplicity of worldviews and that not everyone shares the same worldview. This emerged in my research and will be shown in the section on the statistical representation of my data in Chapter Seven, in which respondents did not always give 100% of their support to a particular position. Norman Denzin & Yvonna Lincoln (2000: 03) concur by saying qualitative research transforms the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memoirs to the self. In qualitative

research, a researcher focuses on things in their natural settings, thereby attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln 2000: 24).

By embracing qualitative approach, the researcher positions himself and collects participants' constructions of their world and their meanings thereof (Fischer, 2003: 50). The researcher is also allowed to bring personal values into the study. While the researcher is entitled to make deductions about unfolding social phenomena, it is also acknowledged that the potential to do so tends to be encumbered by the individual researcher's continued comparison between unfolding phenomena and their original contexts. The researcher generally becomes an interpreter who communicates meaning between their own culture and that being studied. When following this line of thought, it may be added that the argument is that there is no single explanation of a social phenomenon. There is no one way of evaluating people's ways of life. Nelson *et al* (1992: 04) trenchantly put it that:

> Qualitative research is an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and sometimes counter-disciplinary field. It crosscuts the humanities and the social and physical sciences. Qualitative research is many things at the same time. It is multiparadigmatic in focus. Its practitioners are sensitive to the value of the multi-method approach. They are committed to the naturalistic perspective and to the interpretive understanding of human experience. At the same time, the field is inherently political and shaped by multiple ethical and political positions (1992: 04).

The advantage of using qualitative research methods is that results are based on a strong and flexible research design which tends to yield valid and reliable findings. Reliability of the findings is aided by the use of open-ended questions and verification through observation (cf. Beard, 1989; Sechrest & Sidana 1995:78). Furthermore, the inadequacies of individual research techniques are minimized, such as threats to validity caused by internal and external factors, as was seen in the bureaucratic challenges I faced while attempting to enter my field of research, SABC. In view of the above suggestions, Corner (1996:299) calls for a tightly guarded research arrangement which assesses the interface of signification (entropy - a measure of potential disorder arising out of this kind of research on various social phenomena) and comprehension (this refers to all objects in the domain of interpretation and discourse) (Fischer, 2003, Gadamer, 1976). In the assessment of entropy, the overarching axiom is that influence is a product of both cause and effect. Hence, causality in research cannot be perceived in isolation and from one direction only. It is dialectical. This position also influences my engagement with the inheritance of ethnic minority radio stations by the post-apartheid leadership and to

present how even the ethnic communities in which those radio stations are located have also contributed to this residual policy model. The same applies to X-K FM, as seen in Chapter Two. When it was first mooted by the two ethnic communities through their approach to SABC, they were indirectly courting ANC's hegemonic position. Logically, comprehension means the same as universal quantifier (Carnap, 1958: 34).

Following the discussion above, qualitative research tends to operate as a descriptive model that takes place in a natural setting, through the researcher's visits to the site of research (cf. Guba 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1989). This allows the research to develop detail about the case study in question. Furthermore, a qualitative research paradigm allows for multiple data gathering techniques to be used, as will be seen below. Using this research paradigm, my research allowed me to involve the participants in the data collection process through the use of open-ended question guidelines. It also enabled me to build rapport with my respondents. Based on these submissions, the use of phenomenology as a paradigm helped me to avoid mimicking these stations' organisational objectives, as this would have required a critical analysis of SABC's policy on ethnic variations (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:16). This interpretation follows a critical phenomenological model which helps in the study of the policies that informed the formation of these ethnic radio stations. It also assisted in facilitating my understanding of the politics around ethnic identities in South Africa.

However, it is imperative to emphasise that constructed multiple realities are contentious: for example, through different stimuli different constituencies may well conceive of their respective experience in terms of different interpretations of that which confronts them in life (cf. Shepperson 1995). Similarly, Keyan Tomaselli (1999: 95) says this implies that in any given reality the situational elements arising from the inherent limits to individual experience present a signal (as a sign) for some social phenomena to be uncovered and integrated into the collective representation being researched.

The challenge to the researcher, therefore, is to embrace socially constructed meanings through searching for clarity before making conclusions. This at least can be achieved by giving the insider the benefit of the doubt, which Frank Fischer refers to as '*verstehen*'; meaning - a process of understanding facts by interpreting their meanings in light of their social goals and values (2003: 50). The latter is further discussed in Chapter Seven (Page. 181) in a view to concretise my qualitative research findings. This position opposes predilections and intrasubjectivity, especially

the worldviews generated by the modern natural science (the positivist paradigm) and technology, thereby justifying cognition with reference to Edmund Husserl's[50] concept of '*evidenz.*' In view of this Michael Sarakinsky & Noram Romm (1994:25) add that the phenomenological paradigm provides a framework upon which a researcher is able to follow the objectives of the study and to engage with social phenomena.

3.4 Rationale for Using Qualitative Research Paradigm and Case Study Method

Having discussed the philosophical underpinnings of the qualitative research paradigm, the imperative now is to understand the link between qualitative research in general and the case study methodological approach. Beard (1989:38) says qualitative research is a research paradigm which focuses on real life phenomena. He further argues that qualitative methods consist of various data collection strategies: in-depth, open-ended interviews; direct observation, written documents, including such sources as open-ended written items on questionnaires or question guidelines, personal diaries, and programme records. In this regard, the data from an open-ended interview consists of direct quotations from people about their experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge. In this study, the data collected in the field consists of detailed descriptions of broadcast programming (see appendices for programmes and stations' licences), participants' behaviours, radio staff actions, and the full range of human interactions that were part of the ethnic minority radio stations being researched. Having stated this, the link with the use of the case study can be summed up by alluding to Robert Stake's suggestion that;

> For the qualitative research community, case study concentrates on experiential knowledge of the case and close attention to the influence of its social, political and other contexts. For almost any audience, optimizing understanding of the case requires meticulous attention to its activities (2005: 444).

In order to engage with these issues and the people involved as policy makers and implementers; the case study was utilised to allow for a concentrated inquiry into the five ethnic minority radio stations. By so doing, theoretical generalisations were avoided; thus justifying the study and being able to garner the grand issues being investigated (Stake 2005).

My respondents came from the following clusters; management and policy makers at SABC; Councillors and management staff at ICASA. Then, at the five

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[50] See the following website for a detailed analysis of the theoretical foundations of phenomenology and the concepts; 'epoche' and 'evidenz':
 http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/husserl/#1

selected ethnic minority radio stations, the management teams, programme producers and presenters were interviewed. This helped to enhance my knowledge of the politics of information creation, management and dissemination through broadcasting. I also visited these ethnic community radio stations in order to understand their programme production and broadcasting to the targeted communities. Through interactions, I was able to engage my respondents on their experiences and perceptions in dealing with the ethnic phenomenon in radio broadcasting. As stated in Chapter One, I was able to understand the duality of their roles; that is, they as station staff (both management and presenters) under the employ of SABC, having to implement policies, and also as members of these ethnic communities. Furthermore, records and documents were examined in an effort to concretise the information obtained from my respondents. The data obtained from this research has been organized into major themes, categories, and case examples through analysis (Beard, 1989: 45), in Chapter Seven.

Having discussed the research strategy, its paradigms and its' link with the Case study method, it is worth highlighting that research validity and the reliability of qualitative data depends on the methodological skills employed; the sensitivity and training of the researcher. Further, the advantage of employing (Yates, 2004:53) qualitative research is that the researcher manages to create rapport with his respondents and is therefore able to observe certain gestures, cues and behaviour towards the politics of ethnic accommodation in radio broadcasting within the above mentioned ethnic minority radio stations (cf. Cabanero-Verzosa, 1993:10; Phiri, 2000: 37). The ontological reason for undertaking qualitative research, together with an observation technique, is that interaction with the people being researched shows the centrality of social life and provides the researcher with an understanding of the communities being studied. Deacon *et al* (1999:249) suggest that the epistemological concern in this qualitative approach (observation) rests on natural or 'real life' settings that can reveal social reality, which has to be experienced and shared by the researcher, as a way to enhance validity. Qualitative research therefore offers access to the lives of those being researched, and allows the researcher to venture into the world of the researched (cf. Long, 1992; Chambers, 1983). Further, by allowing the researcher to peep into the life-worlds of the researched, a qualitative paradigm courts originality. In support of this view Martin Bauer, George Gaskell and Nicholas Allum (2002: 12) suggest that 'qualitative research is often seen as a way of 'empowering' or 'giving voice' to people, rather than treating them as objects whose behaviour is to be quantified and statistically modelled.' This view confirms that a case study

method, as part of qualitative approach, allows for deep-seated and detailed interrogation of the subject chosen through the creation of cases. In seeking to introduce the section on the case study methodological approach, it is worth acknowledging Miles and Huberman's (1994:6) view that a researcher's role through the employment of such a strategy is to gain a 'holistic' overview of the context under study: its logic, its arrangements, and its explicit and implicit rules.

3.5 Case Study Research: Methodological Approach

The case study method seeks to construct various views of reality with the aim of comprehending phenomena in terms that are relative to place and time. According to Creswell (2004: 15), a case study methodology is a research strategy which explores an in-depth analysis of a programme, an event or an activity. Furthermore, Robert Yin (2003:13) defines case study as an 'inquiry that uses multiple sources of evidence to investigate contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, in which the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly evident.' In seeking to provide an interpretive outcome, Yin adds that a case study also aids our understanding of what is being investigated, and offers new interpretations, new perspectives, new meaning and deeper insights into the topic under investigation. Furthermore, it helps the researcher to present a thorough description of the inquiry. A case study is bounded by time and activity, and so a researcher employs a wide array of data gathering techniques over a period of time (Stake, 1995, Creswell, 2004). Similarly, Andreas Riege (2003: 3) says qualitative methods, such as case studies, usually follow realistic modes of inquiry. The main objective is to 'discover new relationships of realities and build-up an understanding of the meanings of experiences rather than verify predetermined hypotheses' (Riege, 2003:3).

According to Robert Stake (2005:445), if research is to be of value to people, it needs to be framed in the same terms as their everyday experience, through which they learn firsthand about the world. Since qualitative research, as a concept, places emphasis on further research, the case study can help unearth new clues and ideas to assist with future research. The greatest strength of case studies, Stake argues, is that 'they provide vicarious experience, in the form of full and thorough knowledge of the particular. In doing this they facilitate naturalistic generalization.' In engaging this research method one is tempted to borrow from Karl Popper's hypothesis of falsification in; *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, in which he uses the argument; 'all swans are white' to prove the weakness of generalisation. The fallacy derived from this generalization is that just one black swan would falsify this proposition, thereby

giving the impetus to further inquire about a particular phenomenon and causing significant changes, stimulating further investigations and theory building. Following this analogy, it can be gleaned that a case study is well suited for this study because of its in-depth approach.

Furthermore, to understand my choice of case study method, emphasis has to be made that diverse data gathering procedures will be employed. These include; participant observation, passive observation, documents, archival records, and interviews (face-to-face) amongst others; each method has its own strengths and weaknesses as will be discussed below (Gilham, 2000; May, 2001). However, I am mindful of the generalisability of the findings from a case study and this serves as one of the major weaknesses of the case study method (Bryman, 1988). There are, though, also ways out of the problem, as Bryman (1988: 88-90) explains. This follows a three pronged approach. First, the researcher can study more than one case. This may involve contrasting two cases from two different places, or comparing two similar cases. Another way to circumvent the generalisation problem is through the examination of a number of cases by more than one researcher, whereby the overall investigation assumes the framework of team research, like that often found in quantitative research. Third, is to seek out a case which is typical of a certain cluster of characteristics, then other researchers can examine comparable cases that belong to other clusters of characteristics. However, given that generalisability is a weakness of a case study that alone makes it even more controversial. Hence, Janesick's argument that;

> ....The traditional view of generalisability limits the ability of the researcher to reconceptualise the role of social science in education and human science. In addition, the whole history of case study research in anthropology, education, sociology, and history stands solidly on its merits. In fact, the value of the case study is its uniqueness; consequently, reliability in the traditional sense of replicability is pointless here (1998: 51).

Various types of case studies can be identified; descriptive, illustrative, experimental, explanatory, exploratory and chance case studies. In this study, the exploratory and descriptive types were used. Robert Stake (2005: 436) further identifies three types of case studies: intrinsic, instrumental, and collective. In intrinsic case studies, research is undertaken primarily because the case illustrates a particular problem or trait. Stake says,

> …I call a study an intrinsic case study when the study is undertaken because, first and last, one wants better understanding of this particular case. It is undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but instead because, in all its particularity and ordinariness, this case itself is of interest. The researcher subordinates other

curiosities so that the stories of those 'living the case' will be teased out (2005: 445).

The instrumental case study chooses to make a case to advance an understanding of other interests (Stake 2000: 437). Collective case study becomes an extension of several cases. Elements of an intrinsic case study will also be applied here to permit the researcher to temporarily subordinate other curiosities to test the stories of those in the case study; here, the five selected radio stations, especially in Chapter Eight. In this research, it can be noted that the major issue being studied involves South Africa's mediation of ethnic minority issues, using ethnic minority radio stations and the challenge of ensuring that the transformation process benefits, despite the seemingly divisive approach of retribalising the state. Another issue which stands out, given the thrust of these ethnic minority radio stations, is their boundedness to their ethnic community, thus leading 71% of my respondents to suggest that they consider these ethnic minority radio stations to be community radio stations. It can be stated that issues of community autonomy and independence in terms of management, control (in particular, by a locally elected board of trustees), programme production and ownership, pose an ambivalent situation here (Taylor & Willis, 1999: 132). The basis for this approach, therefore, is that assumptions in this kind of research are subjective, with the created knowledge dependent on the interaction between the researcher and the policy makers and implementers. The aim, therefore, is to increase our understanding of how certain forms of social constructions pander to policies from the top, particularly in radio broadcasting. This informs the exploratory aspect of the case study.

Jennifer Platt (1992: 46) further problematised the history of case studies by tracing them back to the work of the Chicago School of Sociology, from which participant-observation emerged as a major data collection technique. In her descriptive definition, she notes that as a research strategy the case study begins with the logic of design in which a preference for circumstances and research problems becomes appropriate within its real context. This view shows the significance of contextual conditions to a phenomenon under study, thus allowing for a case study to be seen as an empirical inquiry[51] that investigates a contemporary phenomenon

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[51] This concept of empiricism has its roots in the positivists and post-positivists who have chosen not to completely reject the positivists' suggestions of research. This at least acknowledges the weaknesses of positivism and post-positivism. In so doing, it further calls for a qualitative approach, which brings on board the views of the research participants. Research participants in this case are those who otherwise would have been referred to by the positivists and post positivists as 'research subjects' (cf. Karl Popper, 1962, 1961).

within its real context. Furthermore, on the logic of design, Yin (2003: 14) states that a case study as a research strategy is an all-embracing method that also covers data collection techniques and specific approaches to data analysis.

In view of the above, Patton (1987: 19) further describes a case study as a qualitative research methodology used by the researcher who needs to understand some particular problem or situation in great depth (exploring). He also suggests that a case study is used where one needs to identify the richness of its information; rich in the sense that a great deal can be 'learned from a few exemplars' of the phenomenon under investigation. More interestingly, a case study can be a person (announcer), an event, a [radio] programme, a time period, a critical incident, or a community (Patton, 1987: 19). Regardless of the unit of analysis, a qualitative case study seeks to create a dialectical analysis of a situation by referring to the past while at the same time linking it with the future.

Case studies as methodological approaches can establish cause and effect. One of their strengths is that they observe effects in real contexts, recognizing that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects (Cohen & Manion, 2001: 181). The most important ways in which researchers can assess the boundedness of the phenomenon is to assess the nature of a case, the amount of data to be collected, the case's historical background, its physical setting, as well as the informants through whom the case study will be known (Stake, 2000: 439). The five ethnic minority radio stations, as tributaries of the public broadcaster, present a history, context and, as will be seen in Chapters Seven and Eight, influence our understanding of South Africa's ethnic minority politics within the social transformation. In addition, the social transformation process can be teased out, given this context, with a view to understanding its translation into an emancipatory project.

3.6 Data sampling and collection techniques

A sample refers to a group of people or unit of analysis selected for study. There are various ways to choose samples, the most notable include the following: random and non-random sampling (probability and non-probability sampling, respectively) (White, 2000: 61). I mostly settled for random sampling, with non-probability sampling technique (judgmental sampling technique) only being used in one instance, as will be shown below. Using random sampling, my targeted population was split into layers (clusters) or strata, on the basis of the following variables: belonging to the SABC management, but mainly from the public radio section; public radio station management and presenters and officials from ICASA (the regulator) dealing with the

licensing of public radio stations only, and councillors. However, emphasis has to be made that the use of probability sampling allowed all those who fell within my clusters to have an equal opportunity of being sampled. That became an added advantage of the randomisation of my clusters. The main reason for this was also because of the nature of my potential respondents; that is, office bearers, especially government bureaucrats. Given the bureaucracy I encountered in the field, as stated in Chapter Six, I had to allow for their busy schedules by creating a potential to choose any other within the same cluster in the event that one of them refused, or had a busy schedule. Further, as stated in Chapter Six, it happened on several occasions that my appointments had to be changed to make way for new developments, since I was dealing with élite research. Room had to be created for this. In view of these possibilities Cohen and Manion (2001: 101) also state that random sampling is a useful blend in research, as both randomisation and categorisation enable qualitative research to be undertaken by selecting a sample group. Cluster random sampling was used to enable the sampling of variables along lines of specialisation. In this study, for example, my respondents were selected on the basis of their designations (especially at SABC). Clustering was informed by the policy focus of my study.

My theoretical population for this study was defined as the entire population of SABC officials within the public radio mediascape, and the populations of various ethnic minority radio station staff from whom generalisations were being made. The term 'theoretical population' refers to the total population from which generalisations will be made, thus there was a total of 65 respondents who were finally interviewed. Having defined my theoretical population, I then identified my study population; that is, the final sample that I settled on interviewing. The latter also constituted the accessible population (Loue, 1999: 41; Deacon, *et al*, 1999:47; Yates, 2004). My study population was finally constituted as follows; SABC officials (policy makers) – 12 respondents; officials from ICASA (including former councillors) – 04 respondents, and members of the station management and presenters – 49 respondents. Policy makers and station management teams, as a cluster on their own, helped in sharing information on how policies were formulated and operationalised. This was complemented by interviews conducted with the presenters, these sought to understand how they live these policies, even in their homes and workplace. The compass for outlining this research design was aided by the following sampling questions: a) from whom do I want to generalize? b) To what population can I get access? c) How can I get access to them? d) Who, or what, is my study? The first question dealt with my theoretical population (the entire population). The second and

third questions dealt with the study population and the sampling frame, respectively. Consequently, the last question identifies the selected sample (Trochim, 2006).[52]

Question guidelines, coupled with the use of open-ended questions, were used as part of the interview technique. An advantage of using open-ended-questions was that they provided my respondents with an opportunity to elaborate, at the same time allowing the researcher to probe (Williamson *et al,* 1982). Another advantage of face-to-face interviews is that non-verbal cues were observed, as issues around ethnic minority radio stations, their inheritance from apartheid and continuity are politically sensitive in South Africa. Participant observation, particularly at the radio station offices and studios, was used. This enabled me to glean how these policies are being translated into lived realities, and how the station employees perceive of these policies as passed down to them from the top.

Further, question guidelines were created for each cluster: the first cluster was composed from SABC Officials, whose jobs ranged from the Public Radio Programme Strategic Manager to the Group Executive Officer, News and Current Affairs. Their question guideline was composed of 50 questions (please refer to the appendix). The second cluster was that of public radio station management and staff (presenters). As stated above, only five ethnic minority radio stations were targeted. The question guideline for this cluster was composed of 45 questions (please refer to the appendix). From those five radio stations, a sample was selected for interviews. First, I had to target all members of the station management team as a cluster; these included Station Managers, Programme Officers/Managers/Producers and Marketing Officers. Four of my targeted radio stations *(Munghana Lonene FM, Phalaphala FM, RSG FM* and *Lotus FM)* only had their management team arranged as stated above. While *X-K FM* had an additional office, created for Malton Edburg, who doubles as the Deputy Station Manager and is officially referred to as the Programme Co-ordinator. The reason for this arrangement is ethnic balancing in the potentially volatile situation of Platfontein. It was for this reason that I had to use a judgmental sampling technique. The Station Manager, Regina Beregho, is Khwe, and to balance ethnicity the Deputy Manager had to be !Xû. In consideration of that set-up, I settled for a judgmental sampling technique which also doubles as a purposive sampling technique.

After dealing with the management teams in all these stations, I had to sample from the presenters. The sampling technique used was the stratified random sampling

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[52] For further consultation refer to: http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/sampterm.htm (Accessed on 10/10/08)

technique whereby, for example, my target was to interview 10 respondents per radio station. Further, in the case of *X-K FM,* I had to ensure that I sampled 5 from the !Xû and another 5 from the Khwe, in order to balance the ethnic question. However, because two positions at X-K FM are occupied by one person, I ended up having 6 respondents from the Khwe and only 4 from the !Xû. Gender was also used as a sampling index, although in some cases it was difficult to even attempt to clearly stratify all my samples using gender as the index, because this also depended on factors such as availability and the willingness of the presenters to be interviewed. It must be emphasised that, in a number of cases, people refused to be interviewed. This was evidenced at *Lotus FM*, as will be discussed in Chapter Seven; even the Station Management feigned having a busy schedule. However, a total number of 49 respondents were interviewed, including members of the Station Management teams and Staff. A break down of my research respondents, according to stations, is presented in Chapter Seven, in the section on the presentation of findings from the face-to-face interviews.

It must be added, however, that my research in the field did not go as smoothly as expected, or as smoothly as it might sound on paper. I faced a marked share of challenges that posed as limitations to my study. Most are discussed in a section on the challenges faced during fieldwork in Chapter Five, but it suffices to hightlight that even my own projections did not go unchallenged, as the reality on the ground began to take precedence. For example, at *RSG FM* some presenters were not available as we had arranged. Some simply were not willing to be interviewed. This meant that I had to fall back on my randomising technique, picking any presenter who was available and willing to be interviewed. I faced a similar situation at *X-K FM*, especially among the !Xû, when some of my respondents were not available. This challenge was exacerbated by time constraints and lack of resources, because the disbursement of my scholarship money was always delayed. I had to be patient and wait all the time; as a result I sometimes tended to postpone interviews. This also meant that in some cases I was forced to completely change my target respondents. This forms one of the major challenges to doing a policy study.

3.7 Conclusion

The research methodology used in this research was influenced by the use of qualitative research as the main paradigm, with the case study methodological approach as the guiding research principle. Having defined these main principal positions I was able to locate my research within my research compass and identify

the necessary data collection techniques. In summary, this chapter has outlined the research methodology used in this study. After identifying the research methodology I travelled with clear points of reference and focus to do my research. Even the use of question guidelines presented me with a lot of advantages in the face of bureaucracy that was later faced in the field, as will be discussed in Chapter Six. Using these tools, I proceeded to collect my data, which is the subject of Chapters Six and Seven.

The following chapter will seek to conceptualise public service broadcasting, its constituent tenets and scenarios across postcolonial Africa. These scenarios will also be narrowed to four cases within the Southern African region, namely, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER FOUR

PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING AND THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss various issues around the concept of public service broadcasting (PSB), first as a concept conceived by Lord John Reith (1924), during his stint as the Director General of the British Broadcasting Corporation, and, secondly, to present PSB's continued pervasive influence in most of Africa's broadcasting systems, in particular, in the case of South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) since 1936, as discussed in Chapter Two. Further, the concept of public service broadcasting will be engaged with as a theory, and an attempt will be made to problematise it by further engaging with its primary constituents, vis-à-vis the protean nature of the concept of 'public' in a public broadcaster. This chapter, however, does not seek to provide an end in itself, but will illuminate the pathway that will lead to engaging with public service broadcasting in South Africa, especially in Chapter Eight, in the discussion of findings. Further, a section will be dedicated to the discussion of the history of broadcasting in Africa; that is, seeking to enunciate on how the colonial broadcasting regimes and their administrations had a telling impact on the later broadcasting systems of the post-colonial countries.

4.2 The Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) and Its Primary Constituents

The concept of Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) derives its identity from the notion of public control of broadcasting in a state. Broadcasting in a state is considered as both a public good and a security area, which deserves special attention and the control of the state through parliament. This broadcasting arrangement was propounded by the first Director General of the British Broadcasting Corporation, (BBC), Lord John Reith in 1924 (Seaton, 2003: 109). Following the BBC's Reithian model, it is also noted that most countries in Africa have opted for the public corporation arrangement; most of these broadcasting systems were inherited from the departing colonial administrators (Bourgault, 1995, Okigbo, 1996: 149). The mission of a public service broadcaster (PSB) is to inform, educate and entertain. The latter is popularly referred to as the 'Reithian trinity', taken from John Reith the founder of BBC (McDonnell 1991, Tracey 1998).

However, it is from this notion that the question of the 'public' in a public service broadcaster arises. Further, the need appears to discover how far the public can totally rest their trust on parliament, as a political institution, to always carry the views, hopes and aspirations of ordinary people. Obviously, this follows the general mistrust that exists between the people, as the public in a state, and politicians; with more mistrust focused on the latter. Parliament, as an institution in which representatives of the public are considered to be entrusted to sit as representatives of the public, is still considered to be a political house. In most countries, especially in South Africa, as will be discussed later, PSB follows a clearly defined legal framework which sets out parameters on how the various office bearers in the state will be tasked to discharge their duties in the quest to fulfil what is considered to be the public mandate. In addition, James Zaffiro (2002: 17) says it is here that broadcasting is entrusted with the duty to foster national unity and build legitimacy. To him, regime legitimacy becomes the function of a PSB, but it is closely linked with popular attachment to political leaders. Legitimacy entails the 'acquiescence in methods used by the regime to implement its policies and pursue ideological objectives, including elections' and use of 'charismatic appeals' (Zaffiro, 2002), especially in the case of South Africa, where the name Nelson Mandela tends to be flaunted flagrantly in a bid to continue the agenda setting as part of the legitimacy crusade for the 'Rainbow Nation.'

The basis for the establishment of a PSB follows calls for unfettered views in broadcasting as a measure of public interest. However, it is apparent that parliamentary representatives are expected to toe the party line. They are always whipped into following party policies, not the ideas of the public, who are the voters. It is this thin line that causes the ambivalence in our understanding of parliament as an institution with a 'public' mandate, and parliament as a political institute in which political party positions are transformed into policy.

Despite all these innuendos relating to the protean nature of the notion of the public in a PSB, it is generally agreed that a PSB system is set by law and is financed by public funds (Scannell, 1990; McQuail, 2003); through user or licence fees. However, in the case of SABC, it emerged from one my respondents that the government's contribution only accounts for 3% of the public broadcaster's funding, thus implying that SABC has to raise the other 97%, or so, through means such as programme sponsorship and advertising. How, then, does this move reduce its extent as a PSB? It is clearly stated in law that despite the 3% funding provided by the state,

with SABC remaining as the preserve of the state in which the government holds 100% of the shares.[53]

However, following John Reith's views on the need for a PSB's fulfilment of a trilogy: educating, informing and entertaining, his views regarding the public can be understood. His belief was that it is the unquestioned duty of the educated and cultured élite to use broadcasting for the furtherance of the enlightenment of the public as a whole (Reith, 1924). Our understanding of John Reith, his background and moral location in society, will help to lay the foundations for this attempt to critically engage with the theory of public service broadcasting, its primary constituents and its critics. It will also illuminate the path towards engagement with its usefulness in radio broadcasting in South Africa to date.

John Reith, an engineer by profession, assumed the position as Head of the BBC without knowing what broadcasting was (Seaton, 2003: 110), through energy and willingness to learn, he shaped it in tandem with a moral vision whose traces are still evident today (Crissell, 1997: 14). Reith concluded that broadcasting was a precious national resource, which should be organised in the public interest and free from the direct control of radio manufacturers and other forms of commercial control that impinged on programming by the state. This led to his widely celebrated view that the mission of a PSB is to inform, educate and entertain; a thesis that has been dubbed the 'Reithian Trinity' (Underwood, 2003: 01). In John Reith's view, the notion of public broadcasting as a service entails a public space where social and practical life democratically unfolds. It is also hinged on the inferred notion of social responsibility that;

> As we conceive it, our responsibility is to carry into the greatest possible number of homes everything that is best in every department of human knowledge, endeavour, and achievement, and to avoid the things which are, or may be, hurtful….There is often no difference. One wonders to which section of the public such criticism refers. In any case it is better to over-estimate the mentality of the public, than to underestimate it (Reith, 1924: 34).

Reith's statement, above, presents some problems in democratic discourse, since, in a democracy, there should be unfettered access to information and also the enterprise of information churning must not be the preserve of a few élite, or parliament. Further, this argument by John Reith marches with the noble idea of a PSB straight into the authoritarian hands of the élite. It follows that, when closely analysed, the PSB holds two qualities: while it can be used as a liberating tool by

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[53] For more information refer to the Broadcasting Act 1999. Then in terms of the state being the sole shareholder refer to the licences attached in the appendix section of this thesis.

making it the duty of every democratically elected government to ensure that they provide a service to the people (public), it also places this useful resource - broadcasting - in the laps of élites for manipulation. It is on the latter that Zaffiro's (2002) argument for manipulated legitimacy finds enough ground.

In the same vein, views of the public must compete without reaching a point where it could be argued, as Reith emphasises, that, *'It is occasionally indicated to us that we are apparently setting out to give the public what we think they need - and not what they want, but few know what they want, and what they need'* (1924: 34). It can thus be noted that John Reith must have been talking on behalf of the élite class of his era. This view presents a public service broadcaster as the 'knower' in a society, where not everyone is considered to be knowledgeable on what they may possibly want; thereby presenting a case for a 'top-down approach' as state policy. Most probably, it would suffice to argue that these views were in line with a particular historical epoch, but today they are passé (Tracey 1998: 32). In addition, as a response to John Reith's views Tracey says;

> ..If that is the case, then we do have some very serious questions to ask about the general evolution of our social and cultural order. If, however, these are not passé sentiments but real and necessary commitments for the future, as they have been for the past, then the pre-eminent question is how to provide for the necessary architecture to ensure their realisation not just in the life of public institutions but more importantly in the lives of all our people (Tracey 1998: 32)

Furthermore, in paying attention to John Reith's inherited Calvanism and Christian background, it could be argued that his belief systems influenced his approach to life (Seaton, 2003: 110), especially on the position that broadcasting should be instrumental in informing and guiding members of the public (McDonnell, 1991: 11). It can be evidenced, though, that Reith's approach was informed by the Jeffersonian contribution which, according to Eli Skogerbo (1991: 40), aggravated the media's reflection of public needs and wants, supposedly, outside government control.

The initial rationale of government intervention in broadcasting was to assist in the management of limited transmission wavelengths. This was done by way of stipulated regulations, all in the interests of the industry. Paddy Scannell (1990: 11) adds that;

> Government intervention to regulate broadcasting has been, in many cases, the outcome of wavelength scarcity and problems of financing. The portion of the electromagnetic spectrum suitable for broadcasting is limited and governments have had to assume responsibility for negotiating international agreements about wavelength allocations to particular countries as well as deciding how to parcel out the wavelengths available in their own country amongst the competing claims of broadcasting and those of the armed forces…. (1990: 11).

Having discussed this, Scannell adds that the problem arising from financing is due to the lack of ways in which people are made to pay for a broadcasting service. Due to the above suggestions, the definition of PSB has remained elusive to date. Following the dilemma of what it is, then, Denis McQuail (2003: 156) attempts to offer a simplified definition by suggesting that it refers to a system set up by law and financed by public funds, often following the arrangement of a licensing scheme paid by households; the latter meaning payment of user-fees. Ideally, a PSB is usually expected to enjoy a large degree of editorial and operational independence, McQuail (2003:156) adds. He further suggests that the independence of the editorial team is informed by the view that the operation of the PSB should serve the public interest in trying to meet the important communication needs of the society and its citizens, as decided and reviewed by way of the democratic political system. It would appear from, this definition that McQuail had not considered the hegemonic tendencies of the ruling élite if given such a necessary resource. However, it is also imperative to state that there is no generally accepted theory of public service broadcasting (Scannell, 1990: 11).

Furthermore, Scannell (1990) adds that the 1986 Peacock Committee, reporting as a parliamentary structure, stated that they could not find the proper definition of public service broadcasting, even from the broadcasters. Due to the elusive nature of its definition it may be posited that it only depends on the various political contexts obtaining in each and every country. In view of these debates on understanding PSB, I posit therefore that most African governments have taken advantage of these notoriously slippery and protean definitions and descriptions of PSB to protect it as a security matter and to keep it under the wings of a state. In Africa, most public broadcasters act as flagships of the state; thus gradually shifting to become state broadcasters.

This has also served as a major case for the enablement of their control and continued grip. This followed from the British solution of the early 1920s, where a single company had to be created, the British Broadcasting Corporation, licensed to broadcast by the Post Office and financed by an annual licence fee charged on all households with a wireless. An attempt to understand the PSB arrangement requires one to critically engage with the notion of responsibility inherent therein and to assess how the responsible authorities seek to discharge their duties (Scannell, 1990: 11). Or is it the people as its beneficiaries who are supposed to be responsible enough, by exercising restraint and being answerable to government? In this case, my

engagement with SABC as a public service broadcaster is informed by the fact that broadcasting as an institutional arrangement follows political patterns and nuances obtaining within the state. This study acknowledges also that each country has its own political regimes, informed by peculiarly wide hopes and aspirations set by the political yearning of the times and the undertones that are inherent.

Following the original Reithian model, the PSB is supposed to operate as a multifaceted paradigm. First, it should be protected from purely commercial pressures. Second, the whole nation should be served by the broadcasting service, even when there are commercial interests; Third, there should be centralised control (Reith, 1924); in this case the PSB should operate partly as a monopoly, following the laws of the state. Finally, there should be high programme standards (McDonnell, 1991: 01; Briggs 1961: 234). Despite the emphasis on government protection as some kind of control, Reith also argued that the public broadcaster should endeavour to enjoy independence from government by way of some kind of parliamentary command system. For him, autonomy as a major tenet gave the BBC, for example, some modicum of worldwide reputation (Underwood, 2003: 02).

The reason for the existence of a PSB is to serve public interest in a democratic society. Further, the PSB model gained more acceptance and recognition around the First and Second World Wars, particularly during the period when the world was going through reconstruction, in a quest for public broadcasting organisations that would be created to deliver development-focused radio programmes, but still within the control of the state. This was further supported by Daniel Lerner in his propitious thesis on the media being able to profoundly influence a person's perspective of oneself in another person's situation. Lerner further said;

> Radio…climax the revolution set in motion by Gutenberg. The mass media opened to the large masses of mankind the infinite vicarious universe. Many more millions of persons in the world were affected directly, and perhaps more profoundly, by the communication media than by the transportation agencies (1958: 53).

However, Marc Raboy (1996: 02) argues that the major problem facing the PSB as a public enterprise is that the political will tend to be lost due to the lack of a clearly laid down financing policy, mandate and interpretation of its purpose. In the case of SABC, one of my respondents emphasised the challenge of financing for their radio stations, citing the government's meagre budget for the entire PSB.

However, there have been universalised principles on certain goals that are presumed to be adequately achieved by a public form of ownership and their regulation. These are:

- Universality of geographic coverage, this encompasses reception as well as transmission,
- Diversity in providing for all main tastes, interests and needs, as well as matching the full range of opinions and beliefs,
- Providing for special minorities, this forms the bedrock upon which this study is located, given that the focus is on the politics of accommodation in the case of ethnic minority issues in radio-broadcasting,
- Having concern for the national culture, language and identity,
- Serving the needs of the political system; essentially, it respects balanced and impartial views on issues of conflict,
- Having a specific concern for 'quality', as defined in different ways (Mpofu, Manhando, & Tomaselli, 1996: 09ff; McQuail, 2003: 157; Raboy, 1996: 02; Teer-Tomaselli & Boafo, 1996: 184; Fourie, 2003; Tracey, 1998).

Emphasis has to made therefore that these goals, as old as they are, act as a safety valve in dealing with the notion of 'public interest.' It is interesting to note that when applying the notion of 'public interest' to my study, it would translate to ethnic minority interests, thus implying the state's obligation to fulfil ethnic community interests as part of 'the public.' In this regard, the goals outlined above seek to curtail the free market approach, which it is believed when left to itself might not satisfy such goals, given the profit-making urge that informs the markets in the era of liberalisation (Okigbo, 1996). However, the conditions stated above; the element of public financing and a high degree of independence from government are seen as major ingredient for the functioning of a PSB. These should remain congruent with forms of funding, the continuous processes of accountability to the public it aims to serve and to the political system as a way of gate-keeping. Denis McQuail (2003: 157) adds that;

> The main weakness of public broadcasting 'theory' lies in two sources of tension. One is between the necessary independence and the necessary accountability for finance received and goals achieved. The other is between achieving the goals set by 'society' in the public interest and meeting the demands of the audience as a set of consumers in the wider media market. Without public interest goals there is no rationale for continuing, but without audiences, public service goals cannot really be achieved (2003:157.

The above suggestion by McQuail provides an interesting position, not only to the notion of independence and accountability, but also in spelling out challenges faced by the PSB in a changed world and media environment. The major challenge to public broadcasting as Peter Fourie (2003: 149) puts it, is the dilemma of juggling with the duality of broadcasting; that is, opening the market for new players that have more financial backing, whose interest is in profit making, commercial broadcasting and to deal with PSB in a state with limited finances, especially by collecting licence or user-fees. In an environment where commercial broadcasting seems to be gaining more ground, coupled with the technological developments that have brought digitisation, convergence of media technologies and their provision of more developed delivery platforms, public broadcasting continues to lose its grip. Fourie (2003: 150) further characterises it by suggesting that in such a situation, 'branding will increase as content pull will change from 'what do you have for me?' This will position profitability as the main driver for content push and pull.

However, Marc Raboy (1996: 03) further suggested that there is need for social and cultural goals that will reflect context specific factors to ensure public accountability in broadcasting. He also outlined the following factors as possible impediments to the successful implementation of PSB; political and economic will, technology, ideology, and development issues. Alum Mpofu, Susan Manhando, & Keyan Tomaselli (1996: 18) have added two more factors: the growth of new social movements and the continued growth of broadcasting as an industry, particularly the ambit of commercial broadcasting. In assessing these factors Collins (1993: 80) suggested that in an effort to avoid certain fears posed by the Reithian theory, in the South African Broadcasting system, the following must be taken into consideration, the PSB must be:

- accountable to citizens,
- pluralistic, to ensure that a tyranny of the majority does not exclude minority views,
- responsive to consumers' changing needs and desires; this is seen as meaning the ensuring of listeners' and viewers' and preferences,
- economically viable and making efficient use of scarce resources,
- reflect the linguistic and cultural differences of consumers,
- Provide universal services.

An important point to note here is that Collins has continued to use the term 'consumers', which creates problems, although his arguments are for what he

espouses as conditions for public good. The use of the term 'consumers', on the other hand, negates the perspective of people as active participants and ultimately as citizens who are engaged in fashioning a democratic dispensation of their choice. In response to this fear, Murdock (1997: 95) identified the following four promises of PSB as being central to the development of a democratic culture; a potential space for free expression and open debate, provided for PSB's relative and continually threatened distance from private capital and government influence,

- accessibility for everyone to this space of expression and debate, without additional charge for services,
- an arena in which the politics of difference can be negotiated and a provisional notion of the common good arrived at, because PSB includes a range of experiences, perspectives and arguments within a single stream of mixed programming,
- Audiences are addressed by public service broadcasting as citizens, not as consumers.

Following these conditions, the central argument is that an effective system can only function if there is some degree of public funding, a clearly defined policy of autonomy from government, consistent with forms of funding and continuous processes of accountability to the audience and to the political system, but it is worth emphasising that Collins' and Murdock's views seem also to converge at some point, especially on the issue of providing a platform for different groups in a state. While Murdock may not have explicitly stated the need to give a voice to ethnic minorities, Collins' emphasis on providing for minorities and having to account for linguistic and cultural differences deserves attention here. As stated in Chapters One and Two, SABC, as a public broadcaster, has at least achieved this level by allowing for the continuation of inherited ethnic minority radio stations. Further, following the universal principles of PSB, stated above, the issue of geographic location and giving space and voice to ethnic minorities is evident in the case of SABC, when one engages with the five ethnic minority radio stations that make up my case studies.

According to Teer-Tomaselli and Boafo (1996: 183), PSB takes its cue from the normative social responsibility paradigm, with its primary constituent being the 'public', not policy makers and sponsors. They further suggest that PSB suffers from a failure to communicate and share expertise, and an inability to adapt to changing circumstances. Five directions were further outlined as challenges faced by the PSB: market forces, rising costs and inflation, new technologies, the ideal of a national

broadcasting system as a mainstay of indigenous cultures and impartiality, and political independence. Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli (1996: 221) further identified three main challenges facing the PSB, particularly in the case of SABC: technological innovation and facing up to satellites and digital networks; economic constraints, and social and cultural adjustments. These were seen as being likely to resolve the equation of nationalism in South Africa and also to acting as a mark of a new era in the political terrain.

However, the issue of nationalism is not fully exploited in most discourses on PSB because it is uniformly considered state broadcasting or a having the mass media being firmly answerable to the state, especially on governance issues. This study engages with the concept of nationalism, together with ethnicity, as the nexus upon which our understanding of the decentralisation of the public broadcaster will be located. The engagements of discourses on the PSB have always lacked attention to issues of 'national identity and community' (Teer-Tomaselli & Boafo, 1996: 184).

This discussion of the public service broadcasting is aimed at giving this study focus. As discussed in Chapters One and Two, ethnic minority radio broadcasting is integral to this thesis, particularly around the issue of nation-building. Ethnic minority issues and the concepts of universality in broadcasting will be discussed in greater detail later. For now, the intention is to provide background information on radio broadcasting which has informed Africa's two most notable episodes; the colonial and the post-colonial. The following section will illuminate suggestions made by Carla Heath (2001: 91), Charles Okigbo (1996: 150) and Marc Raboy (1996), that the public broadcasters in Africa have associated themselves with the public service traditions of their former colonial masters and also that in some cases they have tended to serve the dual functions of extending traditional communications (Okigbo, 1996: 150).

4.3 A Historical Perspective of Radio Broadcasting in Africa

Radio broadcasting was introduced in Africa during the colonial period as a means to enable the expatriates to have links with the metropolis. In Sub-Saharan Africa, it was introduced in the 1920s, at least in the case of South Africa, the subject of this thesis; the history of radio broadcasting can be dated as far back as 1927. The period of the 1920s saw the establishment of radio broadcasting, particularly in most of Southern Africa. For example, in 1927, the British East Africa Company (BEAC) began a BBC relay service meant for settlers, broadcast from Nairobi, Kenya. Emphasis has to be made here that when radio broadcasting started in colonial Africa it was meant for the

coloniser, who was supposed to have information and knowledge as a form of power. Most probably, the basis for this development can be gleaned from Michel Foucault's (2002) submission on knowledge, ideology and power, further buttressed by attempting to understand Allen Barry's (1999: 71) argument on the world of power and its dynamics when he says knowledge:

> …is to have the privilege of making a statement pass among others as known or true. Speech acts are dialogical, intersubjective exchanges with reciprocal effects on many speakers.

From this basic argument we can clearly learn that knowledge as a source of power revolves around its object (what is known), then traverses to the body of the people (society) for whom it is intended and is offered as information. In this way some form of information trickling down tends to pass as truth and is unquestioned, this is instructive of the nature and purpose of radio during colonial times. This forms the historical basis for the institutionalisation of radio broadcasting in Africa, particularly its inception in colonial Africa. Further, this trend has continued well beyond the post-colonial period. This suggestion, as will be demonstrated below, shows how consent is manufactured and later institutionalised through political structures in present day democratic ideation (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). Possibly Karl Marx's position on the German ideology could further illuminate the premise of the introduction of radio broadcasting during colonial Africa and why it has continued as a prestigious form of communication in postcolonial Africa. If this became a great puzzle to the social scientist, it definitely would not be to Marx (1845), who argued that, 'the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas.' Implying that the class which is ruling through material force or property, and which is in power in society, is also the ruling intellectual force. In essence, the class which has the means of production at its disposal has control, at the same time, over the means of mental production. In the case of radio broadcasting, this would mean that the ideas being propagated are the ideas of those who have the means of mental production, and those whose ideas lack access to these means of mental production will always be subjected to them.

Chomsky further argues that; 'the concept of democratising the media has no real meaning in political discourses.' He adds that, 'In fact, the phrase has a paradoxical or even vaguely subversive ring to it' (Chomsky, 1989: 02). In the case of Africa, given the colonial influence in broadcasting, market trends led to the tacit

manipulation of the media and in particular, radio broadcasting. This will also be discussed in this chapter.

4.4 Radio Broadcasting, its Colonial Relics and the Ethnic Imperative

In 1932, the 'Empire Service' was introduced by the British with a view to servicing their colonies and dominions of Canada, Australia, India and Anglophone Africa. This was based in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia (now Harare, Zimbabwe). This BBC relay was meant to service Southern Africa. Another, whose focus was West Africa, was located in Lagos, Nigeria. Then, in the case of the French, broadcasting started slowly and on a small scale in Madagascar in 1931. At the time, the general observation of broadcasting was that it served to underscore the value of colonial rule to the colonised. Bourgault (1995) adds that in both French and British colonies radio operated as an arm of colonial policies. She further states;

> But as colonial policies differed, so did radio output. Interested in building an
> African audience, the British promoted the use of African vernaculars very early
> in the process (Bourgault, 1995: 69).

Examples of these colonial policies cut across the African continent and were later embraced by the new, independent leaders. However, while it is attested that in most British colonies, the colonial administrators promoted the use of African local languages, it is also worth noting that when new nationalist leaders took over the state, they decided to abolish these ethnically-focused radio stations in favour of a centralised system in which all ethnic groups would be granted limited airspace (Head 1974). However, the ethnic minorities tended to be the most affected given the monolithic nature of nationalist perspectives. The main reason for this move, as will be further emphasised in Chapter Five, was the monolithic perspective which was hinged on the liberation dictum that, 'for the nation to live, the tribe must die.'[54] Given that my study is on South Africa, as seen in Chapters One and Two, this forms a clear line of divergence in terms of policy shift. In the case of South Africa, ethnic radio stations inherited from apartheid were embraced, transformed and rebranded for use as structures to champion the new emancipatory project. The outcome of my research findings has so far shown that 78% of my respondents preferred their ethnic groups to belonging to South Africa.

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[54] This statement was popular across the African continent among most liberation movements. It also influenced nationalist leaders upon assumption of power, after colonialism, to pursue policies that deplored any reference to ethnic allegiance or, at least, cultural pluralism. This forms a point of divergence with South Africa, considering that the latter decided to pursue the policy of recognizing ethnic diversity.

However, it is imperative to also state that the colonial administrators, for example, the British, promoted the use of local languages in the colonies as a way of churning out propaganda. This, according to Frantz Fanon (1968), was a way of aiding the 'psychology of colonialism' and the maintenance of power and dominance over the 'uninformed' colonised masses. In Kenya, the Nairobi Service Broadcaster was set up for Kikuyu and Kamba languages. Then, in the mid-1930s, the Gold Coast, now Ghana, received a radio service in Accra, with relays added in the Sekondi, Kumasi and Korofidua areas (Bourgault, 1995). In a bid to authenticate their project, the British hired African personnel to work as translators and presenters in various languages. In the case of Ghana, indigenous languages were added in 1939 and broadcasting was in Ewe, Twi and Hausa (Ansah, 1986; Bourgault, 1995: 69). In Southern Africa, the British further established what was called the 'Central African Broadcasting Station, in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia. This was done in the late 1940s. It is further stated that this proved to be the first fully fledged station broadcasting exclusively to Africans (cf. Fraenkel, 1959). In seeking to understand how radio was introduced to the indigenous people of Southern Africa and its impact, Graham Mytton (1983: 29) studied letters from listeners that were sent to the colonial broadcasters and newspapers. His findings noted that the enthusiasm with which the locals embraced radio broadcasting in the local languages was positive. This was also aggravated by the view that radio gadgets, as the media before the messages, were presented as 'miraculous toys', which could cause communication with someone from a distance (Mano, 2004: 37). In addition, Mytton (1983) gives examples of some quotations from the letters;

> I am now one of the proud wireless owners. Surely it gives very loud interesting music. At 444 miles away on the Great North Road always people come around to listen in and are very pleased, number of them is about 25-40 people. So, Sir, we are all very happy indeed. I bought a wireless set on 5.12.49 and now I am able to hear news from far and near, Lusaka is no longer a distance to me (Mytton 1983: 28).

These statements demonstrate the rate at which radio permeated African associational life. It became a galvanising instrument, by virtue of its 'enigmatic instance', and the spectacle created out of its long range potential to communicate to an impressionable rural audience, which also found it startling considering that it broadcast in their ethnic languages. Radio broadcasting managed to play into the ethnic group identities and also to arouse their sense of belonging, as shown by the pride emphasised in one listener's letter, above. This narrative of radio as a startling spectacle gave impetus to deeper ways in the psychology of colonialism as a process (Fanon 1968), and would later require a rigorous shift towards decolonisation with

most nationalist leaders realising the impact of mass media and therefore embracing radio to cause those shifts. However, because African nationalist leaders understood these political nuances, given that some of them had been trained in handling media issues (Mano, 2004); upon attainment of independence they also immediately grabbed the radio stations and made broadcasting a marked security terrain.

Radio in Anglophone Africa was set up to provide managed information to the colonised territories, although as stated above, access and the privilege of control rested with the colonial administrators. Furthermore, the colonial mindset of public service broadcasting followed the public corporation model of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), as discussed above (Heath, 2001: 91).

According to Francis Nyamnjoh (2005), the tight control by colonial authorities on radio broadcasting influenced the new African leaders at independence and in the post-independence period. As a result, radio broadcasting in Africa still depends on the influence of government, with a few instances where liberalisation of the airwaves has taken place, but the main area of control remains within the spread and impact of radio in any state, particularly with a view to servicing the interests of the state and the political élite. In those areas where liberalisation has taken place, very few instances exist where private radio enjoys nationwide coverage, save for limited community-oriented radio stations.

In most of Africa, the attainment of independence also saw the new governments following the colonial structures of radio broadcasting and their regimes under the guise of creating public service broadcasters (PSB). Bourgault (1995: 72) concurs by saying that at independence the vast majority of Anglophone countries had broadcasting systems based upon the BBC model of public corporation and public service broadcasting. As will be discussed in detail in this thesis, South Africa provides a good case in point. Similarly, Martin (1991: 183) reminds us that by the early 1990s, seven countries operated with a public corporation: Ghana, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Emphasis has to be made that this inherited arrangement guaranteed governments more control (Zaffiro, 2002). This is also true of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) today, given the historical influences of BBC, which is commonly referred to as the 'Reithian Credo' (Horwitz, 2001; 57, Ngubane, 2006). In the case of South Africa, even the name South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was inherited, however, some structural changes within the public broadcaster were made, for example, having to transform the institution from formerly acting as a state broadcaster to act as a public broadcaster. The same happened in most of the French colonies, their radio services

were heavily influenced in terms of structure, style, substance, and also politically, by the French model of broadcasting.

In Southern Africa, most governments have a say in the appointments of PSB boards or the State Broadcasting boards that oversee the running of the public broadcasting regime. In some instances, as has been the case in Zimbabwe, these boards usually operate at the whims of the minister responsible for information, communication and publicity, whose powers and latitude varies from country to country. Depending on various other circumstances, in some countries the minister generally enjoys the latitude of appointing the entire board, particularly the Chairperson.

In the case of South Africa, the SABC board is appointed by the state's President, in consultation with the Minister of Communication, but after an announcement of nominations for board members has been made in the media, parliament, with its vetting arrangement as a procedure for overseeing the process, and through a designated portfolio committee, discusses the nominees. After deliberations, when parliament finally makes a decision, the minister responsible presents the names to the President who, in consultation with the minister, then assents (cf. Mhlanga, 2006, Ngubane, 2006). However, emphasis has to be made here on the vagueness of the word 'consultation.' It is also imperative to acknowledge the various forms of political manoeuvring and to consider that in most cases the state's President, as the one who appoints ministers, tends to have even more powers to override the minister's decisions. An appointment to these boards usually has a deep-seated political leaning when it comes to the board's upper echelons (Chairpersons and Deputies). Countries like Mozambique, Botswana and Namibia also have similar policy arrangements, as appointments tend to follow political party affiliation.

Following the above exposition, it may be further stated that radio in postcolonial Africa had another major function: that of rallying people to support the government in the quest for political, social and economic development (Nyamnjoh, 2005). In Africa, within the first post-colonial decade most governments enjoyed unparalleled support from the ordinary masses, who were in a triumphant mode, the media (both independent and state owned) also rallied everyone in support of state policies on development (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 48). This tended to give governments an upper hand in the management and control of radio broadcasting systems. The central tenet of this line of thinking was influenced by Daniel Lerner's (1958) modernisation model of urbanisation, firstly, as a panacea for raising literacy levels. Radio, as a form of mass medium, was meant to assist by playing the role of 'social mobility

multiplier.' In this view, it was believed that radio broadcasting would make the masses envisage themselves in a different but progressive social and economic arrangement. Lerner (1958) referred to the latter as an 'empathetic personality'.

Furthermore, radio broadcasting, as in the case of South Africa, gives the élite access to directly talk to people in the rural communities, using their local language. So, the effort to ensure that radio broadcasting remains a preserve of the state, also with a view to broadcasting development-related issues using local languages, is a big political game that enables people to be politically oriented towards a particular direction. It also creates the 'we feeling' (Mhlanga, 2010: 162). Similarly, Bourgault (1995: 74) says these efforts often pave the way for propaganda, since development itself is seen by the governments as part of the politics of 'nation-state building.'

The case of South Africa's uniqueness captures the importance of ethnic accommodation, or the politics of inclusion and exclusion in a nation-state. Further, it also shows that the broader the language choices are on radio, the more empowered and included various ethnic groups feel (please refer to the findings section on this). In confirming this assertion, Paul Ansah (1986:47) observes that;

> …the existence of a plurality of languages is a fact that cannot be wished away without proving deep resentment and arousing the suspicions of one ethnic group wanting to establish some hegemony or condemning others to cultural extinction. The language factor becomes a sensitive issue because it is one of the most evident characteristics that define a given ethnic group and gives identity and character as a distinct, homogeneous body (1986: 47).

Similarly, Jill Hills (2003:37) concurs with Ansah's suggestions by adding that without local languages, broadcasting fails to reflect communities and cultural identities of the population at any given time. In her view, this can be achieved through the enforcement of a regulatory framework, which will ensure the accommodation of everyone involved. The language factor in radio broadcasting conjures feelings of belonging to a nation-state.[55] Belonging in a state is a matter of social pacts, signed or unsigned, within a state, and they seek to ensure that everyone contributes to the development of that particular nation-state. Social identity and belonging to an ethnic group, as products of a natural deep thread of common history (descent), a proximate sense of origin and at face value with a latent sense of social construction can be used to encourage belonging to a nation-state. The case of *Lotus FM* applies here; the feeling of belonging to South Africa among my respondents was

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[55] This forms one of the conclusions I reached after my fieldwork in South Africa. As will be outlined in the chapter on the research findings, emphasis can be made here that by creating radio stations that clearly broadcast using the local languages of those particular ethnic regions; radio has created a strong sense of belonging first among the listeners in terms of being members of a defined ethnic group. Thereafter, it has also groomed their feelings of patriotism, as they emphasised that they are so happy when their languages are used for broadcasting.

emphasised. It also emerged that most of my respondents from *Lotus FM* considered themselves to be South Africans first, before feeling that they belonged to their ethnic groups. Among my respondents from the other radio stations, however, responses were different. They argued that their ethnic group identities came first. This was even echoed by Mapule Mbalathi, Head of Radio News and Current Affairs, who argued that she is proudly Tsonga, everything else follows.[56]

However, failure to handle the hotly contested issue of ethnic belonging and accommodation tends to create various forms of diasporic yearning. These groups included the Indian community of Durban, and the !Xû, and Khwe of Platfontein in Kimberly, who are sometimes referred to as migrant groups. This issue featured prominently during my research in Platfontein, since most of my respondents said they do not feel that they belong to South Africa, especially when referring to how they are sometimes treated in most government offices. Some added that, despite this treatment in these government offices, what tends to console them and gives them hope is the fact that their languages are used for broadcasting on their radio stations.

It also emerged that the recent creation of a radio station specifically for the !Xû and Khwe (*X-K FM),* is now causing a change in mindset, and a sizable number of my respondents, particularly among the Khwe, stated that they are beginning to feel part of the broader South African arrangement, even if they have nothing to show materially. Further, when asked to prove what they held dearly in South Africa as their source of identity, they would only argue that there is nothing tangible except that their language is on the South African airwaves through *X-K FM,* 'their' radio station, although only within the precincts of Platfontein, given the limited broadcasting footprint. This alone, to them, serves as a pointer to show the essence of their belonging and identity. The limited radio footprint seems to be producing a localised perspective to the extent of creating an 'in-group' mentality; although to them belonging and inclusion lies in their languages, which are now used to broadcast on radio.

Following this observation, in particular the notion of diasporic feeling among some of my respondents, probably Roza Tsagarousianou's (2004) position would hold that diasporas are not latently mere given communities, a logical, albeit de-territorialised, extension of an ethnic or national group, but that they tend to exist as imagined communities, continuously reconstructed and reinvented. Given that my respondents at *Lotus FM* and *X-K FM* acknowledged that they constantly feel

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[56] I have mentioned the name of my respondent here because she permitted me to do so, and emphasised that she will always remain Tsonga.

alienated and are sometimes referred to as immigrants, Tsagarousianou's position that such a scenario is constantly reinvented is evident. The two ethnic radio stations have been able to help these ethnic communities to re-construct their identities in the face of marginalisation. The other point of interest in this discussion is the narrative of imagined communities, obviously, a product of Benedict Anderson's (1993) seminal work, as will be seen in Chapter Five. Similarly, Charles Husband (2000: 206) adds that in such a situation;

> There is a sense in which ethnicity is social psychological, a sense of who I am. But in the absence of a place where I can speak my language, buy my foodstuffs and my music, and express my faith with others; then how shall I express my identity in action? (2000: 206).

Radio broadcasting, in this scenario, provides a platform for the realisation of ethnic belonging and group identity. The local content music quota, as discussed in Chapter Two, also contributes to this process, further confirming Tsagarousianou's (2004) view that diasporic communities constitute imagined communities in so far as they define their presence in a particular location away from their 'original' home. This also presents a picture of ethnic communities that perceive of themselves through the lenses of transient social boundaries. Radio broadcasting in Sub-Saharan Africa has developed, but still remains controlled by the state, with minimal attempts to cede this firm control. Further, the limited relinquishing of control of the radio broadcasting systems has led to a marked mushrooming of independent radio broadcasters, especially in South Africa, with numbers of stations rising to several hundreds (Fardon & Furniss, 2000: 01). However, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, the interesting point to note is that despite these drastic changes and achievements, governments still continue to command more authority and a grip on PSB in an effort to drive the nation-state and keep the ethnic question consolidated.

Added to this arrangement is the traditional factor that most African societies are traditionally oral in their communication. Radio broadcasting seems to be conveying information in a manner consistent with an oral culture (Riggins, 1992). Following the power of radio broadcasting as a new paradigm of superficial oral tradition, people gather around a radio in the same fashion that they used to gather around a fire as they listened to the narration of history by community elders. Now, people gather to listen to various programmes broadcast from a centralised port through the studio. This radio system seems to have tapped into the robust oral nature of African society. The wireless is seen as creating conducive grounds for the evolution of this oral nature of African societies, from person to person, but now from

radio to the masses, thereby providing the political leadership with the power of control. It does so by making a profound cultural change, which is so intrusive within the home, and, therefore influences society's crucial state of psychological development (Riggins, 1992: 06). These efforts are buttressed by the state's shrewd politics of engagement in a quest to maintain control of the public service broadcaster. Varied political tactics have been employed in a bid to create harmony among different ethnic groups and for them to feel as though they belong. In view of the state's approach to decentralising the public service broadcaster, Louise Bourgault (1995: 68) warns that this quest for pluralisation must not be mistaken for privatisation, as this might open up an already vulnerable space for manipulation by big international and local businesses and those with money.

Having discussed these trends in broadcasting in Africa, an appreciation of colonial radio broadcasting and how it was introduced to some parts of Africa will help us to understand broadcasting trends and how radio broadcasting systems have shifted. However, emphasis has to be made that this approach in the Southern African case is not only peculiar to the above mentioned states. This is an old practice, which has always been common among the old traditional media institutions, like: the BBC, Deutsche Welle, VOA, Radio Moscow, and many others. From the above discussion, it may be necessary to further turn to scenarios of radio broadcasting systems in Southern Africa as a way of explaining trends that have been followed.

4.5 Current Radio Broadcasting Scenarios in Southern Africa

This section will focus on radio broadcasting scenarios in four countries of Southern Africa: Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Further, it is worth emphasising that broadcasting systems in Namibia and Mozambique tend to have a slant towards ethnic groups. In the case of South Africa and Namibia, this service is a residual policy model taken from the colonial and apartheid systems. Whereas, in the case of Mozambique, while it is partly a relic of colonialism (cf. Head 1974), it also became an off-shoot of the post-independence civil war between FRELIMO and RENAMO. The trauma of the civil war, with its secessionist bids, influenced the leadership to configure radio broadcasting along ethnic, regional lines, in a bid to manage a fragile ethnic situation.

Before engaging in discussion of radio broadcasting scenarios for Southern Africa, it is worth mentioning that ethnic configuration in most Southern African countries tends to overlap across state boarders and, as a result, some languages are also found in more than one country. The dilemma that is faced in such a set up is that

these ethnic groups continue to share everything in common, including their religious ceremonies, but they remain divided by fluid colonial boundaries that clearly divide them only in terms of belonging to the state, but not as ethnic groups. Examples in this case would include; the Kalanga people, who are found in both Zimbabwe and Botswana. Furthermore, the Suthu and Tswana belong to the same linguistic ancestry and are found in Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa and Zimbabwe. In Namibia, Tswana is also one of the languages.

Venda, Tsonga (Shangani), Xhosa and Zulu (Ndebele) are found both in South Africa and Zimbabwe, with a marked number of Ndebele people also in the northern part of Botswana. Tsonga (Shangani) people are also found in Mozambique. The list could also embrace those of Malawian, Zambian and Indian origins living in South Africa, Zimbabwe and some other parts of Southern Africa, due to the historical colonial past. The latter are examples of 'indentured' diasporic groups that were forced into these countries, most of them as 'indentured labour.'[57] The case of indentured labour was not only peculiar to those of Indian origins, but also to those who came from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia and who worked in the mines. As a result, Nyanja, Lozi and Chewa are spoken in Zimbabwe's major mining towns and also in Zambia and Malawi. These people have also become a group of minorities in South Africa and Zimbabwe. They can also be perceived as diasporic groups.

Namibia also shares ethnic similarities with various countries in Southern Africa; there are people of the San communities to be found towards the Namib Desert, people of this linguistic variation are found in Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).In South Africa, they are commonly found in the Northern Cape Province and would include the ≠Khomani, !Xû and Khwe people (Mhlanga 2010). In Botswana, they belong to the group that is pejoratively referred to as 'Basarwa.' Another area of commonality between Namibia and Zambia is that of the Lozi people, who are also found in the northern part of Namibia along the Caprivi Strip.

However, since this study has no interest in defining linguistic similarities that transcend political boundaries and inter-state issues, I leave this to other researchers. An overview of radio broadcasting systems in one Lusophone state (Mozambique), Anglophone states (Zimbabwe and Botswana), and post-apartheid South Africa, in this chapter will further buttress the hypothesis I raised above, that most radio broadcasting systems in Africa tend to mirror those of the colonial order.

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[57] Information on the case of 'Indentured Indian diasporic groups' can be obtained from the following website: http://www.ahtg.net/TpA/indiasp.html.

Emphasis has to be made that examples of countries like Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, serve only as reference points and seek to illuminate the presentation of the influence of colonial radio regimes on the colonies and the postcolonial order. Further, they provide interesting case studies of different scenarios; Lusophone and Anglophone countries, whose public radio broadcasting policies have not been researched in detail (Kasoma, 1992: 05).

An analysis of these policies will further project the various radio broadcasting scenarios taken from the four chosen countries. In the case of South Africa, as already stated in Chapters One and Two, radio broadcasting operates along ethnic lines and is sponsored by the public broadcaster (SABC) (Lekgoathi, 2009). This phenomenon seems to have been copied as a pattern in Namibia, given the similar history of the apartheid influence. The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), like South Africa's public broadcaster (SABC), sponsors decentralized public broadcasters aimed at serving various ethnic communities. Examples include: *Setswana FM,* for the Tswana; *Damara FM,* for the Nama and Damara; *Otjiherero FM,* for Ovaherero; *Afrikaans FM,* for the Basters and Afrikaners; *Oshiwambo FM,* for all the Oshiwambo speaking tribes and dialectics, such as Ndonga, KwaNyama and Ngadjera. The other radio stations in Namibia are, *Silozi FM,* for the Lozi and those who come from Caprivi Strip; *Lukavango FM* for the Okavango (these include the Mbukushu and Kwangali, and the !Ha, mainly for the San communities).[58]

Botswana, an Anglophone country, presents an interesting centralised system of radio broadcasting. There is one major radio station managed by the state broadcaster; *Radio Bostwana.* The interesting feature of the radio station is that it broadcasts only in one language, *Setswana,* and this has been used as the official language since its inception at independence in 1966. However, Botswana is characterised by an array of ethnic groups; Bamangwato, Bakgatla, Batawana, Bakwena, Bakalanga, Basarwa, Bakgalagadi, Babirwa, Baherero. Furthermore, there are twenty six other languages spoken in the country, from which eleven have been identified as belonging to the Basarwa linguistic group.[59] According to the United

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[58] The name !Ha is pronounced as nstjaa. This information was obtained from Penina during the preliminary stages of the research and has been verified through other sources from the ministry responsible for communication. Further information obtained through email correspondence and telephone interviews, during the period spanning October 2007 to April 2008.

[59] Information on the case of Botswana's multicultural and multilingual nature was obtained from the United Nations Economic and Social Council report (2005). This was a report of the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (The right to education) compiled by the Special Rapporteur, Vernor Muñoz's; Mission to Botswana (26th September to 04th October, 2005).
The report can be accessed on the following website:
http://www.universalhumanrightsindex.org/documents/838/842/document/en/text.html

Nations Economic and Social Council report (2005: 06), the linguistic situation of Botswana, 'can be described as moderately complex'; a euphemistic way of defining it as colossal and confusing. In the area of radio broadcasting, the complexities referred to therein are due to the tacit behaviour of the government in presenting *Setswana* as the only language spoken, even by other ethnic groups.

Botswana has not yet licensed any community radio station to cater for other ethnic groups, as the national broadcaster.[60] The multicultural and linguistic composition of Botswana as a nation-state provides a case of the politics of identity transformation and ethnic coercion following the power of radio, as a propaganda tool.[61] This form of identity is commonly known as being a *Motswana*. This 'received' form of identity has transcended various phases of acceptance and has now shifted from being a cultural identity to being in the realm of a nationalised form of identity, as it is also seen as a form of professing patriotism. This scenario is presented to an individual upon reaching the legal age of majority; eighteen (18) years. The form of identity presented to an individual is clearly enunciated on the national identity which is commonly referred to as an *'Ummang'*[62] as being a *Motswana.* There is no clear explanation about how this identity was arrived at, but it has become common knowledge that people from Botswana identify with it as a way of expressing their citizenship and patriotism. When asked, they are quick to identify themselves by saying; *'ke Motswana'*, which means, 'I am a *Motswana.*' This identity is stated by everyone, what ever their ethnic group. When uncritically engaged with, it can be construed as a case of the fluidity of identities, particularly on nationality and citizenship issues. However, a critical engagement would clearly project a history of state capture; a common phenomenon in most African states (Ayittey, 2002, 1998), whereby minority ethnic groups were coerced into belonging to and even identifying with the state's symbols.

Then, in the case of Mozambique, a Lusophone nation-state (a former Portuguese colony), public radio broadcasting has been decentralised to the various regions. The process of decentralising public broadcasting also mirrors the ethnic configurations within Mozambique as a state, as will be illustrated below. However,

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[60] This information was unavailable at the time of writing, although, I was also informed that efforts to have community radio stations established in Botswana were underway.
[61] This critique was taken from an analysis given by a colleague and friend, Dr Sethunya Mosime; University of Botswana, who is also a Mostwana by political identity and a Kalanga by ethnic identity and belonging. In her assessment of the case of Botswana, she could only describe their case as one of Africa's manifest cases of the politics of ethnic accommodation, which serves as a form of social re-engineering clustered in the cause for belonging.
[62] The word *'ummang'* means 'who are you.'

Mozambique has also liberalised the airwaves, a process that has led to the formation of fifty community radio stations since 1990. The main public broadcaster is *Radio Mozambique (RM)*.[63] Another factor to consider in the case of Mozambique is that there are twenty ethnic groups: Shangaan, Ronga, Chopi, Bitonga, Ndau, ciSena, Nyungue, Macua, Chuabo, Chiute, Chimanyica, Swahili, Chimaconde, Chinyanja, Xitswa, Chitewe, Ajawa, Portuguese, Gitonga and Elomwe. Radio broadcasting is arranged on provincial basis. There are ten provinces and this means each province has a radio station managed by the main broadcaster (RM).[64]

The following is a list of provinces with radio stations that service them, together with the language of broadcasting: *Maputo province - Radio Mozambique Maputo (Broadcasts in Shangani and Ronga); Gaza Province - Radio Mozambique Gaza (Broadcasts in Shangani and Chopi); Inyambani Province - Radio Mozambique Inyambani (Broadcasts in Bitonga, Chopi and Xitsa); Sofala Central province - Radio Mozambique Sofala (broadcasts in Ndau, ciSena and Nyanja); Manyica province - Radio Mozambique Manyica (broadcasts in Chiute, Chimanyica and Chitewe); Tete province - Radio Mozambique Tete (Broadcasts in Chinyungue and Nyanja); Zambezi province - Radio Mozambique Zambezi (Broadcasts in Chimacua, and Chuabo); Nampula province - Radio Mozambique Nampula (Broadcasts in Swahili, Macua and Chimaconde); Niassa province - Radio Mozambique Niassa (broadcasts in Macua, Ajawa and Nyanja).* Portuguese, as the dominant language, cuts across all the stations. The latter was inherited and serves as a colonial relic from the former coloniser: Portugal.[65] Following this presentation of radio broadcasting in Mozambique, similarities can be gleaned in terms of colonial arrangements and the colonial inheritance in other countries, as stated above.

Then, in the case of Zimbabwe, radio broadcasting is a preserve of the State. Emphasis has to be made that at independence radio was immediately placed under the stewardship of the Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications. This ministry was then changed in the late 1990s in favour of a more defined Ministry of

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[63] This information was obtained from Lina Mucanse, the News Producer for Radio Mozambique in a telephone interview on October 8, 2007.

[64] A province is usually a politically motivated system of governance. It is a way of off-loading all politically administrative duties from the hands of central government to local administrative arrangements, called 'local government'. These arrangements are usually political and tend to serve the interests of the ruling élite, or party, as most office bearers and those at the helm of the province as a region tend to serve as political appointees, commonly referred to either as 'Governors' or 'Premier'. This is derived from Nicolo Machiavelli's political philosophy, as enunciated in his seminal work: *The Prince* (Nicolo Machiavell 1515; reproduced in 2003).It has also been referred to as the sociology of patronage in Africa (cf, Moyo, 1992; Ake, 2000; Mamdani, 1996)

[65] This information on radio broadcasting in Mozambique was obtained from Lina Mucanse, the News Producer for Radio Mozambique in a telephone interview on 8th October, 2007.

Information and Publicity, which remained operating as an appendage of the President's office (Mano, 2004; Zaffiro, 2002). Having been arranged following the colonial administrative design, and in particular the BBC, it saw the creation of four radio stations on attainment of independence; *Radio One*; *Radio Two; Radio Three;* and *Radio Four.* In their paper on government consolidation of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), Tirifavi Kangai and Charles Ndlovu (1986) clearly delineate the role of each radio station during the colonial era and after independence. A brief historical background of ZBC shows that *Radio One* was originally called *Radio General Service.* It catered for the white minority during the colonial era. On attainment of independence, it was changed to *Radio One*, but the language of broadcasting remained English. Its main thrust was to attend to the needs of the English speakers and the generality of Zimbabweans who preferred to listen to programmes in English, including foreigners. *Radio Two* was called the African Service during the colonial era. Its broadcasting was divided along ethnic lines; Ndebele and Shona. Kangai and Ndlovu (1986: 246), in their critique of the colonial arrangement, further described the management of the colonial African Service as a 'deliberate way of dividing our people.' However, what remains to this day is the fact that this radio station did not change, either in outlook or programme composition, except that its name was changed in 2004, to *Radio Zimbabwe*. Kangai and Ndlovu (1986) seem to acknowledge that more local languages were added, but they do not elucidate on what percentages were offered to each language at the time.

Then a radio station, commonly referred to as *Radio Jacaranda* during the colonial era, gave birth to *Radio Three.* In the colonial era, it used to cater for white youths. At independence, it was transformed into a 'pop-station',[66] with an all embracing approach, but still broadcasting in English (Mano, 2004). Radio Four was formed later, in October, 1982, and was funded by the government as an educational radio station.

These radio stations were managed under the auspices of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), which was changed to Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings (ZBH) in 2004. Furthermore, two centres of broadcasting were set up during the colonial era: Mbare Studios in Harare, and Montrose studios in Bulawayo. Back-up mini-stations were then set up, mainly to enhance the practice of journalists, such as the relay station in Gweru. In 2004, following the perceived need to diversify

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[66] This information was taken from Tirifavi John Kangai and Charles Ndlovu (1986) 'Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, Voice of Zimbabwe', In G. Wedell (Ed.). *Making Broadcasting Useful: The African Experience, the development of Radio and Television in Africa in the 1980s.*

and restrategise the public broadcaster (ZBH), the government, through the Ministry of Information and Publicity, changed the names of these radio stations and relocated them in new centres. *Radio One* became *Spot FM* and was relocated to Montrose Studios in Bulawayo. *Radio Two* became *Radio Zimbabwe*; and it remained in Harare's Mbare Studios. *Radio Three* became *Power FM* and was relocated to Gweru, it was originally in Harare. Then *Radio Four* was changed to *National FM*, and remained in Harare.

Radio Zimbabwe, which is now based in Mbare Studios, broadcasts in Shona and Ndebele only. Zimbabwe has three official languages that are enshrined in the constitution; English, Ndebele and Shona. However, other ethnic minority languages, such as: Suthu, Venda, Kalanga, Nambia, Tonga, Dombe, Nyanja, Shangani, and many others, do not have a radio station of their own. They all depend on *National FM*.[67] It is imperative before we close this section to highlight that most radio broadcasting arrangements in the four countries were inherited from their former colonial administrators. Further, with advice from departing colonial administrators, some decided to make very few structural changes, Zimbabwe, like South Africa, was influenced by the BBC model. However, the only difference is that, unlike South Africa, Zimbabwe does not have ethnic radio stations.

4.6 South African Broadcasting and the Social Transformation process

Following the above discussions on public service broadcasting as a concept and the history of broadcasting in colonial and post-colonial Africa, it is evident that a clearly pervasive line that cuts across the gamut of broadcasting exists. This line forms the residual model which shows the impact of colonial broadcasting systems and how they were imparted to the postcolony. Despite this pervasive line, as will be discussed later in the thesis, it is worth highlighting that, in as much as the colonial broadcasting order had an impact on the broadcasting of the latter day post-colony, the colonial broadcasting arrangement was narrow in remit, since it only targeted a few individuals.

The South African mediascape has been marked by significant changes over the past few years, mainly due to political transformation as a nation-building process. The 1994 elections were a significant turning point for all South Africans on many different levels, and broadcast media was certainly one of these (Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1996). A number of media conferences, workshops and

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[67] Information on Zimbabwe's radio broadcasting system was obtained from Eric Matinenga of the Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (MMPZ) in October, 2007.

negotiation meetings between members of the National Party (NP) government, civil society groups, the previously exiled African National Congress (ANC), and other groups and organizations with vested interests in the future of South African media, were held in the build-up to the 1994 elections. In view of the developments at that time, Eric Louw (1993: 11) says '…the civil war and the military conflicts of the 1980s were transformed into a struggle for power via negotiations and political manoeuvring in the 1990s.' Due to the marked number of the activities at that time, I will outline two notable ones that had a bearing on the tempo and political climate of the transitional period, namely; the Viljoen Task Group and the Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves Conference.

4.6.1 The Viljoen Task Group

Following the unbanning of the ANC and other liberation movements, on March 23rd, 1990, the Viljoen Task Group was appointed by the South African cabinet and was mandated to advise it on broadcasting policies (Louw, 1993). Although this group may seem to be discredited since they were set up by the apartheid system, it is imperative to state that it had a bearing on the debate around media policy and the role to be played by the media in the process of democratic transformation. This appointment sparked a lot of criticism, both from liberal and radical leftist commentators. The main criticism was that the composition of the group was not representative of all South Africans, and in particular, those who had previously been disenfranchised. Further, it was accused of holding its deliberations behind 'closed doors' (Louw 1993). This process gave impetus to mass protests organised under the auspices of the Film and Allied Worker's Organisation (FAWO). They argued that deliberations on media policies must be open and should be conducted in a public forum. Members of the Campaign for Open Media (COM) were then engaged, leading to an organised march on the SABC's Auckland Park headquarters in August, 1990 (Louw, 1993).

However, the Viljoen Task group continued with its deliberations behind closed doors, despite these protests. Only one session was held as an open meeting on 28th November, 1990. Furthermore, in response to the criticisms that the Task Group was unrepresentative, Christo Viljoen, the Chairperson, said; '…there are so many groups, organizations, companies, institutions and individuals who could claim to have a stake or interest in the broadcasting industry that it would have required an enormous Task Group to satisfy their demands' (Louw, 1993: 29). Following these

submissions the Task Group then called on the public to make written or oral submissions on any aspect of broadcasting.

In its observations, the Task Group identified three problems as being prevalent in the broadcasting system and its regulation, namely: a) An outdated legislation, b) Lack of a comprehensive, long-term policy on broadcasting, and, c) fragmented control over aspects of broadcasting. It also noted that the broadcasting sector had been overseen by a number of different Cabinet ministers and this had resulted in a lack of continuity and therefore direction (Ngubane, 2006). According to the Task Group, it was important for a group of professionals and experts in the field to be responsible for the regulation of broadcasting, as in other countries. It also proposed that there be an Independent Broadcasting Authority. In tandem with the proposition for an IBA, came the conditions: that the commissioners who would constitute the IBA could be vetoed;

> …by a Parliamentary committee (implying multi-party involvement); a 'sunshine clause' specifying that all deliberations of the IBA except confidential financial details, are a matter of public record; the IBA's accountability to Parliament; and a Broadcasting Court to review and redress, if necessary, findings and rulings of the IBA (Viljoen & Cronjé, 1993: 34-35).

This became apartheid's contribution to change, as a parting gift. The Task Group then presented its report, which was made public. This was also followed by a debate on *Radio 702* on September 18th 1991, between Michael Markovitz of FAWO and Christo Viljoen. Markovitz criticised the Task Group for being vague and for not acknowledging the complex nature of the transformation process. This was evidenced by the absence of recommendations regarding interim arrangements for the control and regulation of broadcasting (Currie, 1993). FAWO argued that the Task Group had been partial, with a leaning towards the government, for example, it cited the Group's failure to mention the government's misuse of the SABC for political purposes. They also criticised it for having as its Vice Chairman somebody who was also the Chairman of M-Net (Currie, 1993: 54). However, FAWO acknowledged that the Task Group had made some positive recommendations, in particular those regarding the reduction of the dependency of the public broadcaster on advertising revenue and their suggestion that the signal distribution be removed from the control of the SABC. These recommendations managed to set a basis on which further policy developments were to be hinged.

4.6.2 Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves Conference[68]

The Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves conference was held in Doorn, Netherlands in 1991. This initiative had a major impact on the transformation of the broadcasting terrain in South Africa. The major thrust of the conference was to discuss strategies that could be used by the media in embracing the new democratic process, which had no influence from the state. The conference participants also signalled concerns regarding the government's plan to restructure broadcasting. Further, they urged the government not to privatise the SABC during the course of negotiations. This position was informed by the suspicion that the state wanted to remove broadcasting from the political sphere as a way of reducing the new government's access to the media. Their fear was based on the assumption that the SABC was the main target for such a move from the National Party, which they claimed feared a policy backlash. Similarly, Willie Currie (1991) acknowledges that such moves came from the '…strategies of the state and big business aimed at restructuring broadcasting before a new government comes to power or a new constitution comes to force.' (Willie Currie in *Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves*, 1991: 9). This was because the government and big business leaders had been arguing for a market-oriented policy. The general view was that such a principle tends to exclude the poor, who were and

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[68] The 'Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves' Conference held in Netherlands in 1991, organised by the Radio Freedom (the ANC radio in exile), contributed significantly to discussions which resulted in the IBA Act (IBA) (Teer-Tomaselli 2001: 234), which removed responsibility for broadcast policy away from the direct control of the state and the SABC. As a result the IBA Act number 153 was promulgated in 1993, by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). It was charged with powers to: (a) formulate broadcasting policy; (b) licensing; (c) regulate and monitor broadcasting activities, and (d) limit cross-media ownership and the enforcement of local content quotas. The IBA Act was amended in 1995 and 1996, subsequently leading to the formation of the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) in 2000 (Mhlanga, 2006b: 128). This followed the dissolution of IBA and the South Africa Telecommunications Regulatory Authority (SATRA) (Moyo & Hlongwane, 2009; Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Berger, 2000: 162).

Furthermore, South Africa's two major governing authorities, the South African Telecommunications Regulation Agency (SATRA) and the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), were merged in 2000 to form the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) (Mhlanga 2006b). Then the ICASA Council is constituted through a board of seven members which runs the affairs of the body, with the help of the secretariat. This Council is appointed by the State President on the recommendations of the National Assembly. ICASA's main task is to regulate communication structures and technologies at national level (Republic of South Africa Telecommunications Act 103 of 1996). ICASA was mandated to incorporate the functions of the IBA, and those published in the Telecommunications Act (1996) and the Broadcasting Act (1999) (Berger 2000). The purpose of this merger was to clarify the situation in the telecommunications industry. This new regulatory board expressed the need for consistency in the evolution of the Broadcasting and telecommunications sectors through technology convergence and with opening up for other players (market liberalisation) thus embracing a free market approach where market forces play the determinant role (Mhlanga, 2006b). Then to add to one section of broadcasting, community radio, in 1995 the National Community Radio Forum (NCRF) was formed with the aim of addressing imbalances many communities had in relation to access to media (Teer-Tomaselli 2001: 234). Community radio in South Africa developed into a three tier broadcasting system: public service, commercial, and community.

still are, mainly the black people of South Africa (Ngubane, 2006). They also argued that while it was time to introduce change into the broadcasting sector, market regulation was not the answer.

To suggest ways of bringing about change, the conference also dealt with issues surrounding the *Radio Act* of 1952 and *Broadcasting Act 73* of 1976. They noted that the *Radio Act* gave the Minister of Home Affairs and the SABC too much power to veto the granting of a broadcasting licence. However, this seems to have been left as a policy, as it emerged from my research that all the ethnic minority radio stations have to apply for their licenses to the SABC, this is also stated on the licence conditions (see appendices). As a result of the government/SABC veto, the SABC was entrenched as a monopoly in the free-to-air category, with only M-Net functioning as a pay-per-view broadcaster. The SABC was established through *broadcasting Act 73* of 1976, which also defined its powers and activities (Ngubane, 2006). However, the problem raised was that it allowed for the State President, in consultation with the Minister of Home Affairs, to select the SABC board, which was constituted of some powerful members of the Broederbond (Louw, 1993). Michael Markovitz, also argued that, '…the broadcasting Act, read in conjunction with the Radio Act, has ensured that the control of public broadcasting remains firmly in the hands of the Broederbond/National Party axis' (*Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves*, 1991: 38).

Furthermore, the conference covered a number of issues on broadcasting, and then made a few recommendations. One major recommendation was that the broadcasting sector be divided into three sections; that is, public Service, commercial and community broadcasting. Participants at the conference further argued that public broadcasting should remain accountable to the people who constitute its viewer/listenership and not to government, as its source of funding. It was also established that since South Africa has a diverse population and also has to deal with deficiencies created by the apartheid system, 'the public broadcaster must be held responsible not only for popular entertainment and unbiased information, but also for educational programming' (*Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves*, 1991: 67). Then, regarding funding for the public broadcaster, they recommended that an investigation be carried out in order to determine the viability of cutting advertising and, if possible, subsidising the broadcaster through either licence fees or levies on services. Emphasis was made that commercial broadcasters had responsibility equal to that of the public broadcaster, thus implying that it should have guidelines regarding procedures for advertising. Then, on community broadcasting, it was recommended

that the sector should be participatory and be owned and controlled by the community itself.

It is important to note that a number of media policy initiatives took place, for example, at Rhodes University, where another workshop was held in 1990, followed by another conference, entitled 'Free, Fair and Open Media', hosted by the Campaign for Open Media (COM) in 1992. In describing the achievements of these initiatives Keyan Tomaselli and Hopeton Dunn (2001: 125) suggest that 'these initiatives culminated in the democratic and transparent appointment in May 1993 of a new governing board for the SABC, and the setting up of a regulatory body – the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), the following year.' However, the appointment of the SABC board was not without its own challenges, given the anxiety of the moment. Eric Louw (1993: 65) observes that the first controversy was about the appointment of the selection panel. Then the second followed: the twenty-five people who had been selected by the panel as board members, it is said the 'President intervened, and persuaded the panel to change seven of its names as well as the Chairperson' (Louw, 1993: 65).

In view of these developments, Zwakele Ngubane concludes that South Africa has had a relatively unique historical experience, which will be carried through the generations for years to come. However, as noted in the introduction, this historical engagement of the broadcasting landscape in the country is a minute glimpse into the effects of apartheid, the struggle for freedom and, ultimately, the attainment of what many refer to as democracy (Ngubane, 2006). This is a history of fear, lack of social integration as a result and, ultimately, of misunderstanding (Louw, 2004). This reality has filtered through into every aspect of society. Hayman and Tomaselli attribute this to:

> …a great linguistic, ethnic, racial and cultural diversity among the population, and history of segregationist policies based on and exaggerating these diversities. Partly as a result of this, class conflict over the distribution of wealth has been more extreme than in the USA and the UK, requiring a great degree of repressive activity by the dominant group in order to retain its power (1989:23).

4.7 Conclusion

From the foregoing, one can conclude that radio broadcasting in African tended to follow the systems and structures that were created by the former colonial administrators. However, what remains to be addressed is how accountable the political élite are to the public, since these radio broadcasting systems would have been created as public service broadcasters. As presented above, the reason for this position is due to the elusive nature of the notion of 'the public' in a public service

broadcaster. Further, this chapter has explained the complexity of the history of South African broadcasting policies; that is, the negotiations and various initiatives held to pave the way for the current broadcasting regime. As noted in other chapters, marked progressive changes did take place; however, the new political order brought with it its subtle forms of control. The latter will be discussed in Chapter Six, on the challenges faced by the public broadcaster during a time of turmoil within the ANC.

CHAPTER FIVE

Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Media in Africa: An Indigenous Paradigm

> Ethnicity has a will-ó-wisp quality that makes it extremely hard to analyse and not much easier to discuss. Everyone knows that it is a kind of fellow-feeling that binds people together and makes them feel distinct from others, yet it is difficult to say precisely what kind of feeling it is and why and when people will be strongly affected by it. Some people under some circumstances are willing to die and certainly to kill on behalf of their ethnic group. **…So what is ethnicity..?**[69] (Maybury-Lewis, 1997: 59).

> All states were now declared to be nation-states. The real nations within these artificial multinational creations of European colonialism were proclaimed to be mere "tribes"….. van den Berghe (1981).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to engage with ethnicity and nationalism in Africa. It attempts to draw from various schools of thought on ethnicity and its historical shifts. In doing this, the intention is to ultimately make sense of South Africa's ethnically-motivated public radio stations, in particular, ethnic minority radio stations, and how their continuation in the era of social transformation has fulfilled the ideals of a 'Rainbow Nation' and the entire emancipatory project. The chapter is divided into various sections; the first discusses the trajectories of nationalism in Africa in general, this is then followed by a historical background to ethnicity, which leads it to the section on schools of thought. This is followed by an attempt to locate South Africa's policies, by juxtaposing the history of race and ethnic relations during apartheid. Further, a discussion of state formation and the ethnic question in Africa is raised, thus leading to deductive engagement with the possibilities of a radical shift towards unthinking the various paradigms of ethnicity.

In an effort to understand South Africa's politics of ethnic accommodation, the other imperative is to further understand the path travelled by ethnicity in Africa's nationalist discourses. This is because ethnicity and nationalism are quite inseparable like the history of humanity and death. Where there is humanity, ethnic identity exists, then nationalism as a fellow feeling gains the swing. This engagement will be presented through the five trajectories of nationalism in Africa.[70] While presenting

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[69] My emphasis.
[70] I owe these trajectories to Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, during some of the semi-tutorial telephone conversations in which he would always outline nationalism, its challenges in Africa and possible solutions. This discussion with Ndlovu-Gatsheni was built on his work, which culminated in the publication of a thoroughly intriguing volume which sees waning nationalism in the case of Zimbabwe

these trajectories, my focus will be on illuminating the path travelled by ethnicity, alongside nationalism, in most cases as an invisible partner. This has been aptly referred to as the African national project (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a; Mbembe, 2001; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Ayittey, 1999; Mazrui, 1995). This is further presented by Mazrui (1995) in his view of pluralism, nationalism and democracy as bed-fellows. In order to locate South Africa's nativist nationalism and its ethnic imperative, as raised in Chapters One, Two, Four and Eight, it is necessary to begin by providing a background to the various trajectories of nationalism.

5.2 Trajectories of Nationalism in Africa[71]

The first and most notable phase is the age of decolonisation, which stretched from around 1950 to the late '60s. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2010), in his characterisation of the various stages of nationalism, says this era witnessed a marked rhetoric in defence of nationalism, with an avowed proclamation that ethnicity is inimical to the cause of nationalism. This was echoed by some of Africa's founding figures, like Ahmed Sékou Touré of the Republic of Guinea (1959) and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (Hodgkin, 1962). This era influenced mindsets on the 'criminalisation' of ethnicity; that is, the failure of nationalist leaders to see ethnicity as a useful ingredient in their cause of nation-building, which later turned into its continued suppression and rebuttal (Moore, 1993). In this anti-ethnicity, nationalist crusade of decolonisation, radio broadcasting played a pivotal role, with more information being churned out through various live broadcasts to the masses. As Bourgault (1995) opines, Africa's founding fathers understood the power of the media; in particular radio broadcasting, also because some of them were trained practitioners, who knew how to handle those media.[72] However, as will be presented in this chapter, ethnicity across the African continent has continued to be held in contempt, while it continues to erupt like a active volcano. Recent events in countries like Kenya, Rwanda, Nigeria and Sudan, have caused nationalists, cosmopolitanists and academics to consider engaging with the ethnic phenomenon.

Following the era of decolonisation, nationalism entered its golden age, which I prefer to refer to as 'Africa's proudest moment' (cf. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009b). This

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and the challenges this poses. These, then, forced him to ask a pertinent question, which later became the major title of his book: *Do Zimbabweans Exist?* (2009).

[71] I owe this section to Dr Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, especially around the engagement of the African national project and the various paths and puzzles that have continued to organize nationalism in Africa. This is a product of my deep-seated engagement with him on this subject.

[72] This position was further confirmed by the former President of Botswana, Sir Quett Ketumile Masire during an interview with him on a paper on Political Leadership in Africa.

phase took over from the late 60s and continued to the mid '70s. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2010) argues that this era was not golden at all.[73] In support, Achille Mbembe (1992) and Crawford Young (1997) argue that the era was characterised by 'prebendalism'; a situation where the élite create a mindset of ownership over its citizens, thereby generating feelings and notions of being owed for being in power. As in a church or a religious arrangement, the masses were expected to continuously revere the figures of nationalist leaders, hence the nicknaming of these leaders, who are usually presented with titles of honour and notions of invincibility (cf. Lamb 1987). Again, in presenting all their ideas, radio broadcasting continued marching at the centre stage, amid continued rebuttal of any ethnic yearning.

This era was followed by the age of crises and donor motivated, or externally driven policies. It stretched from the mid – '70s to the late – '80s. It was characterised by the waning of independence euphoria and, with most African states beginning to explore and accept external support. Goran Hyden and Charles Okigbo (2002: 38) refer to this period as the wave of the 'repressive reversal'; a stage at which the nationalists decided to abolish colonial taxes in favour of populist ideas, with the hope of having these ideas financed through external support. During this period, the notion of sovereignty and nationalist pride, which had become the hallmark of the age of 'Africa's proudest moments', was lost. As Hyden and Okigbo (2002) suggest, this era saw the mushrooming of a vibrant media and an active civil society with marked external funding. In various situations independence winning constitutions were also being redrafted with more force from civil society. Even civil society shifted from its original location, which had initially been between the state and the household, to that of being located between the market and the state (Mamdani, 1996; 1990). However, donor aid, or external support, came with political conditionality. This was an era of problems: most states suffered heavy economic losses during this era. Zambia's case in Southern Africa is worth remembering, especially Kenneth Kaunda's argument in defence of a one party state, in which he argued that democracy is not good for Africa as it is likely to arouse ethnicity (tribalism). The fear of ethnicity again features here.

The era of Neo-liberalism followed around the late '80s and stretched to the late '90s. This phase was characterised by the Cold War and its demise. Again, during this phase, ethnicity is seen to be marching straight into the centre of African politics,

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[73] For a detailed engagement of these phases of nationalism see Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2010) 'Is Mugabeism a New Form of Nationalism? Locating the Zimbabwean Nationalist Discourse within the Trajectories of the African National Project.' Paper presented in the panel on: New Nationalism and Xenophobia in Africa at the **International Conference: Continuities and Dislocations: 50-Years of African Independence**, Johannes Gutenberg, University, Mainz, Germany, 7-11 April, 2010.

with radio broadcasts becoming the much needed channel. Furthermore, during this era, Africa witnessed a number of ethnically-motivated genocides, most of them sparked by and encouraged through radio broadcasts to the ordinary masses in their languages, as witnessed in Rwanda, the case of *Radio Mille Collins* and *Radio Rwanda*. This is the era in which South Africa was born, with its founding figures now alive to the vagaries of ethnicity and the need to engage with it. Being alive to these challenges, following the comment by one of SABC's official on page 09, ethnic radio stations had to be continued post-apartheid and had to be managed by the state. The case of Rwanda provided more than enough lessons on how ethnicity can derail the nationalist cause. As a result, the fashioning of public radio broadcasting under the auspices of the SABC had to mirror the new nation-state's ethnic configuration; that is, South Africa with stations that are ethnically-motivated and located in different regions of South Africa.

This phase culminated into what Ndlovu-Gatsheni refers to as the Age of the Millennium and the revival of the African national project. The latter began at the turn of the millennium and continues today. It was been dominated by the challenge of the African Renaissance, headed by Thabo Mbeki of South Africa. Its major thrust, as will be discussed in Chapter Eight, was to rope in ethnically-motivated nationalism, African nationalist sentiment, within the broader economic agenda. Ethnic radio broadcasting continues to play a much bigger role. This phase was brought about by the nativist discourse. In a bid to give it a stronger intellectual force, Thabo Mbeki formed the Native Club in May, 2006. Its central thesis being Mbeki's speech, given exactly ten years before, in 1996, entitled; *I am an African.*[74] As will be discussed in Chapter Eight, in the discussion of findings, the nativist discourse in South Africa epitomised by the formation of the Native club under the banner *'Where are the Natives?'*, headed by Magashe Titus Mafolo and composed of South Africa's intelligentsia, presents an intriguing aspect of this phase of nationalism. In this phase, ethnically motivated public radio stations provide a springboard, again ethnicity remains at the centre of nationalism. Mbeki (1998: 209) interprets this move as being aimed to encourage the protection and harnessing of the potential of different language, cultural and religious groups of South Africa. This move followed the

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[74] For more information and an original version of the speech, please refer to Hadland, A. and Rantao, J. (1999). *The Life and Times of Thabo Mbeki*. Cape Town: Zebra Press. Also see Thabo Mbeki (2002). *Africa: The Time has come*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

cause for decentralisation and democratisation in South Africa with the mode for cultural pluralism. However, we further note that under the cover of democratisation and decentralisation, ethnicity comes running into the centre of nationalism. Furthermore, the path followed by nationalism has not been a direct line, despite these stages; Mbembe (2001) refers to it as a zigzag with no clear teleology (cause and effect).

From the foregoing, it is clear that ethnicity cannot be ignored, but deserves to be explained. The question asked by Maybury-Lewis (1997: 59) '…so what is ethnicity?' deserves to be answered. The following section will attempt to answer it. The term ethnicity, as will be discussed in detail later, shares a homogeneous centre with the concept of the nation and can be understood as part of a continuum in the studies of indigenous peoples, as it is sometimes believed to show signs of smaller groups, while in some cases it can show signs of ethnic-nationalities (Maybury-Lewis, 1997). However, scholars like Steve Fenton (2007: 13) argue that some notable and important differences are placed at the periphery. This is also due to the argument presented by scholars like Eric Hobsbawn and Terrance Ranger (1983), and Benedict Anderson (1983), that the nation is invented and imagined, thus also implying that ethnicity is a product of social invention and is quite autochthonous. From their position, ethnicity and the nation are socially constructed, imagined and invented concepts. This perspective refuses to perceive the two social variables as mere notions of groups that share descent and culture. Further, it does not acknowledge that, in the case of Africa which forms the object of my thesis, there are different contextual factors that are influenced by issues of nativity and ethnicity cannot be easily relegated to the fringes of social construction. Ethnicity deserves to be defined, explained and understood. In essence, this position fails to explain the salient familial thread of ethnicity that forms a group's nativity in the African context. It is here that Patrick Chabal (2009: 06) intervenes by saying that ethnicity is at the heart of the everyday realities of morality, accountability and representation and, as such, needs to form the bedrock of any realistic political theory of the African continent which cannot ignore this fact of life.

Another point worth highlighting is that ethnicity and nation cannot, therefore, be framed within a unitary theoretical framework, as there are various schools of thought; the ethno-symbolists and the social constructivists. The most important similarity to ethnic group and nation, viewed from the angle of the ethno-symbolists is the idea of ancestry or descent, which also closely implicates notions of linguistic variation, culture and tradition. This, in essence, implies that the idea of tradition

includes myths about the past, beliefs about 'the kind of people we are'; a common history of origin or nativity. Fenton adds that this culture defines a group in that it may be constituted by language, dress and custom. Ethnicity and nation, when defined this way, conjoin within the ambit of 'descent and culture' communities. More emphasis must be placed on the fact that an ethnic group has a shared antecedent. This position will form the basis of my argument in this chapter, particularly following an African-centred position, whose proponents include; Frantz Fanon (1967), Valentine Mudimbe (1988), Archie Mafeje (1971), Achille Mbembe (2001) and Bolaji Idowu (1973).

According to Maybury-Lewis (1997: 59), the most important point is to acknowledge that ethnicity is there and exists with us. What, therefore, should occupy us is asking the question: what is ethnicity? He further adds another question: why does it have this 'evanescent' quality? In attempting to answer the first question, it is noted that ethnicity is hinged on people's feelings of belonging to a common-descent or ancestry, and having a common history, usually combined with other typologies; such as language and linguistic rooting and, in some cases, religion. Perhaps the most sensitive and malleable criterion is the sense of common history. Ethnic groups must have a shared sense of their past, but Maybury-Lewis (1997) warns that the past is sometimes open to construction and reinterpretation in a variety of ways that may have tragic consequences in the present. This position, as will be discussed later, together with the question on why ethnicity has an evanescent quality, begins from another quite dangerous assumption about ethnicity.

The first assumption is that these alleged histories with the potential to be 'concocted' will always be distorted and can lead to tragic events in the present. Yet the reality is that this is not always the case. If anything, such an assumption only buttresses expatriate theories of ethnicity that were brought to Africa by European sociologists, anthropologists, missionaries, and colonial administrators, particularly in their quest to understand the native (Mafeje, 1971; Mudimbe, 1988; Idowu 1973). The second assumption is also related to the first, ethnicity is seen from an instrumentalist's position which instinctively assumes that when ethnicity is defined using these characteristics, the ultimate result is a form of ethnic conflict; possibly seeking to caricature Africa, through her violent history and as a place where things fall apart. Such an assumption fails to explain what ethnicity is, rather, it only seeks to mechanically project (whether correctly or incorrectly), what ethnic consciousness may lead to.

This chapter is therefore alive to the reality of an Africa that does not exist in a vacuum (Bates, Mudimbe & O'Barr 1993), but it also acknowledges indigenous knowledge forms and systems of thought that have always been used to define the origins of African cosmology. I am also mindful of the fact that such an enterprise has its own limitations, given that Africa is so big and diverse, and so even the philosophy of existence, ontology and ethnic origins can be murky. However, in the event that these schools of thought are not in a position of peace among themselves, and likely to lead to even more theoretical chaos, an African-centred position will be proposed which seeks to reject them and to replace them with a perspective of wanting to understand what ethnicity is to Africa (cf. Fanon, 1967). Further, the latter draws from Winston Mano's (2009: 277) argument: that western scholarship has continued, in a Eurocentric mode, to influence African thought systems. He further observes that even in the area of media studies there has been a rising wave that is meant to reject 'the universalising pretensions of Western theorising and evidence, and paying more attention to neglected 'indigenous' forms of communication and languages.' This position further provides the impetus to call for a radical shift towards unthinking paradigms of ethnicity, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.3 Historical Background to Ethnicity and the National Question

Having positioned my locus of enunciation, above, I now present a brief history of the genesis of ethnicity. This section will be divided into two strands; one dealing with ethnicity's primary constituents and the other with schools of thought. The term 'ethnicity' is a derivative of the commonly used adjective 'ethnic', and can be traced back to the Middle Ages. It is also noteworthy that the term 'ethnic' went through various spelling mutations, together with contextual shifts in meanings. The most notable one being the term, '*aethnycke*.' The word can be located in the ancient Greek term 'ethnos/ethnikos'-commonly used to refer to 'pagans'; the non-Hellenic and later the non-Jewish (gentiles) or non-Christians and second-class people (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 04). An interpretation of the latter also shows a sense of being 'foreign' and of being distinguished from the 'other.' The evolution of ethnicity within modern literary scholarship shows a pejorative and depreciatory engagement with it. Could this be the basis for the continual rebuttal and 'criminalisation' of the term, even by nationalists? However, in support of Hutchinson and Smith's position, it can be gleaned from Fenton's analysis how this term, ethnicity, has changed its usage and meaning over time and also, by following Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* (1897), where it is argued that:

Ethnos; number of people living together, body of men; particular tribes; of animals, flocks; *(after Homer)* nation, people; (later) foreign, barbarous nations; non-Athenians, (biblical Greek) non-Jews, Gentiles, class of men, caste, tribe (cited in Fenton 2007: 14).

From this perspective, it can be observed that the adjectival form of *'ethnikos'* has two other meanings: 'national' and being 'foreign.' Further, it can be noted from the above that the Greek 'ethnos' has meanings which are attached to the modern English usage of 'nation', while, on the other hand, referring to 'foreign peoples' or those considered to be the 'other.' Then, in the *Compact Oxford English Dictionary* (1993) (cited in Fenton, 2007: 14), another concept: those who belong to the same 'stock', is introduced. This time, the term 'stock', although used to denote animals, could be equated with the imaginings of a 'tribe.' During the colonial era the narrative of the native question (Mamdani, 1996; van den Berghe, 1981) referred to people with a strong biological sense (familial ties), a sense of genealogy (nativity) and type, thus giving more emphasis to the sense of shared ancestry. The French version of the Greek noun is 'ethnie', whose adjective is 'ethnique' (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). The French term, therefore, is used to denote a 'community' or 'group' identity. However, its academic usages are fairly recent and quite modern. David Riesman is then credited for coining the term around 1953, and it then gained popularity in the 1960s and 1970s. At the time, it was largely coined to make sense of a specific form of cultural difference; then it was adopted into the Anglo-American tradition as a substitute for dealing with minority groups within a larger society and within a nation-state.

It is also interesting to note that the European tradition regularly opted to use ethnicity as a synonym for nationhood, and defined it historically, by descent and territory, but over time have sought to project its various phases of reconstruction while maintaining its original root. This approach somehow followed the ethno-symbolists school of thought; that is, engaging ethnicity in relation to territory and descent. This model, when assessed using Pierre van den Berghe's (1981) discussion of *The Ethnic Phenomenon,* can be placed under the rubric of kin selection. It celebrates the notion that the core of ethnicity, as a historical phenomenon, is 'unchangeable', and it locates people within their particular familial roots - nativity.

Furthermore, before discussing the national question vis-à-vis ethnicity, let me engage with the historical and ideological antecedents of ethnicity, as traced by various scholars. Again, in a bid to argue for an indigenised approach to the study of ethnicity in Africa, an observation is made here of the social sciences' failure, since

they continually treat 'human social behaviour as a phenomenon almost entirely *sui generis*'; disconnected from various other social systems. I further argue that the notion of ethnicity we have, has benefited from centuries of social constructions and distortions that have carved into it its most evident contemporary characteristics. However, ethnicity in Africa has always maintained its central 'core' tenets through following kinship and historical familial lines.

Attempts to discuss ethnicity span centuries, the second half of the 19th century witnessed the rise of genetic determinism as an epistemological underpinning to ethnicity, and it later gave impetus to the rise of discussion on 'racism and social Darwinism' (Banton, 1977; van den Berghe, 1981). This approach attributed human differences in behaviour, abilities, character and culture to in-born variations in the biological make-up of individuals in society. The era of this proposition influenced the beginning of the theory of genetic determinism, but had its challenges giving way to extreme forms of cultural relativism and determinism. In acknowledgement of this development van den Berghe says;

> By the 1920s and 1930s, the United States had become centre-stage of the social sciences, and the students of Franz Boas in anthropology and Robert Park in sociology began to spread the gospel of extreme cultural relativism and determinism that held sway through the 1960s. The political and ideological context of this triumphant cultural determinism was as clear and as evident as that of social Darwinism of the previous epoch, (1981: 02).

The failure of social Darwinism gave way to another form of epistemological underpinning; environmentalism and cultural determinism. Environmentalism and cultural determinism serviced the political thought process of Communist-liberal thought. The latter even formed the ideological imprint of World War II. Emphasis has to be made here that this will form the basis of my discussion of ethnicity, as it had a profound influence on the spectacles through which ethnicity was later to be viewed in Africa.

Cultural environmentalist thought, as it came to be known, created a general world-view that all human behaviour can be explained in terms of socialisation, conditioning, and acculturation or through the lens of the cultural environment. This even conjured up assimilationist ideology. This explains Riggins' model of ethnic minority media in which he argues that the introduction of ethnic media becomes a form of assimilationist strategy. The logic here is that through assimilation of ethnic minorities, the challenge of ethnicity will gradually fade away or possibly lead to a new form of identity which is a resultant of assimilationism – a form of mixed ethnic identity. The ideology of assimilation, as will be shown through the discussion of

models of ethnic minority media in Chapter Eight, was used by the ruling élite to manage issues around ethnic minorities. It even formed the backbone of centralised bureaucratic state structures. By so doing it spread the impression that ethnic and social sentiments were bad (van den Berghe, 1981: 03). Furthermore, its value judgement, van den Berghe (1981: 03) suggests, is generally hidden behind pretentious jargon, such as 'particularism', 'traditionalism' and 'tribalism.' The overview was that ethnicity is dysfunctional in industrialised societies and represented traditional residues of previous eras that would therefore be eroded by the forces of urbanisation and modernisation. Marxists employed assimilationism; they also translated it into 'national policy' in most Communist countries. It was later embraced by most African nationalist leaders. Marxism is discredited for its failure to address ethnicity by seeking to explain it using class-lenses, and by treating it as a residue of selfish primordial hordes, still existing in capitalism that would be supplanted by proletarian internationalism.

During colonialism, ethnicity; commonly referred to as the 'native question' (Mamdani, 1996), formed the core of colonial discourse, and was shaped by the mindset of colonial administrators and architects, such as Lord Fredrick Lugard (1965)[75] and Jan Smuts, as will be further discussed in the following sections of this chapter. No effort was made to understand the transcendence of ethnicity in the pre-colonial African state. Following this development, Africa lost the advantage of contributing to the discourse around ethnicity. The post-colonial African state became a relic, and a victim of previous colonial policies. Ethnicity could only be seen through the lenses of social constructivism, whose founding creeds are assimilationism and cultural determinism. The new generation of the African élite found environmentalism and assimilationism convenient doctrines to squash separatist movements and to foster 'national unity'. Hence, the use of derogatory terms, such as the 'Tshombe mentality', after Maurice Tshombe of the Congo's ideas to oppose the national ethos purveyed by Lumumba, with a view to self-determination for the Katanga province. It is on this note that van den Berghe (1981: 03) observes the emergence of tribalism and the perception of its retrograde wring;

> A neat…semantic mislabelling took place here with nearly universal cooperation of Western social scientists. All states were now declared to be nation-states. The real nations within these artificial multinational creations of European colonialism were proclaimed to be mere "tribes", and any genuine nationalism that might develop within them was stigmatised as "tribalism".

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[75] Please refer to Lugard, F. (1965). *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa.* London: Frank CASS.

Furthermore, the amorphous anti-colonial rhetoric of the new ruling élite was dignified as nationalism. It tacitly meant that ethnic groups could now be suppressed, short of physical extermination, this time with the blessing of the United Nations (van den Berghe, 1981).

5.3.1 Reconceptualising Ethnicity and its Primary Constituents

Following Shermerhorn's (1978) definition of the ethnic group and its qualifying factors on page 18 (Chapter one), Hutchinson and Smith (1996) select some symbolic elements for the definition of ethnicity as a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, a link with a homeland and sense for its members. The latter element confirms diasporic feelings for an ethnic group which exists in an environment outside its place of origin, like the Indian community, or that of the !Xû and Khwe of South Africa.

Ethnicity requires two or more groups to be in interaction, because social isolation tends to hinder people from perceiving their commonality and identity (Riggins, 1992:02). This emerged from my research and led to the observation of proximity; that is, the closer different ethnic groups are to each other the more heightened their rivalry is and general contest for space and resources (see chapter seven and eight for more detail). Furthermore, two major concepts will also arise at this stage: ethnic identity and ethnic origin. The former refers to the level of identification within a culturally defined collectivity (Husband, 2000; Riggins, 1992:2; Davidson, 1992:99; Anderson, 1983:15; Young, 1997). It implies the feeling and sense of belonging to a particular cultural community. 'Ethnic origin' refers to a sense of ancestry and nativity on the part of the individual, through their parents and grandparents.

The use of ethnicity in this study takes a particularist, rather than a universalist focus, with specific bias to Africa. For this reason, it is imperative to state that this has stood the test of time. It is a feature of identity distinction. However, Malešević (2004:02) says the plasticity and ambiguity of the concept allows for deep misunderstandings as well as political misuses. This scholar further suggests that in the first stages of its use (ethnicity) within the academic world, it did not present 'big' problems, it only began to present problems when it acquired legislative and institutionalised political underpinnings, through formulations such as, 'ethnic minority' or one 'ethnic group.' As presented in the case of South Africa, the discussion of ethnic minorities is influenced by contestation for airspace and the use of radio broadcasting as a political resource. This contest is a power game in a young

nation that is still trying to find its footing, given its history of apartheid, but because ethnicity is a natural phenomenon, particularly when viewed from the perspective of Africa, ethnicity has the element of being an involuntary form of association. One belongs to an ethnic group by dint of historical familial ties that locate the individual in the realm of the departed (ancestral world), in defined territory and through kinship ties; thus complicating the cosmopolitan approach that has been purveyed by the social constructivists. The latter, as an approach, has been carried out through the arresting and codifying of cultural differences that are not naturally changeable. This representation of ethnicity is based on a sociological perspective of some cultural differences that are changeable over time. However, the turn to sociology helps in finding a niche for ethnicity, and possibly by locating its genesis as a product of social anthropology, particularly in the works of Fredrik Barth (1969) and his work on ethnic groups and boundaries. Barth provided a revolutionary approach to ethnicity, by arguing that it should be defined in an outside-inwards fashion. Malešević (2004:03) adds that;

> Barth turned the traditional understanding of cultural difference on its head. He defined and explained ethnicity from outside in; it is not the 'possession' of cultural characteristics that makes social groups distinct, but rather, it is the social interaction with other groups that makes that difference possible, visible and socially meaningful (2004:03).

According to Barth (1969: 15), "the critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses." Similarly, Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1993: 10) concurs, by positing that "group identities must always be defined in relation to that which they are not- in other words, in relation to non-members of the group." From this statement, the implication is that cultural forms that lead to identity formations are created, developed and maintained only through interaction with others. The various ways in which ethnic minority radio stations in South Africa are able to groom feelings of ethnic belonging, show the state of negotiated forms of engagement and how cultural forms constantly gain manipulation at a given epoch. Examples could be in the case of the Indians of South Africa; this process is a form of social construction and has become culturally and politically meaningful in the contest for resources within the region; especially through their encounter with other groups, such as the Zulus, with whom they are constantly in close proximity.

Further, there is a generalised view that anyone of a particular phenotype is referred to as an Indian. This approach enjoys prima-facie plausibility, especially if we do not critically engage with it. Closer analysis shows a detailed conceptual

deficiency, in terms of its failure to explain what ethnicity is. It also fails to acknowledge that within the Indian group there are different ethnic groups, such as the; Gujarati, Hindu, Telegu, Tamil and Urdu. One of my respondents at *Lotus FM* warned against the continued grouping of people together, simply because they are perceived to belong to the Indian community. This social construction of identity is not watertight.[76] However, these group boundaries, when defined through the spectacles of the Zulus in Durban, who also have constant contact with those of Indian descent, would only hold in so far as they are not very critical in the extent to which they acknowledge the further ethnic differences that exist among the Indians in South Africa. Viewed from this perspective, Barth's view is therefore weak, and even causes more conceptual problems. In view of this development, Homi Bhabha (1994: 06) adds that "the most significant effect of this process is not the proliferation of 'alternative histories of the excluded' producing, as some would have it, a pluralist anarchy"[77], but a shift from the focus on ethnic studies to cultural boundaries through social interaction. Ethnic boundaries in this case become a product of social action and interpretation usually conjured through day to day forms of interaction, but cannot be seen as the ultimate explanation of ethnicity as a phenomenon in society.

Similarly, Malešević (2004:03) says, 'Cultural difference per se does not create ethnic collectivities'; it is the social contact with others that leads to definitions and categorisation of 'us' and 'them'. This implies that group identities are to be defined in relation to that which they are not; in relation to non-members of the group. The pre-occupation with this line of argumentation seems to be rooted in cultural identity and social groups that are seen as an off-shoot of interaction with others. This view further invalidates the 'melting pot thesis.'[78]

Furthermore, we should mention that the universalistic perspective of ethnicity has some limitations; if ethnicity is understood in universalistic terms to be a question of social interaction, culture and boundary maintenance, this would also create the implication that there are no politically conscious social groups capable of creating a

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[76] This information was obtained from my interview with Santosh Behari, Programmes Manager of Lotus FM, Durban, on April 7th, 2009.

[77] This form of 'pluralistic anarchy' can best be defined as the lenses to understand the rise of xenophobic violence of June 2008 in South Africa. The latter is a product of heightened nationalism which, as a result becomes a form of nationalist anarchy exacerbated by contest for resources.

[78] The 'melting pot' thesis was raised by most political thinkers and leaders who fear that the awakening of ethnic consciousness might dent the spirit of nationalism in countries that already swelter in the heat of possible divisions. This is also one way by which the state has always criminalised ethnicity in a bid to impede even talk of ethnic belonging. Radio has provided the conduit through which the process of criminalisation takes place. However, efforts to stop the celebration of ethnic differences have led to more problems in post-colonial Africa. It has even created what some scholars have termed the thesis of the 'curse of the nation-state project' in Africa (cf. Basil Davidson, 1992, Achille Mbembe, 1992; Ali Mazrui, 1980, 1995).

narrative of common descent and familial and kinship ties. Furthermore, it implies that ethnicity is not a collective asset of group identity; rather it is projected as a form of social relations in which social actors are perceived to be culturally distinct collectivities (Malešević, 2004: 04). This description, however, does not explain ethnicity completely, as there is a political aspect of group action that 'inspires belief in common ethnicity' and which has tended to transform group membership into a political community (cf. Weber, 1968).

Using these theoretical lenses, I will endeavour to show, in Chapter Eight in the section on 'new hegemony', that the pre-occupation is not with making the detection of cultural variation and difference the end of the discourse, but in deriving interest from how these cultural differences are mobilised for political purposes. Malešević (2004: 04) adds that this interest is generated when social actors, through the process of social action, (re) create the narratives of common descent to respond to a changing environment.

The suggestion above presents a point of departure which exists between ethnicity and races relations, whereby ethnicity is much more than the generalised perspective of the 'other' versus 'us', that is derived merely from phenotypes and social interaction. Collins (1999) (as cited by Malešević 2004) sums up this discussion by suggesting that;

> A sociological distinction between ethnicity and race is analytically pernicious because it obscures the social processes that determine the extent to which divisions are made along the continuum of somatotypical gradations. Race is a folk concept, a popular mythology that elevates particular ethnic distinctions in a sharp break (Collins, 1999: 74).

It is these challenges, to which Collins (1999) seems to be referring, that give impetus to this study. When using these terms, great caution has to be taken, since it can also be gleaned that some form of vagueness is created through an uncritical form of engagement. These terms also serve as labels that are used for convenience in a bureaucratic strategy which avoids engaging with the hegemonic nation-state. In conclusion, it must be emphasised that ethnicity itself is an untidy concept, whose vagueness has been aggravated overtime by political undertones that depend on contexts (Malešević, 2004: 06). However, ethnicity, as a concept, and the fact of its lack of explanation and understanding, gives impetus for conducting social research such as this study. It also affords the possibility for various forms of cultural differences to be carried out while paying particular attention to the political nuances that make up those differences.

5.3.2 Demarcating Schools of Thought in Ethnic Studies

Our quest to understand ethnicity lands us in a discussion of two schools of thought, as discussed by van de Goor *et al* (1996), van den Berghe (1978), John Comaroff (1997) and Claude Ake (2000). These schools of thought are: the primordialists and the instrumentalists. Van de Goor *et al* (1996: 18) says primordialists may be defined as those who hold that 'members' of the same ethnic group have a common primordial bond that determines their personal identity and turns the group into a natural community of a type that is older than the modern nation or modern class systems. Primordialists present an argument which is slightly similar to the one proffered by the ethno-symbolists, as shown above.

Then, on instrumentalists, Ake (2000) says they are those who understand ethnicity in light of its instrumentalised uses, by which leaders pursue their own end-games and interests, such as, forming, mobilising and manipulating groups of people for political reasons. It may be noted that the argument of the instrumentalists tends to follow the pattern of the social constructivists. However, Ake is quick to add these schools of thought are misleading. In keeping with his argument, Ake (2000) says that instead of having them referred to as 'primordialists' and 'instrumentalists', he prefers to see them as 'objectivists' and 'constructionists.' The problems faced by these schools of thought; the primordialists and instrumentalists, is that the former seek to define and posit what ethnic groups are, thus attempting to define what ethnicity is. The instrumentalist's school, instead, presents how ethnic groups and ethnicity might be used or valorised. They do not explain to us in detail what ethnicity is.

Social constructivist (or instrumentalist) scholars, like, Barth 1969; Gellner, 1997; Anderson, 1983, have a stance that is seen as being much easier in that they merely have to deny ethnicity's possible primordial roots and perceive it as a production of human nature's endless efforts to make sense of their identities and representation. In so doing, their argument can be further strengthened by critically engaging with Benedict Anderson's (1983) presentation of the nation as an imagined community. It follows, therefore, that from this perspective the ethnic group is an exaggeration of the imagination of identities, in so far as it is transient, constructed and likely to change with the passage of time. This school of thought supports its claims by seeking to show that ethnic identities 'wax and wane.' Further, it seeks to show that ethnic boundaries are porous, shifting and unsustainable, that ethnic markings are arbitrary, and that the common past and traditional values on which

members of an ethnic group anchor their identity may have little to do with historical realities, given the social invention of ethnicity (Comaroff, 1997: 70-73).

Similarly, Ake (2000: 95) further acknowledges that it is indeed difficult to prove the reality of ethnicity, except to attest evidence of shared consciousness which rises and falls, often as a result of manipulation, sometimes constituting the primary group identity of those who share it. As can be seen from the creation of ethnic minority radio stations in South Africa, the historical creation of these clearly ethnically- aligned radio stations during apartheid gave two impressions as off-shoots. The first was that they were meant, as most of my respondents seemed to suggest, to play a manipulative propaganda role on behalf of the state. Then, because of human nature's endless quest to conjure identity, consciousness of a kind developed, with ethnic communities becoming conscious of their peoplehood, and also that there were others elsewhere who, while they might not be of the same ethnic group as them, shared a similar historical fate: oppression. As we saw in previous chapters, the inheritance of these ethnic minority radio stations as part of the public broadcasting system played a unique role in dismantling apartheid and in the social transformation process. The latter is described in Chapter Eight as being hinged on the 'Babelian motif', taken from the Mazruian thesis on the power of Babel (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998).

However, conclusions can be drawn from the failure of the social constructivists' perspective to acknowledge the reality of ethnicity beyond the imaginary. This challenge outspans its usefulness, particularly in the African situation where the existence of ethnicity is constantly garnered and ordinary people have to live with it (Chabal, 2009). Furthermore, the argument which seeks to disqualify ethnicity from an instrumentalist's perspective begs the question of existence by dealing with or prioritising an element in the entire discourse which is misleading; the instrumentalisation of ethnicity. However, the major point to acknowledge is that group solidarity finds meaning in its transitive or proximate reality, as it is not only embedded in the ethnic group's reality of existence, but in its consciousness in various ways and levels of intensity. Ethnicity, therefore, remains as a fossilised precipitate of a long, onerous, historical product of kinship affiliations and familial ties. This also explains why varying ethnic groups always strive to maintain symbols of their peoplehood, together with their origins and survival myths, as can be seen in the creation of various ethnic radio stations in South Africa, among the five ethnic groups: the Tsonga (Shangaan), Venda, the Afrikaans speakers, the Indians (including all their different ethnic groups), !Xû and Khwe. In the creation of these radio

stations, while the direct names of each ethnic group had to be removed as a point of departure from the apartheid arrangements, the use of ethnically related symbols even placed these ethnic minority radio stations at the heart of the targeted ethnic communities.

The instrumentalist school is misleading by virtue of the emphasis it places on the manipulative and exploitative aspect of ethnic construction and its failure to acknowledge the origins of ethnicity. It does not acknowledge that the argument of exploitation and manipulation is not a useful tool in defining ethnicity. The arguments of instrumentalists, like those of the social constructivists, shows the hands of both expatriate theorists and emergent African middle-class ideologists, wearing lenses that are further removed from reality, but who over-simplify, mystify and obscure the true nature of economic and power relations between Africans themselves, and between Africa and the capitalist world (Mafeje, 1971).

Then, for the objectivists in relation to the ethno-symbolists, a wide range of objective characteristics is noted; that is, ethnicity is understood through the putative commonalities, as has been shown above. Furthermore, Clifford Geertz (1963: 109) adds that these commonalities include congruities of blood, speech and custom. Anthony Smith (1986: 15) emphasises 'myths, memories, values and symbols'. Similarly, Horowitz (1985: 139) defines these characteristics as ranging through birth and blood, beliefs in a common ancestry, a common history with common heroes and enemies, and a particular historical attachment to a particular territory. This notion can be used to understand the creation of Bantustans as homelands in South Africa and, ultimately, the establishment of radio stations in those homelands. The intention of the creation of these radio stations was to harness the 'we' feeling that was derived from people's sense of attachment to a particular territory, now coupled with the language of broadcasting. Their continuity in the post-apartheid period also benefited from the moral high ground commanded by the ANC leadership. This further accentuated the 'we' feeling, as both a product and cause for each ethnic group's attachment to their territories and sense of peoplehood, which subsequently fed into an all embracing nativist nationalism.

In relation to ethnic minority radio stations, it can be gleaned that ethnicity and ethnic consciousness can then be treated as a living presence produced and driven by both material and innate historical forces (Ake, 2000, Comaroff 1997). Further, ethnicity in Africa; its transmutation as part of a process that begins, becomes and gradually fades, can only be understood and interpreted through the prism of ubiquity and complexity. This ubiquity and complexity of ethnicity relative to social relations

in media studies, as Daya Thussu (2009) explains it, influences the quest to engage the media as the magnifying glass through which to seek an understanding of the analytic object of social being and also as the conceptual lens through which social dynamics can be engaged and illuminated. This view dispels the notion of the instrumentalists, who are quick to judge that ethnic relations are inherently conflictual, as a product of exploitation. South Africa's uniqueness disputes that aspect. It is also noteworthy to acknowledge that ethnic relations rest on how differences are understood, interpreted and represented within particular circumstances.

The interpellation of social differences also depends on how various political actors are socially situated; how they are perceived and how they perceive themselves and the demands of their interests in the competition for economic goods, status and power. Singer (1994) concurs, by warning that instrumentalising ethnicity to the extent of seeing it within the prisms of conflict, is pejorative. It follows, therefore, that the criminalisation of ethnicity is based on the presumption of its conflictual nature, and a tendency to regard ethnic differences as being particularly exclusive, partly because they lack the flexibility to be negotiated. More often, there is confusion that arises from failure to locate these positions when an explanation of ethnicity is called for. It might be instructive here to refer to Archie Mafeje's (1971: 07) explanation, where he narrates the ideology of tribalism in that the position given above is not to deny the existence of ethnicity and its sentiment in Africa. Rather, in Mafeje's words, 'the argument is that they have to be understood – and conceptualised – differently under modern conditions.'

5.4 Of Pluralism and Continuity: a brief Exposition

Continuing from the section above, it may be necessary to present another useful variable within this discourse on ethnicity and identity in African politics; the variable of pluralism. The discussion on the concept of pluralism has two theses, put forward by Lloyd Braithwaite (1960) and Leo Kuper (1954) and these will be presented here in passing. They will be further engaged with in Chapter Eight. However, it should be noted that these are not hard and fast patterns for our understanding of diversity and plurality. It is a matter of choice, which, as one who coins this thesis, I should be prepared to defend. Braithwaite (1960) defines cultural pluralism in terms of diversity of values, but tends to regard racial or class heterogeneity as a form of pluralism, while Kuper (1954) suggests three levels of analysis in dealing with pluralism; units of cleavage, such as the ethnic or racial; cultural diversity in basic patterns of

behaviour associated with the cleavages, and social pluralism, or separation, in social organisation. Having alluded to these scholarly positions, it is worth noting that a society is pluralistic to the extent that it is structurally segmented and culturally diverse (van den Berghe, 1970: 80). Sociologically, pluralism is characterised by the relative absence of value consensus. This implies that the rigidity and clarity of group definitions is marked by the presence and prospects of conflict, lack of integration and complementarity between various parts of the social system. In seeking to confirm this assertion, a brief background on the creation of the 'Bantustans', a policy that laid the foundation for South Africa's ethnic configuration along the lines of territorial homelands, will be discussed.

The discussion will also lead to an attempt to understand Bantustans as a separate arrangement at the time, and possibly with the view that, within these ethnic groups, the prospects of conflict for resources and lack of integration would encourage these cleavages and the continuation of the 'Bantustan policy.' This move by the apartheid government was vigorously challenged by the Black Nationalist movements. However, on attainment of independence in 1994, the new South African government did not completely destroy its structures, as seen in Chapter Two on the establishment of radio stations in the post-apartheid period; instead, more such structures were re-created, particularly, in view of the SABC's new role and its public service mandate in the politics of ethnic accommodation or pluralism. This social system, as an arrangement, is a product of time through boundaries that had been created on identity lines. Similarly, Van den Berghe (1970) adds that;

> Institutions do not have to be incompatible for a society to be pluralistic, but a degree of structural and functional duplication has to be present. .... a society is pluralistic insofar as it is compartmentalised into quasi-independent subsystems, each of which has a set of homologous institutions and only specific points of contacts with the others.

Following the suggestion above, it can be noted that boundaries can continue to segment and define specific cultural descriptors in the politics of ethnic relations and identity, but the degree to which state institutions, such as the SABC, embrace the functionality of these social boundaries tends to create social cohesion between groups, despite keeping them existing in their separate spheres, as has been seen in this study of ethnic minority media.

5.5 Conceptualising Bantustans: Basis for Tribalisation and Ethnic Radio

This section will look at the brief background to our understanding of Apartheid not as a colour prejudiced policy, but one that set structures whose continuity is still in

evidence. In order to locate Bantustans or apartheid homelands, it maybe important to highlight that apartheid placed the Afrikaner at centre stage. As seen in Chapter Two, in the conflict between the English and the Afrikaners, even the former had sought to place the English at the centre. It follows, therefore, as already presented in Chapters One and Three, and also in Chapter Eight, that Thabo Mbeki's nativist policies, conjured up by the model of an African Renaissance, sought to place the African at the centre, together with all their languages. However, while this successive group engagement is observed, it seems to tell a story of continuity rather than discontinuity. It is the position of this thesis that in some cases apartheid pre-empted the post-apartheid leaders by creating such structures, coupled with policies that became difficult to completely dismantle and discard. It is from this premise that I seek to provide background information on how this policy of Bantustans, or homelands, came about, and how it has been sustained in South Africa to this day.

The Bantustan, as one of the major institutionalised policies of apartheid, forms a key structural feature in the study of policy because most post- apartheid policies tended to be informed by it. Since ethnic minority radio broadcasting forms the main focus of this study, it seems important at this juncture to clearly state that the current configurations of radio stations under the auspices of the South African Broadcasting Authority (SABC), particularly through their ethnic tinge and by being located in clearly defined regions, follows the pattern that was first put together by the apartheid regime under the homeland arrangement. These homelands were commonly referred to as Bantustans, an Afrikaner word which combines the prefix; 'Bantu'- and the suffix '-stan', by implication the derogatory name, Bantu, that was used to refer to those of African origins, the indigenous people. Then the suffix '-stan' is an Afrikaner word for a place or location, hence the name 'Bantustan', implying a place for the 'bantu', or those commonly referred to as 'the natives.' These Bantustans, or homelands, as they were interchangeably called, were squalid reserves, but they were arranged along ethnic lines. Ethnicity here, as discussed above, defined ethnic group territory. This meant that there were homelands South Africa's nine ethnic groups were identified through their linguistic variations; Ndebele, Pedi, Tsonga, Tswana Suthu (Sotho), Swazi, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. Then, to ensure that information and communication is well managed through propaganda churning and spinning, the system established ethnic radio stations that broadcast in those different languages.

For more information on these radio stations and how they were formed, please refer to Chapter Two, on the history of broadcasting in South Africa. It

outlines how radio broadcasting started in South Africa and also how radio programmes meant for the Bantu started first in Orlando, and were later introduced into these various homelands (as stated in Chapter Two). In order to maintain these homelands, the apartheid system encouraged the revival of African traditional values, customs and practices, as a way of keeping the 'black natives' out of the cities (Mamdani, 1996; Moodie, 1975). Further, the use of radio in these 'native languages' was meant to create a notion of identity and to conjure what in Chapters Three and Eight I have referred to as the 'enigmatic instance of radio' for the locals who followed broadcasting in their own languages.

Any effort to understand South Africa's apartheid system and its inherent 'colour policy' may require a clear delineation of competing strains that existed at the time; the idealist and realist. The latter, was informed by an argument that created a picture of apartheid as a policy that was more paternalistic, benevolent despotism and, of course, palatable. This view would fall squarely on the idea of how apartheid was understood in terms of multiple and reciprocal causation. The idealist school was purveyed by intellectuals in the South Africa Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) and the Dutch Reformed Church (Moodie, 1975). The idealist perspective failed to account for the instruments and methods used in the implementation of the colour policy. It also failed to account for the brutality and repressive facets of apartheid. Further, it failed to explain some of the cynical comments often made by politicians. The realist perspective, much as it acknowledged the need to use ruthlessness for apartheid to last, failed to explain its self-defeating aspects, such as, the estrangement of English-speaking whites and the coloured population. Possibly, the explanation of the inadequacies of each perspective can be understood by focusing on the dilemma of means versus ends in the exercise of power. However, mention must be made at this juncture that this estrangement of the English-speaker and the coloured population caused its negation and subsequent collapse. This is further discussed in Chapter Eight, on the notion of the 'Babelian motif.'

Further, apartheid, as guided by the ideology of 'Afrikaaner nationalism, which is a complex blend of provincialism, isolationism, xenophobia, pastoralism, egalitarianism, within the Herrenvolk, had one major intervening factor: colour prejudice.[79] This ideology predicated some policies that were later implemented by

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[79] Herrenvolk, as an ideology, was commonly used during the Nazi German regime, where it was embraced as referring to the superior race, or a nation of the master race. In the same vein, according to most scholars who have written on apartheid, the argument presented is that it was deeply rooted in the notion of a master race (cf. van den Berghe, 1970; Posel, 1991; Moodie, 1975).

the apartheid regime, such as the policy of separate development, commonly referred to as bantustanisation.

Van den Berghe (1970) says the latter found expression in the rise of the 'purified' Nationalist Party, with is cause of Afrikaner nationalism. The Bantustan policy, engineered by the Nationalists (through the Nationalist Party), was predicated on marked cultural changes, such as revisiting the concept of the 'Golden Age of the Boer Republics.' It was deeply engrained in the Nationalist notion of isolationism. As a result, this policy of separate development and isolationism was implemented not only for the blacks, but affected even those of Indian origins (Moodie, 1975). In 1950, the promulgation of the Population Registration Act divided South Africans into four groups: Whites, Asians/Indians, Coloureds and 'natives' or Blacks – in that order (Geddes, 2010: 06). Van den Berghe quotes from the Nationalist party brochure what their policy was towards those of Indian stock; 'the party holds the view that Indians are a foreign and outlandish element which and must therefore be treated as an immigrant community' (1970: 177). He adds that;

> From the Nationalist point of view, Indians symbolize everything that the Afrikaner Volk opposes. They are not only a non-white group, but also uitlanders, a city people, and, as far as the Transvaal Indian community is concerned, a trading people.

Then, for the Coloured communities, the Nationalist policy was always characterised by seriously conflicting attitudes. This was because, in terms of language, religion and culture, the coloured community shared all that with the *Herrenvolk*. However, they continued to be viewed as a second rate offshoot of Afrikanerdom, a product of what, in the eyes of the extreme pro-Nationalist policies, was considered a 'shameful process of miscegenation' (van den Berghe, 1970; Moodie, 1975). Coloureds were valuable in so far as they continued to identify with Europeans, despite the deprivation of rights that they faced. As a result, the apartheid government devised a policy towards the Coloured which seems to have elevated them to a status higher than that of any other non-Europeans in South Africa. While this policy found footing within government circles, Coloureds continued to this day to live in squalid conditions and are denied any 'national home' of their own. This explains the failure to allow the Bantustan policy to spread to the Coloured communities. This was further echoed by most of my respondents at RSG FM, who argued that they feel left out on the margins of the new South Africa, a situation they say dates back to apartheid. Furthermore, Nationalist policy towards Africans was

well engrained within the 'Bantu policy.' A policy was devised to push them back all the time, to their 'tribal homelands' (van den Berghe, 1970: 178ff). Given the background information above, it is necessary to further explain how this policy shift sought to be linked with a radical cultural relativist return to the Golden Age of the Boer Republic. The following formed the key elements of the policy of separate development:

a) Permanent and complete denial of civic and political rights,

b) Permanent and complete disarmament of the Africans, and white monopoly of the use of armed force, coupled with Influx control,

c) Migratory labour policy,

d) Development of tribal 'Bantustans' under white control,

e) Encouragement of the revival and idealisation of tribal institutions (this gave birth to ethnic consciousness which later became apartheid's own negation and was later inherited by the post-1994 nationalist leaders),

f) Segregation of Africans from other 'races' and between Africans of various groups,

g) State-controlled education in the vernacular.

Closer analysis of these elements shows that they are closely related, and some of them had been used by previous regimes well before 1948. However, as of 1948, they had been connected to form a grand scheme of reaction by the Nationalist Party. The main element that also has a bearing on the Bantustan policy, which influenced this research, is that on influx control and migratory labour policy and patterns. Following this policy, the Apartheid government sought to minimize the number of permanently urbanised Africans, encouraging vexation to be employed through the state apparatus, such as the police and the army, so as to curtail the influx of Africans into towns. Most of these vexations meant harassing, intimidating and instituting a policy of controlling inward migratory patterns by way of forcing everyone to carry reference books, commonly referred to as 'passes.' These 'passes' (reference books) granted them only limited access to facilities in the cities so as to curtail them from ever entertaining any idea of finding homes in the cities, or of finding them habitable. It was believed that if inward urban migratory patterns were to be encouraged, they would encourage a proliferation of idlers, criminals and agitators, which was often believed to be encouraged by the English press (van den Berghe, 1970: 180). As a temporary arrangement, Africans had to be allowed to live in white cities to do menial jobs, as captured from the words of the then Minister of

Labour[80] who said, 'pick and shovel work is the natural work of the Native…..the Native has a special aptitude for repetitive work', (cited in van den Berghe, 1970: 180).

It was in that regard that the government's Bantu policy also encouraged the development of Bantustans. Further, Bantustans meant the reversal of urban conditions and the revival of tribal cleavages. The pattern on which this Bantustan policy was built also encouraged the revival of tribal differences and sought to give chiefs some proxy powers in a bid to create love for the homelands. As a result, Bantustans were tribal (ethnic) homelands. This policy was managed by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (Moodie, 1975). Bantustans were encouraged to enjoy 'monitored independence.' Van den Berghe aptly described this whole arrangement in the following way;

> ….the intent of the Bantustan policy is to recreate a set of agricultural "states" rendered perpetually harmless and under perennial white suzerainty such as existed toward the end of the Golden Age…..Tribal dancing and festivals are encouraged as safe and pastimes…..each *Volk* must develop "along its own lines," **each language group must be segregated from all other language groups…….**[81] The elite will even be granted the privilege of attending bush colleges, safely away from the cities (1970: 182).

A closer analysis of the above suggestion from van den Berghe provides a telling narration of how apartheid's Bantustan policy was implemented, and in particular, the extent to which the pattern from which current configurations of the new South Africa were conjured. It becomes clear from this perspective why ethnic radio stations had to be introduced, even if they were managed through the state broadcaster, SABC. However, it would be too weak to project apartheid as merely being bent on 'divide and rule', without seeking to understand the mind of the apartheid policy maker and administrator. Similarly, Van den Berghe argues that the Nationalist government, as a result, tended to want to provide more materially for the 'Bantu' than had their predecessors, partly under the illusion that economic well-being is a substitute for political rights and human dignity. By so doing, they instead worsened race relations. [82]

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[80] The Minister of Labour at the time was Mr Schoeman. He also discouraged African labourers to have African labour unions. The argument he always gave was that the state knows what is good for the 'Natives' and must be the sole mediator in labour disputes.

[81] My emphasis. This statement provides the basis for the 'Babelian motif' discussed in Chapter Eight.

[82] In an attempt to understand apartheid and its policy, Leo Kuper (1960) says that by worsening race relations, which was not the intended objective, the South African government found itself faced with some very tragic events that sought to oppose its policy of separate development. Whereas to them the idea was to eliminate racial frictions in a competitive industrial society, they had not understood the virulent racialist society they were grooming. In essence, this confirms the argument I have presented in this chapter: that apartheid created its own negation, following a Hegelian analysis. What even weakened apartheid was its attempt to re-enact a suzerain-vassal arrangement of the Golden Age at a

In seeking to describe apartheid as a policy, van den Berghe (1970: 81) says, 'not only is apartheid a pluralistic ideology but it strives to re-establish an identity of cultural and structural cleavages and it ignores the existing discrepancies.' Following this analysis, it can be gleaned that apartheid, as an ideology, created a system of differentiation and specialisation, based on already existing natal and cultural cleavages, as a model of society. This form of differentiation and specialisation served as a function of this created social structure; a structure whose complementary and interdependent parts were viewed as cornerstones of its maintenance and survival. The weakness of the approach, as aptly put by van den Berghe, is that, '...neither the concept of differentiation nor of deviance (or variance) is adequate to deal with plural societies. South Africa was partly differentiated into complementary parts, but also split into non-complementary, non-functional and often conflicting segments.' He adds that whites were kept dominant in terms of power, wealth, religion, and language, whereas other groups could not be referred to as variants of the dominant group. When viewed from this angle, apartheid, as Hegel says, became a big social whole which groomed its own negation, because it had too many fissures within it, for example, within the leading group of whites at the apex, those of Dutch origins (commonly referred to as Afrikaners) discriminated against English-speakers. The conflict at SABC during its formation, cited in Chapter Two, serves as an example. This marked the gradual creation of its political epitaph. In his critique of the apartheid system, van den Berghe (1970: 82) says;

> Whereas most African countries in the face of pluralism endeavour to foster integration, the South African government wants to perpetuate racial, political, and cultural pluralism by deepening existing cleavages and counteracting the integrative forces of acculturation, urbanisation, and industrialisation.

time when African Nationalism was emerging victorious in some parts of Africa. The rapid industrialisation process also negated this process of tribalised homelands, since the need for industrial labourers continued to grow at an exponential rate. Added to that was the failure to understand that the perceived 'Bantu' of the nineteenth century was completely different in both mindset and worldview from the 'Bantu' of the twentieth century. The latter was becoming more educated and had socialisation that almost competed with that of the European mind, and most of them were opposed to apartheid. The result was that ethnic alliances within homelands, which were encouraged, were mistakenly taken for some kind of primordial tribal horde, another fallacy which apartheid held on to for too long.

Further, it is worth mentioning that bantustanisation, as a policy, had been implemented in most of colonial Africa, and Mahmood Mamdani (1996) would argue that the difference was not necessarily in their phases of outlook and implementation *per se*, but in policy magnitude. Otherwise, even the policy of 'indirect rule' practiced elsewhere in Africa, had a strong political principle, similar to apartheid. In a bid to buttress this line of argument, it might suffice to refer to Lugard's (1965: 149-50) views on political administrative systems and structures that would suite colonial Africa; *"The Indian or the African gentleman who adopts the higher standard of civilization and desires to partake in such immunity from the infection as segregation may convey, should be as free and welcome to live in the civilized reservation as the European, provided, of course, that he does not bring with him a concourse of followers. The native peasant often shares his hut with his goat, or sheep, or fowls. He loves to drum and dance at night, which deprives the European of sleep"* (1965: 149-50).

Nevertheless, South African society is integrated in some ways; otherwise one would not be able to speak of it as a society (1970: 82).

Nevertheless, apartheid did thrive on this logic. It also maintained its grip through the use of the conflict it generated. It might be necessary at this juncture to also highlight that, apart from totally creating its own negation, apartheid lasted as a result of the functionality of the conflict it generated and the violence that marred the era. This can be confirmed by engaging with Lewis Coser's (1957: 198) suggestion that, 'conflict is the gadfly of thought. It stirs us to observation and memory. It instigates to invention. …… Conflict is a *sine qua non* of reflection and ingenuity.' Talcott Parsons (1951: 36), in his thesis on the social system, says society's creation of value consensus, leads to the internalisation of these values during the process of socialisation. It could be further argued that this internalisation of social values could have led to the failure by post-apartheid leaders to completely dismantle some of apartheid's structures since they had been in existence for a while. Through socialisation, various ethnic groups had also managed to negotiate their ethnic identities and belonging. To date, the various ethnic groups in South Africa do not share similar systems of values.

This section has been able to provide background knowledge about apartheid's Bantustan policy, in particular of its history as the basis for ethnic minority media in South Africa. Through this section, I have been able to highlight some of the challenges faced by the post-apartheid leadership. The intention in this section was to lay bare the roots of residual policy models, as anchored in the apartheid era and to show how deep-seated they already had become in making it impossible for the new leadership to dismantle ethnic radio stations, for example, that were broadcasting to different ethnic Bantustans. As noted in Chapter Two, even the name of the public broadcaster; SABC, which is a construction of apartheid, was embraced in the new era as a sign of continuity. Further, this section shows that post-apartheid South Africa is not a country of discontinuity from the various policies of apartheid. Rather, there has been continuity with the notion of separate development craftily rebranded into a springboard for a new era in which the previously disenfranchised now partake in the ownership of the mainstream economy.

5.6 Towards a New Sociology: Postcoloniality and the Ethnic Question

This section seeks to provide a window through which one can peep to understand the cause for state formation, its mediation and the continued rebuttal of ethnicity in Africa. While it does so, this section will also make some projections on the need to

undo some of the western models that have been used as lenses through which to understand ethnicity. This section will later give way to the thesis on 'unthinking' ethnic paradigms together with their attendant nationalisms in the study of African politics. Patrick Chabal (2009: 06) informs the argument presented here in his intervention that 'the transplantation of the Western state has failed to take root, implying thereby that it was the wrong model.' The creation of nation-states in Africa with a titanic wave of nationalisms as their driving ideology, aggravated the need for people to shun their ethnic belonging and to embrace a new voyage of nationalism (Laakso & Olukoshi, 1996; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008), this voyage, however, has proved to be fluid and unsustainable given Africa's waning nationalism, with the ethnic question continuing unanswered to date.

In order to engage with this concept of ethnicity within the African discourse, it is noteworthy, as discussed above, to further emphasise how in most post-colonial Africa any attempt to discuss ethnicity has always been described by nationalists as being 'subversive' and 'divisive' (Moore, 1993). Such a move will therefore be dubbed as 'criminalising' ethnicity. Furthermore, in keeping with the concept of the 'criminalisation' of ethnicity, for example, Crawford Young (1997); Laakso & Olukoshi, (1996); Mahmood Mamdani (1996); Claude Ake (2000); these will illuminate my arguments. In addition, van den Berghe's (1981) discussion, cited above, of theories and ideologies that underlie the normative usage of ethnic relations, will add more flesh. My point of departure is that the academic specialty usually called, 'race and ethnic relations' is rich in literature relating to the African scenario, but poor in theory (Vail, 1989, 1997). Furthermore, while taking note of the intention above, the section will seek to imbricate the discussion of ethnicity with that of public radio broadcasting, the major intention being to show the role of the media in Africa's state formation process. Emphasis has to be made that the media cannot be left out of such a discourse, especially radio broadcasting because it usually provides the avenue through which the nation, its ethos and cause for sovereignty, are communicated to the masses. As James Zaffiro (2002: 18) puts it: '…after the rush to African independence, the political role of broadcasting remains large.' This fact is compounded by illiteracy, distance, linguistic diversity and press scarcity in some parts, thus making radio a potent means of reaching the masses of people with political information (Zaffiro, 2002:18).

However, western paradigms on ethnicity in Africa have no doubt been of marked influence. Their failure to also understand the contextual factors influencing

ethnicity in Africa have further muddied the waters. According to Basil Davidson (1992: 11),

> Europeans of the nineteenth century believed that Africans had never built nations but, at best, only tribes. Europeans have often continued to affirm that "tribalism" has been, and is now, Africa's bane.

Further, he asks, *'But what was this tribalism? What is it today?'* It is on this note that I suggest a change of paradigm, this time on the sociology of indigenised epistemology of ethnicity in Africa. The presentation of ethnicity in Africa has continued over the years through the use of European spectacles and has led most African academics, politicians and various opinion makers to even shun any attempt to conceptualise it. Yet Chabal (2009) suggests that the African state necessarily reflects the patrimonial nature of local politics. He adds that the 'upshot is not dissimilar; the state is not institutionally functional.' It is at this juncture that Leroy Vail's (1997: 52) view finds takers, when he says;

> African political leaders, experiencing it as destructive to their ideals of national unity, denounced it passionately. Commentators on the Left, recognising it as a block to the growth of appropriate class consciousness, inveigh against it as a case of 'false consciousness.' Apologists for South African apartheid, welcoming it as an ally of continued white dominance, encouraged it. Development theorists, perceiving it as a check on economic growth, then deplored it. Journalists, judging it an adequate explanation for a myriad of otherwise puzzling events, deploy it mercilessly. Political scientists, intrigued by its continuing power, probe at it endlessly. If one disapproves of the phenomenon, 'it' is 'tribalism;' if one is less judgmental 'it' is 'ethnicity.'[83]

From Vail's position, above, it can be gleaned that ethnicity has continued to be a victim of nationalist's criminalisation efforts and it is not a subject of popular engagement. One who openly discusses ethnicity runs the risk of being 'criminalised' as a 'tribalist' (Moore, 1993). Even though ethnicity manifests itself in many public arenas, the post-colonial official mind would believe that it belongs to those darker relics of the human past that need to be forgotten if common citizenship must be forged and national unity achieved (Moore, 1993: 19). Yet, ethnicity has continued to shape and influence the economic, social and political life of most postcolonial African states (Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2008).

Having discussed the dilemma of ethnicity within African nationalist projections, emphasis has to be made that the era of World War II, and its end, became a turning point in both European and African history. It became the basis

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[83] Leroy Vail, 'Ethnicity in Southern African History,' in Roy Richard Grinker & Christopher B. Steiner (eds.), *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation*, (Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 1997), p. 52, See also Leroy Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa,* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989).

upon which the coinage of present day nation-states would be anchored. But emphasis has also to be made that the spectacles used to determine and define the matrices of the ethnic phenomenon in Europe and elsewhere were to be used this time to determine the ethnic question in Africa (Young, 1997; Ake, 2000). Basil Davidson concurs, saying;

> The fifty or so states of the colonial partition, each formed and governed as though their peoples possessed no history of their own, became fifty or so nation-states formed and governed on European models, chiefly the models of Britain and France (1992: 10).

Hence, Sabelo Gatsheni-Ndlovu's (2009b) position, that Africa's state formation project as a big political enterprise followed a coercive path, where those who were to be part of it were not invited to the formation party. Instead they were violently invited through the use of force, leading to the creation of nation-states with a 'bad birth-mark.' More often, this use of force was coupled with a marked dose of media propaganda in which the new élites would use radio broadcasting to communicate to the masses their visions of the future (Bourgault, 1995).

It was also through radio broadcasting and its propaganda, that ethnicity as a major subject of contestation was deplored in the same way as it had been shunned in Europe. The paradigms used during colonialism informed those that were later used to determine the configurations of the post-colonial state in Africa (Mamdani, 2009). As seen in Basil Davidson's arguments, these paradigms were oblivious to pre-colonial antecedents. Achille Mbembe (1992: 03) adds that the postcolony was dislocated from society, particularly when it came to the way in which state power was created through administrative and bureaucratic practices, thereby creating a world of meanings as a master code which, *'in the process of becoming the society's primary central code,'* ended up giving meaning to various other logics within the society. The process of giving meanings and the construction of world-views was carried out through the media.

Following Mbembe's position, how state power in the postcolony often creates official state mindsets on various socio-political issues that include ethnicity, can be seen. Further, by relegating ethnicity, its articulation and appreciation, to being the preserve of ethnic minority groups, as subaltern groups. The major business of the state was nation-building and the coercion of its citizens to unite through the media. Ethnic issues were shelved, since it was believed they might disrupt the process of state-formation. This position was even turned into a 'national' psyche, with citizens often mimicking the need to 'stick to priorities.'

Mbembe discusses how state power in the postcolony managed to institutionalise its world of meanings as a socio-historical world, 'and to make that world fully real, turning it into a part of people's common-sense not only by instilling it in the minds of the…..target population, but also by integrating it into the consciousness of the period' (1992: 03). This further explains how ethnicity became essentialised and instrumentalised by nationalist leaders, who made every effort to criminalise anything that was aimed at bringing the discussion of ethnicity to the fore, then legislating policies to ensure that the nation-state remained focused on the 'nation building' Agenda. This failure by the nationalist movements to critically engage and understand ethnicity now stands out as the 'legacy of late colonialism'that has been passed on to the postcolony (Mamdani, 1996).

Furthermore, the era of decolonisation (1950 to the late 1970s) had a great impact in mapping the future path to be followed by Africa's political leaders. Crawford Young (1997) adds that the most fateful period was the fall of the Berlin Wall and the opening up of the 'Iron-Curtain' in 1989. This era marked the end of Communism as an ideology. It also led to the embracing of liberal democracy, with its paternalistic and capitalistic verbiage. At this stage, the decolonisation sentiment was fading with the independence euphoria waning, but issues of cultural pluralism marked in the face of ethnicity by multiparty politics were gaining momentum (Chabal, 2009; Nyamnjoh, 2005). The sustainability of the state suddenly became incongruous in the face of pluralism. Its seedbed, liberal democracy, was widely condemned by nationalist ideologies in favour of centrist perspectives. In view of this development, Ali Mazrui (1994) observes that;

> One beneficiary of this restoration of pluralism has been the democratic process, however fragile. The other has been ethnicity and politicised tribal identity. A question persists as to whether re-democratisation and re-tribalisation cancel each out (1994: 61)

The view above is further supported by Diamond (1997), who argues that it has been observed that democracy and cultural diversity are uneasy patterns. From the above it can be argued that most countries were facing the reality of state formation as a project; that independence had come and everything rested on the unfinished and unsigned social pacts among the various ethnic groups, in a bid to champion the sustainability of a new ideology brought about by the capitalist west: liberal democracy (Nyamnjoh, 2005). While anti-colonial nationalism had resonated in the popular consciousness, the new drive, in which ethnicity constantly showed up,

was grounded in a hegemonic, democratic mindset (Chabal, 2009) sustained by the vision of liberal democracy. The latter influenced Nelson Mandela's social transformation process. It was later transformed by Thabo Mbeki to include a new brand of Pan-Africanism, this time dressed in the respectable garb of African trade and economy, the African Renaissance giving birth to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

However, Crawford Young (1997) further argues that the challenge to cultural pluralism marked a new form of social engineering which was initially induced by the 'nationalist' challenge to the colonial state. He is quick to warn that only a few could read the likely impact of identity politics in the larger political equation of the struggle to oust and supplant the coloniser. Interestingly, the universality of ethnicity and its consciousness was recognised by almost everyone, but nothing was done. In this situation, the ethnic cartography, reconfigured by the interpretive schema of the coloniser, was everywhere, and formed the core of domination and power politics.

The ethnic question was trivialised and criminalised into a social equation of binary opposites where ethnicity represented and belonged to tradition, while everything associated with the new African nation-state had to be defined in terms of 'modernity' and 'progress' (cf. Wiredu, 1996; Mafeje, 1971; Mudimbe, 1988). David Maybury-Lewis (1997: 52) adds that the state is seen as representing modernity and those of its citizens who identify only with part of it are considered parochial and pre-modern. Similarly, Archie Mafeje's position is instructive here, particularly in explaining how ethnicity, as a synonym for tribe, was perceived by some leading Anthropologists and how convention changed it over time, with the advent of modernity. He says ethnicity resembled, '…territoriality, primitive government through elders and chiefs, a primitive subsistence economy emerge as the primary features which distinguish a tribe from other forms of human organisations. Culture was never mentioned as part of these until the arrival of the 'modernisation' crusade in the work of political scientists and plural sociologists…' (1971: 07). The failure to acknowledge ethnicity at independence, for most African countries, has always used the explanation that,

> ….tribalism is considered a hangover from the colonial days. When the Europeans reserved to themselves the right to be actors on the world stage, they kept Africans in their place by a policy of divide and rule. Europeans could have nations, Africans were confined to their tribes. Now that the African territories of the Europeans have become independent nations, so the argument runs, Africans should cease thinking in terms of their tribes (Maybury-Lewis, 1997: 53).

This view was later interpreted by Crawford Young (1997) as showing a 'sharp distinction between rural "tribalism" and a synthetic, urban aggregative identity, incorporating linguistically or regionally related migrants into broader social categories.' Discarding ethnic allegiance in favour of the nation was seen as taking a step higher up the ladder that climbed from being primitive to civilisation. Following the views given above, Sally Falk Moore's (1993) suggestion finds the meaning that ethnic groups on the eve of independence for most African states had to be discarded, because they were seen largely as European creations. By implication, ethnic identities were created by the colonial powers in a bid to deal with administrative existence and to manipulate the indigenous peoples. As shown in Chapter One, in the discussion of models of ethnic minority media, one which stands out in support of such a thesis is the 'divisive model.' In this model, the colonial state used ethnic minority radio to create levels of tension and rivalry in a bid to further its own objectives of social control (Riggins, 1992: 10). Another example to confirm this assertion is the case of the Kabyle radio station in Algeria, which, according to Zahir Ihaddaden (1992), is a station that was created by the French colonial administrators with the objective of fostering disunity and ethnic rivalry.

However plausible this position might be, that the colonial powers manipulated African tribes economically and politically and, on occasion, even sought to determine them, what is evident is that pre-colonial Africa always had people who clearly existed along ethnic lines, as forms of identity. Archie Mafeje's (1971) position that ethnicity marked the pronouncement of territoriality, holds. However, where it falls short is in its negative characterisation; that is, of seeing it as backward and retrogressive. Ethnicity has always been a resource, whose exploitation, like that of other natural resources, has seen marked evidence of instrumentalisation and essentialism. The apartheid arrangement of concentrating black Africans into Bantustan homelands, for example, shows that its architects were alive to the relationship between ethnicity and territoriality in South Africa, so, by exploiting this reality and creating ethnic radio stations, they were able to tap into the natural ambit of ethnicity, thus setting a precedent for the new majority leaders in 1994. Upon attainment of independence in 1994, the social transformation process found itself having to follow this apartheid pattern, not by coincidence, but because of a clear link between territory and ethnicity. Further, this development worked for South Africa's new hegemonic arrangement of liberal democracy, in which ethnicity, as a natural resource, gave an impetus to the new economic imperatives.

It is imperative to add that the perspective projected above by most scholars: that ethnicity was created by the colonial powers to divide and rule, was embraced and encouraged by most of Africa's founding fathers. Maybury-Lewis adds that in countries like Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah denounced ethnicity by launching a campaign which criminalised even the mention of the word 'tribe.' Thomas Hodgkin (1961) further acknowledges that in Ghana during Kwame Nkrumah's time, people were encouraged to replace the word 'tribe' with Ghana and Ghanaians. Similarly, Sally Falk Moore observes that;

> …detribalisation was part of the nationalist discourse of many African leaders. For them, any political emphasis on ethnic difference was thought to be potentially divisive and to detract from the program of nation-building (1993: 19).

As seen, Ahmed Sékou Touré of the Republic of Guinea (addressing a rally in 1959), said, *"in the three or four years no one will remember the tribal, ethnic or religious rivalries which, in the recent past, caused so much damage to our country and its population."* This view shows a serious deficit in construing that ethnicity has always been present for humanity and cannot be wished away, otherwise, seeking to do so is as good as wishing to deny one's shadow (Sithole, 1985). Following Sékou Touré's views, Postcoloniality can be seen as existing against a 'façade…. in which the state considered itself simultaneously as indistinguishable from society and the upholder of the law and the keeper of the truth' (Mbembe, 1992: 04).

Even more interesting to note is that the founding fathers of Africa, through the Organisation of African Union (OAU), agreed to maintain inherited colonial boundaries, including some of the colonially created mindsets, such as deploring ethnicity, using the argument that such a move would help to forestall endless boundary disputes throughout the continent, while another reason was that such an arrangement facilitated international recognition of the African states, and allowed the state's captors to access revenues, loans and foreign aid that comes as the prime political prize (Maybury-Lewis, 1997; Ayittey, 1992; 1999, Diescho, 1997). As a result, one glaring common truth is that these countries exist as 'frozen states' with inhabitants who are always apt to create a sense of belonging along ethnic lines. The other underlying fact is that they lack the sense of a common history and the will to live side by side.

In view of these challenges, Basil Davidson observes that African nationalism is 'Janus faced' and is characterised by the nature of the 'national spirit' that demands freedom with one face and denies it with the other. He asks; *'...if nationalism has been and can be a liberating force, why then has it so often become the reverse?'*

Possibly, Jacques Derrida (1992) had a strong point in acknowledging the crisis faced by nationalism as a meta-narrative, adding that, *'between life and death, nationalism has as its own proper space the experience of haunting. There is no nationalism without some ghost.'* The nation, in most of Africa, is a smokescreen of simmering differences and seething tensions, whereby the inhabitants celebrate and venerate different national symbols and have differing memories of the past (Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2008). In light of this submission, I further contend that the African political terrain and spaces can be likened to puppet theatre, where the ordinary masses are made to act on a set 'national stage', while nationalist leaders (as directors) manage the performances behind the curtains. Radio broadcasting, as James Zaffiro (2002: 17) says, continues to play a pivotal role in this situation by providing legitimacy whenever the political élite embark on such nationalist crusades.

It would suffice here to borrow Immanuel Wallerstein's (1960) view that this denial, while on the one hand essentialising ethnicity, has produced a form of "supertribalisation", which informs a process of loyalty shift from what he perceived as the 'parochial ethnic group' to the 'cosmopolitan nation.' According to Claude Ake (2000: 92), this argument follows decolonisation as a process with its peak leading to the rise of ethnic particularism. He adds that given the ethnic competition that was intensified on the eve of independence in most states, supertribalisation could be evidenced. It can be further argued that the colonial agents only knew this system, which they later passed on to the nationalists, thus giving rise to the view that metropolitan institutions invariably commanded high prestige.

However, the ethnic question seemed manageable within the framework of independence constitutions, but not for long. This approach informed the creation of a unitary state project: the one party state (Mamdani, 1990). The reason for this approach was that most departing colonial agents had unitary constitutional frameworks whose focus and operations crafted the rules of the political game. Ethnicity, as part of cultural diversity, was therefore not their pre-occupation. Departing colonial administrators failed to acknowledge the negative impact majoritarian rule would have on ethnic acceptance and accommodation. Young (1997: 07) likens the whole set-up to arm-stroking and soothing assurances in the face of simmering pain. However, South Africa, as already stated in Chapter One, presents a unique scenario in that ethnicity was accepted during the formative stages of constitution making, to the extent of making eleven languages official. Could this be because, unlike other African countries where first generation constitutions were coined in the capital cities of the former colonial administrators, South Africa's

constitution was coined and adopted by all negotiators in-situ, meaning in South Africa? Was it also because South Africa, unlike other African states, had no departing colonial administrator, given that the Afrikaner had gradually transmuted into a quasi-indigenous group, with no strong ties to any European state?

Furthermore, Lancaster (1991: 158) observes that with most African states the fear was that transfer to democracy would increasingly make political divisions follow ethnic or regional cleavages, thereby heightening tensions and ultimately threatening national unity. One major point of concern was that the volcano of ethnic strife remains dormant throughout Sub-Saharan Africa; therefore, it was not in their best interests to aggravate it to erupt. In support of this position, Kenneth Kaunda, the first President of Zambia, is renowned for arguing that multi-party democracy would bring 'chaos, bloodshed and death' on ethnic lines. Thomas Hodgkin (1962) refers to this mind-set as 'patrimonial autocracy.' It is in view of these mindsets and the beliefs that were held by Africa's first generation of leaders, who created a form of prebendal allocation, which Crawford Young (1997) says led to the view that;

> Tribalism was excoriated as a mortal danger to the new state and the single-party formula was justified as guaranteeing its containment. Opening the political realm to competition and opposition would inevitably bring ethnic mobilisation. Any public expression of a communal claim was banned, and ethnic associations, which had flourished in late colonial times, were prohibited in many countries. The powerful instrument of the educational system was systematically employed in the service of nation-building (1997: 07).

Lessons learnt from Young's submission are that the social expression of ethnic belonging had to be stigmatised as being divisive, thus rendering talk or mention of it dangerous or inimical to the national question. Ethnic related talk was, and is, regarded as "anathema", (Young, 1997: 07). The media played a significant role in this canonisation of the social construction of ethnic consciousness as being inimical to progress, backward and a thing of the traditional 'village' of the past.

To further emphasise the criminalisation of ethnicity, there is the example of Nigeria's constitution of the Second Republic whose inception acknowledged cultural diversity in defining a democratic constitutional order from 1979, playing down the ethnic administrative need (Ake, 2000). Instead, the federal project was allowed to filter through what was to be later labelled as the 'nineteen states'. According to Kirk-Greene (1988: 165), the federal character was cast in nation-building terms, coined as a distinctive desire only if the people of Nigeria wanted to promote national unity, foster national loyalty and give every citizen a sense of belonging to the nation. This presented a scenario that Emeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu (1989: xiii) described as a

generalised posture of the 'ostrich-mentality in which the leaders and people firmly buried their brains in the sand in denial of the crises bedevilling their nation-state.

Nevertheless, these efforts to suppress ethnic consciousness failed to close all the avenues by which it can be articulated, as seen in secessionist movement. However, this is not the focus of my thesis. Still, suffice it to say that the consciousness of community found reinforcement through ethnicity as a functional utility, as well as through its effective properties of shared language, culture and descent. In most of Africa, the marginalisation of people along ethnic lines has even created affinities of community, which act as reservoirs of discontent, social trust and for survival (Young, 1997). In the case of South Africa, though, ethnic rivalry has been contained; there is little evidence to show that the decades of repressive apartheid diminished its significance. In a number of countries, there is a gradual substitution of 'nationalism' for ethnicity, in discourses of identity and belonging. However, in the globalised language of collective consciousness, the 'nation' still carries with it an array of potential claims (self-determination and sovereignty, in particular) which seems to stretch well beyond the entitlements of cultural self-preservation, fair shares and communal voices, this time embedded in ethnicity. In response to these challenges, Arend Lijphart (1977) calls for consociationalism, a model which calls for principles of proportionality, mutual veto and summit diplomacy as a form of setting a new democratic order in a plural society. Such an arrangement would commit the state to its own structures as a way to formalise patterns of identity.

5.7 A Critical Disjuncture: Deciphering South Africa's Proudest Moment

This section, continuing from that above, seeks to present South Africa's deviation from the African norm. Further, it shows South Africa's rejection of the monolithic perspective of nationalism shown above. As already acknowledged in Chapters One, Two and Four, South Africa's engagement with ethnic issues marked a complete contrast to the postcolonial norm, there is a need, therefore, to present, in brief, this point of critical disjuncture.

South Africa's proud moments are not quite unique, as seen in the discussion of the apartheid era with its Bantustan policy; these proud moments have tended to be currencies of particularised epochs. Further, these successive epochs have often been buoyed by competing versions of nationalisms, also dependent on which of the ethnic groups is in power (Dubow 2007, cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Williams 2010: 05). The competing versions of nationalism have in themselves often displayed radical

cultural relativism characterised by express moments of pride. This was seen in the case of the English colonial settler nationalism and became even more evident in the Afrikanner nationalism which spurned the greater part of the 19th Century. The view was further confirmed by Geroge Harold Calpin (1941) in his seminal work; *There Are No South Africans,* though slightly, but he emphasized lack of any shared national sentiment but existence of, two flags and two languages of the dominant groups at the time; that is, the English and Afrikaners. Then Ivor Chipkin (2007) re-invigorated the debate by raising the question; *Do South African Exists*? Using this question as his yardstick Chipkin interrogated what constitute South Africanness and what made South Africa a nation but focusing on the post-apartheid period. In his view the nationalist struggle that was spearheaded by the ANC and other political formations provided the parapet upon which South Africans as a collectivity organized in pursuit of a political end and the nation as a political community of purpose pursuing freedom and democracy emerged. However, outside this political community of purpose the nation divides into various multi-ethnic nationalities that are proud of their identities and consciousness. It is on this note that the Mbeki leadership using the ethnic radio broadcasting (and the entire SABC as a platform) sought to embrace these identities to further the state's neoliberal economic policies also hinged on cultural tourism as a veil for ethnic consciousness. As a result a new form of nationalism has been engineered; African nationalism, rooted in nativist sentiment of ethnic belonging (Comaroff 1997, Mbeki 1998). Radio broadcasting has continued to provide a platform in furthering this nativist ideal.

Having acknowledged the continuum of competing versions of nationalism in South Africa's history, it is necessary to focus on the post-apartheid era and events that have obtained at SABC. This is because the media, in particular, ethnic radio has played a significant role in purveying these competing versions of nationalism since its inception stages in the 1920s. South Africa's independence period brought with it an interesting dimension in that, within the ambit of nationalist leadership, strategic positions were apportioned along lines of political allegiance. This is one major feature which emerged at SABC and with the ICASA board. Most strategic positions were held by officers who expressed support for the ruling ANC party. The crisis at SABC involving Snuki Zikalala, the Group Executive Officer, News and Current Affairs, and Dali Mpofu, the Chief Executive Officer, discussed in the following chapter, confirms political party allegiances.

This was further observed during my research. Further, it was aggravated by the fact that my research coincided with presidential and general elections, together

with in-house conflicts within the ruling party, at Luthuli House, leading to the birth of the Congress of the People (COPE); a break away party. A scenario of state capture emerged from the research, that is, those who had been part of the ANC liberation crusade, some in exile, while others fought within the South African underground and others were detained in Robben Island, turned into the new élite who took over the state. This was further confirmed by some of my respondents, whose views were presented in Chapter One, while others will be presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. This presented an interesting example of another case of élite transition in Africa (Sparks, 2009). The independence of most African countries has seen this phenomenon while, in some cases, it culminated in prebendal politics, with people having to worship a charismatic leadership by constantly being made to feel that they owe everything to that leadership (Mbembe, 1992, 2001; Young, 1997).

However, while South Africa presents the story of the politics of élite transition (Sparks, 2009) seen elsewhere in Africa, it deviates from the postcolonial norm in many ways; for example, prebendalism has not yet manifested itself. One would only conjecture that had Nelson Mandela stayed longer in power, that kind of politics could easily have visited the new nation-state. Observations in other African states have shown that prebendalism tends to be associated with a state's first and second generation leaders, but this also depends on their leadership style. In his wisdom, however, Nelson Mandela left power before some of its corrupt benefits set on him. I must add here that in prebendal politics, while the élite act as the catalysts, there is also a dialectical way in which citizens act their part in its fulfilment. It becomes a diachronic dialectical process in which citizens trace their being from history, since it influences their present, thereby linking it with their leadership, to whom they feel indebted, thus illuminating the future focus and direction (Ritzer, 1996; Habermas, 1970, 1975, 1984). While the latter has been observed only in the way that ethnic minority radio stations have managed to encourage feelings of national belonging and patriotism among citizens, it has not been translated into prebendalism.

The South African scenario, while not very much different from events elsewhere in Africa, has one unique feature that emerges: that the basis of their struggle, which ultimately led to a tripartite arrangement between the ANC, COSATU and the SACP, was hinged on the principles of the Freedom Charter of 26th June, 1955. The preamble to the Charter spells out the direction to which the new leadership of South Africa was steering the new nation-state;

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief (African National Congress Freedom Charter, 1955).[84]

The African National Congress Freedom Charter, as the founding document, spelt all the principles on which the party was founded. It also influenced state policies. Like an altar, on which committed members pledged their allegiance, it became the parapet from which to envisage the new nation-state of South Africa, giving birth to an all embracing 'charterist nationalism' (Wesemüller, 2005). This form of nationalism, with its all embracing characteristics, deplored apartheid's 'racial nationalism' of separate development, in the same way as it initially deplored African nationalism. However, I shall come back to this in Chapter Eight, especially in the discussion on the gradual departure from its tenets in search of a more sustainable form of nationalism. For now, it suffices to say that this 'charterist nationalism' had a more liberalist principle and provided enough impetus for the social transformation process. It could, at least, abate racial and ethnic cleavages to which the new South Africa was waking up as Nelson Mandela took the Oath of Office in 1994. In that regard, an omnibus type of nationalism, which is all embracing, gave birth to South Africa as the 'Rainbow Nation.' Like an omnibus, this reconciliatory form of nationalism stopped at every bus-stop, picking up everyone who appeared to be going in that direction. As a result, a new 'nation' was born out of the 'Charterist nationalism.' This form of nationalism came about as a contingency and as a product of a political principle (Gellner, 1983: 06), which also sought to propel the new nation-state into the competitive global economic market. Mandela was therefore tasked to create, groom and nurture the structures and culture of a new

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[84]The African National Congress Freedom Charter (ANCFC) was adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown on 26th June, 1955. It became the founding principle and the bedrock on which the ANC was to predicate their policies. In this study, it will be shown how the Freedom Charter had a profound influence on the form of nationalism that was envisaged by the ANC. For more information on the Freedom Charter, please refer to: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/charter.html

nation-state, while Thabo Mbeki, as the managerial leader, had a task to embrace them and move forward, as 'Mr Delivery' (Wasserman & de Beer, 2009).

Although Thabo Mbeki's leadership gained from the stability that the reconciliatory leadership of Nelson Mandela had groomed, the new tasks he set out to achieve on the economic front would later define South Africa's new nationalism. Thabo Mbeki's leadership came from a strong Pan-African philosophical background. As presented in Chapters One and Four, his economic vision gave birth to a new form of nationalism, which also encouraged ethnic identity and cultural diversity for various groups of people in South Africa. This form of nationalism, which Ali and Alamin Mazrui (1998: 205) referred to as 'African nationalism', as an economic enterprise rode on the currency of the African renaissance, thus encouraging nativism. It is on this note that I refer to it as nativism.

In view of these developments, one is forced to challenge through a new look into the various perspectives on ethnicity. While this encouragement of ethnic identities may be seen as a new form of 'supertribalisation', it still presents a line of departure from an old, monolithic, nationalist mindset of criminalisation and essentialisation of ethnicity. Further, it is one that challenges westernised paradigms of understanding ethnicity within a nationalist discourse as merely divisive without regard for its potential resourcefulness. One is therefore forced to embark on a radical epistemological position of proposing to unthink the commonly held paradigms that have all along been used as the hallmark of our understanding of ethnicity and their attendant nationalism.

5.8 Unthinking Paradigms of Ethnicity and Nationalism

This section is informed by a radical approach embarked upon by scholars like Robert Bates, Valentine Mudimbe and Jean O'Barr (1993: xx) in their engagement with Africa and the various disciplines. They raise important questions; what, for example, is the meaning of literature in societies without writing? And, what is the meaning of "African literature", when the texts themselves are written in European languages? These questions influence my conjecture around the need to unthink western paradigms of ethnicity and nationalism. In this question about unthinking them, I do not propose their complete discarding, rather, I propose sifting from them that which we can learn from and discarding that which might muddy our waters even more. As will be shown in Chapter Eight, the discussion of my findings using the above theoretical lenses tends to pick from these schools of thought some aspects that I find

relevant to this study. However, while I do so, it must be mentioned that my engagement with ethnicity is quite sympathetic to ethno-symbolism.

In this section, as part of my concluding remarks, I propose to engage in what Immanuel Wallerstein (2001) refers to as a radical epistemological rebellion against the sociological and anthropological paradigms as passed on from the 19th century. In this case, my rebellion is against the epistemological engagement with ethnicity as handed down to Africa through space and time: history. Ethnicity, or, at least, the knowledge of it, always existed in Africa well before colonialism (Davidson, 1992). The question that has not yet been asked is: in what form has ethnicity existed in Africa? Further, I posit that it is through these lenses that ethnicity has tended to revolt over time; with people taking no notice, since they have often assumed that it is the major catalyst for conflicts in Africa. I therefore hold that Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1997: 71) has a point when he argues that: '…ethnicity, although generally considered a cause for conflict, is not an explanation but rather that which is to be explained.' The terminology of ethnicity has become part of the African conflict discourse and cannot serve as the language of analysis.[85]

However, this is not to deny the existence of ethnicity. Rather, it is my acknowledgement that while ethnicity exists, and always existed in the past, it can also be harnessed, like any other natural resource in Africa (Mazrui, 1980; Mazrui and Mazrui, 1998), therefore, it cannot be seen through the lenses of retrogression. Ethnicity, although generally considered a cause for conflict, is not the explanation for Africa's major challenges. Its usefulness and cause for concern requires more rigorous academic engagement because, like electricity, while it is useful for many other facets of our lives, it can still electrocute. Likewise, ethnicity can be a cause of social upheaval, conflict and disintegration, while, on the other hand it can also be a source of progress, as people celebrate the plurality of ideas. Ethnicity, therefore, is a natural resource. The case of South Africa, as will be seen in Chapter Seven, presents a unique scenario whereby ethnicity has been harnessed into a form of cultural tourism, with ethnic radio broadcasting as the conduit. In South Africa, Africanness and ethnic identity has been packaged and commodified. Comaroff and Comaroff

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[85]For more information on this idea refer to Jan Nederveen Pieterse, 'Sociology of Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia Compared,' in *International Political Science Review*, 18 (1), (1997), p. 71; Jan Nederveen Pieterse quoted in S. L. Carruthers, 'Tribalism and Tribulation: Media Constructions of 'African Savagery' and 'Western Humanitarianism' in the 1990s,' in S. Allan and B. Zelizer (eds.) *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*, (Routledge, London, 2004), p. 165. See also Jan Nederveen Pieterse, 'Varieties of Ethnic Politics and Ethnic Discourse,' in Edmund Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister (eds.), *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power,* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996).

(2009: 02) present a case where, in the effort to locate South Africa within the modernised global market, leaders have been able to harness the objective 'rediscovery' of ethnic identity and consciousness into a productive 'sensibility', as an 'explicitly new awareness of its essence, its effective, material, and expressive potential.' Ethnicity has thus been commodified, with value-added corporate collectivity for cultural tourism in which people are able to benefit from shared history, shared emotions, a shared lifestyle, and, ultimately, they share imaginations of the future as 'proud' South Africans, hence SABC's corporate payoff, *'Vuka Sizwe.'* Radio broadcasting has been at the forefront.

In accordance with the above assertion, Immanuel Wallerstein (2001: 129) says;

> The contributions of Africans (I am not sure if one can call it the contribution of Africa) could be that the weight and constraints of the existing idea-systems tend to rest less heavily on them than on Europeans, and the movements that emerge there – in the larger political arena, and in the academic – will hopefully reflect this. It may be therefore that more coherent insights into options will arise there. But they will only arise if they are not placed in the old cul-de-sac of universalism vs. particularism (2001: 129).

It is on that note that my radical shift buys into Immanuel Wallerstein's notion of unthinking social science. The challenge here is to unthink what the nationalist leaders and colonialists imposed on our minds about ethnicity, as a cultural continuum evolving through time and space (Bhabha, 2002), then, later, turned and criminalised it. To unthink ethnicity, and in particular its paradigms, is a revolutionary and radical epistemological exercise, whereas rethinking concepts is conservative, reactionary and reformist.[86] Immanuel Wallerstein (2001: 01) adds that by unthinking social science one engages in a liberating intellectual enterprise which exposes what he considers to be 'highly dubious and narrow-minded' viewpoints. In so doing, I propose to engage with the issue of ethnicity by understanding whether the apartheid that accepted the realities of race and ethnicity was actually far from the mark; given the fact that ethnicity seems to be experiencing a resurgence in South Africa, not as a creature of apartheid, but of that which had always existed. Ethnicity, as we have always known it, has now been given a new meaning in South Africa as 'ethnicity, inc' by Comaroff & Comaroff (2009). This is further depicted in the

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[86] I owe this position to Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni from one of our deep-seated intellectual engagements on the African national project, in particular the recent calls with some people in South Africa who were comparing the current state of affairs in their regions and the era of apartheid. A good example was the opinion piece by Sipho Mfundisi on 18th February, 2010, titled: Bophuthatswana Was Better. The article can be accessed here:
http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page72308?oid=161366&sn=Marketing web detail

pictorial prelude of their book, *Ethnicity Inc.*, on which a picture of a Zulu ornamented woman, also in traditional regalia depicts the shift from mere celebration of Zulu as a form of ethnic identity to a commoditised cultural product now part of the state's form of cultural tourism. Further, this move is presented as a cultural embracing of South Africa's liberal economic agenda. This view is further buttressed by a statement taken from an advert and placed as part of the pictorial prelude which says, *'The Zulu Kingdom awaits you.'* This is a product of unthinking ethnicity from the nationalist mindset that criminalises it as retrogressive. One therefore has to further pose more questions: Was the idea of homelands really a bad one? Or, was it an issue of a good idea that was implemented by the wrong organ with negative ulterior motives? Is it not a clear case of a social phenomenon unfolding and, therefore, a reality that people of common language and common culture wish to belong together, feel sympathy for one another, favour each other, etc?

However, apart from seeing the economic advantages of arousing ethnic consciousness in different regions of the state, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Wendy Williams (2010: 05) present another interesting dimension in their view of the concept of South Africanness and belonging by arguing that '…it was imbricated in versions of imperial conquest, colonial dominion, English colonial settler nationalism, Afrikanner nationalism, and African nationalism.' It is in the latter development, that Thabo Mbeki (2002) placed his narration of Africa's moment having arrived; thus leading to the formation of the Native club in 2006. Impliedly, South Africa has always existed in a continuum of various forms of nationalism that are also being purveyed by different groups. Further, this means South Africa as a nation remains transient and elusive; hence, the celebration of various ethnic groups first before presenting the political platform of nationalism. Emphasis has to be made that in purveying all these forms of nationalisms by various groups, radio has always been at the centre in providing currency for churning out information with a leaning towards ethnic lines.

From this point of view, it becomes clear that in terms of our understanding of ethnicity, as shown above, colonialism and nationalism are equally guilty and have both failed to solve African challenges of identity. This explains why the African national project continues to face challenges. The problem, therefore, does not lie with ethnicity, but with its narration. It is therefore possible to start from a new angle, with a mindset that is prepared to either critique or discard both ethno-symbolists and social constructivists, or to cause them to dialogue, given Africa's contextual factors. By embarking on this revolutionary epistemological process, I further argue that

South Africa's social transformation (as a process) could not dismantle some of apartheid's structures; in particular, the territorial homelands in which ethnic groups belonged, not because they did not have the capacity to do so, but because it gradually emerged that the idea of a federal state in which powers are devolved from the centre to the regions meant one and the same thing as the 'homelands'. As presented in Chapter Two, this argument will further find meaning, in Chapters Seven and Eight to show why instead of abolishing the ethnic radio stations, that were formerly called Bantu radio stations during apartheid, the new leaders decided to re-advance their cause by rebranding them, to the extent of giving them new meanings: their names as symbols of ethnic belonging and ownership.

5.9 Conclusion

From the foregoing, the discussion of ethnicity shows how it has gone through various transformative phases and shifts. Above all, the chapter has portrayed the ideological leanings that influenced Africa's nationalist path with the media at the centre. The chapter was also able to present the trajectories of nationalism and how that approach has led to the criminalisation of ethnicity thus far. In that regard, part of the chapter challenges for a new sociology of ethnicity, whose paradigm will be African-centred. Unthinking, thus, current paradigms of ethnicity and being forced to place them within the African context in which their semiology will not be a product of westernised invention (Mudimbe, 1988).

Further, it may be that in view of the above ethnicity for Africa, this ethnicity can be harnessed as a natural resource, packaged and given economic value like any other natural resource. Ethnic radio stations, as has emerged in this research, have managed to perform that communicative element of rebranding ethnic groups and presenting them in the fashion of 'theme parks', in which each ethnic group proudly presents its rich past as part of the cultural tourism of South Africa; that is, to contribute to the country's economic drive as the leader pursue a neo-liberal agenda. My position, as presented in this chapter, is firmly located with the subaltern.[87] By belonging to the subaltern group, I have been able to understand the position of

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[87] This position entails cultural erasure, political domination and economic exploitation. Here, I present my case for belonging to those who are marginalised in Zimbabwe. This term was popularised by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) in her seminal essay entitled; 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Eds.). *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. While writing about the post-colonial engagement with male domination, which in itself is a neo-colonial attitude of hegemony, exploitation and cultural erasure, she presents this concept as referring to the oppressed or dispossessed. This term was also used by Antonio Gramsci, by which he meant those economically dispossessed something missing here his Marxist discourse.

oppressed groups and their cultural socialisation, which is encapsulated within the broader mindset of cultural erasure, political exploitation and suppression. This was further engaged with in the section on the history of race and ethnic relations, in which the philosophy and ideology of Bantustans/homelands were discussed. It also explains the use of a phenomenological approach to this research, as discussed in Chapter Three.

The following chapter will discuss my research experiences in the field, and in particular, the challenges faced due to bureaucracy at SABC. It will also present my encounters with South Africa's politics and its influence on the public broadcaster. The chapter will provide the basis for a presentation and discussion of my findings in Chapters Seven and Eight.

CHAPTER SIX

UNLOCKING THE POLITICAL TERRAIN: SABC AND ÉLITE RESEARCH

> Every belonging to a society involves a paradoxical point at which the subject is ordered to embrace freely, as the result of his choice, what is anyway imposed on him (we must all love our country …). This paradox of willing (choosing freely) what is in any case necessary, of pretending (maintaining the appearance) that there is a free choice although in fact there isn't, is strictly co-dependent with the notion of an empty symbolic gesture.. (Slavoj Zizek 2008: 36).

6.1 Introduction

This Chapter will present the challenges faced by the researcher on entering the field of research. It will also show how the SABC has evolved over time from being a state broadcaster to a public broadcaster. The chapter will also present the challenges faced by the PSB, especially when transformed by politicians to serve as a political turf. It is worth noting that the major area of research lay within SABC's Headquarters at Auckland Park Johannesburg. Four of the selected radio stations *(Munghana Lonene FM, Lotus FM, Phalaphala FM* and *X-K FM),* except *RSG FM,* are located in various regions of the country, but these radio stations remain answerable to the public broadcaster. Following the discussion of PSB, the principles on which these ethnic radio stations are hinged include that of the universal availability of broadcasting services and the paying of particular attention to ethnic minorities (Scannell 1992: 319, Raboy 1996: 09, Teer-Tomaselli & Boafo, 1996: 184).

In the case of South Africa's broadcasting, which emerged out of apartheid, in order for broadcasting to be seen as a comprehensive environment, the state decided to add to the principles above in its efforts aimed at transforming the apartheid from a case of bifurcation by giving ethnic minority groups particular attention. This was done by allowing the old apartheid structures of radio broadcasting to remain in place within the various regions (Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1996; Lekgoathi, 2009). These radio stations, as examples of residual policy models for social policy, led to the formation of a PSB as opposed to radio stations still assigned to their earlier role in which they served as extensions of a state broadcaster in the inherited Bantustan homelands (Mhlanga, 2010). This transformation was in keeping with the ethos of the social transformation process, in which South Africa, unlike other postcolonial African states had embraced the view that, 'for the nation to live, everybody must be included.'

However, given the limited space and time requirements of this study, this Chapter will therefore present an abridged version of South Africa's political terrain, especially that of the recent past. This move is an attempt to locate my research and its outcomes (the findings in Chapter Seven) within a particular position. In that regard, the SABC as a public broadcaster that continues to be immersed in various forms of contestation and political manoeuvring will be presented here. The intention is to show the extent and influence of national politics and their effects on the running of a public broadcaster, albeit one that has the government's sole ownership and control, as stipulated in the Broadcasting Act of 1999 (Mhlanga, 2009).

South Africa, a state affectionately referred to as Azania[88] by those who consider themselves more politically correct and direct, is my case study. However, given that South Africa is huge and quite complex and, of course, that I am researching on radio broadcasting and the politics of ethnic minority media, its accommodation, as seen in Chapters One and Two, five radio stations that are subsidiaries of the public broadcaster were selected to buttress my case study. The selection of South Africa for my study was influenced by a lot of factors, as stated in Chapter One. However, chief among them is the uniqueness of the radio broadcasting system post-1994, particularly the move by the new leaders to embrace ethnic diversity, thereby tacitly 'retribalising.' Further, it was quite difficult to even attempt to look at other Southern African states, since in most of them the mere mention of the word 'tribe' or 'ethnicity' is considered anathema.[89] However, this is not to suggest that in South Africa political authorities are not cautious when managing ethnic differences. Given this enigma of the 'retribalisation' of the state in South Africa, using ethnic minority radio stations that are forms of a decentralised public broadcaster, I set my eyes on researching ethnic minority radio broadcasting. Further, this alone is not to suggest that South Africa is presented as a case of 'what not to do', or 'how to do it', it merely serves to show a diversion from the monolithic perspective of nationalism in most African states. Further, it is an acknowledgement that other African states tend to clandestinely acknowledge the existence of ethnicity as a

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[88] The name Azania has no clear definition. Some have even tried to link it with the Arabic word Adzan - East Africa. However, it remains unclear to date. The name was popularised by the radical Black Consciousness Movement which was led by Steve Bantu Biko in the late 60 to the late 70s. It even gained more acceptance at the formation of Azania People's Organisation
[89] In Zimbabwe, for example, the president Robert Mugabe has often made it clear that ethnicity is inimical to the cause of nationalism. He views it as a divisive factor. For more information on this monolithic perspective of nationalism refer to Chapter five, in particular on the views of founding fathers of Africa; Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and Kenneth Kaunda.

natural phenomenon of difference, while, on the other hand, pushing the nationalist democratic envelope.

Following the information above, this Chapter is a report on my initial encounter with élites while doing research. It therefore presents a version of élite research. Part of the research findings are qualitative and presented here. It would suffice, therefore, to first outline that in a quest to report on a field trip to Africa, in particular about research conducted within a security area, like the SABC Headquarters (Radio Park – Auckland Park) and the five ethnic minority radio stations, the impact of bureaucracy emerges. The issue of bureaucracy and how I overcame it, will be discussed in a section of its own. I will also outline the general organogram of SABC, from the person at the helm of SABC, to the ordinary member of staff in the stations. Further, in the appendix section, maps will be provided to show the spectrum of each of the five selected radio stations.

6.2 Debunking the 'Rainbow' Nation and its Subliminal Elements

Given the above, it is imperative to further delineate my geographical areas of enumeration. This is because South Africa is quite big, and so there was a need to clearly define my enumeration area and also my study population and sampling frame. As stated in the research methodology Chapter, there was a need to understand my research's theoretical population, which also enabled me to understand the possibilities of sampling and the difficulties in seeking to cover all my respondents within a compressed budget. A lot of factors came into play here: a) time constraints, since this is a policy study and my target population was that of station managers and their staff in all the five selected radio stations, b) executives of SABC, and c) Executives and councillors from the regulatory authority (ICASA).

However, everything had to start from the SABC Headquarters in Auckland Park, Johannesburg. Firstly, I had to be granted permission to do research in the five selected public radio stations from SABC Radio Park Headquarters, but before setting out for the field visitations at the five radio stations, since broadcasting policy forms the focus of my study, I had to start by first interviewing SABC executives, beginning with the three General Managers of Public Radio Stations up to the Group Executive News and Current Affairs. This meant that the greater part of my research was spent at Radio Park; a section of SABC Headquarters in Johannesburg. When I arrived at SABC Headquarters, following prior arrangement, I was granted unlimited access to the library. In the library, the staff working there also offered me an office from which to work. However, as will be discussed in the section on overcoming

bureaucracy, entry at SABC, in particular the relevant area, and to be finally granted all these privileges was difficult due to a lot of bureaucracy. I will return to this issue in the next section.

For now, it would suffice to hightlight that upon entering SABC, I observed that any attempt to research radio broadcasting, its management and policy, given the history of colonialism, tends to be marred by notions of victory on one part, and the language of being sidelined, on the other. These sentiments characterised much of my stay at SABC, with most of my respondents, who also are at the helm of SABC, celebrating unparalleled victory against apartheid while also, in some radio stations, much as they celebrate the victory against apartheid (as a bad system) some people expressed that they also felt marginalized by the new arrangements. These sentiments, as will be noted later in this Chapter, were common among my respondents from *X-K FM*. Others also expressed unparalleled loyalty and patriotism to their ethnicity and belonging first, before identifying with South Africa as a state. Some also added that they do not perceive of South Africa as a nation, since they viewed themselves as part of their ethnic group, and their ethnic groups as nations. They added that South Africa, to them, is a state which is formed out of social pacts between all of South Africa's ethnic groups as nations. This alone formed an interesting dimension to my research on radio broadcasting and the politics of ethnic accommodation. To me, this emphasised the impact of ethnicity and how deep-seated it is in South Africa, despite their mutual celebration of the concept of the 'Rainbow Nation.' This symbol of the 'rainbow', as Thami Ntenteni, Head of Radio Public Broadcasting, emphasised:

> 'Serves to show that while, as South Africans, we live and celebrate our different ethnic groups we are also mindful of the unquestionable collective destiny which for us, as South Africans, binds all ethnic groups together. We are bound together by a common desire to forge ahead as a state and to prosper in our nationalist ethos, while not dismantling our allegiances to our various ethnicities. What makes South Africa unique is our acknowledgement as a people that we are different and yet still want to work together. It is called 'Unity in diversity.'[90]

Following the above statement, it was noted, however, that this celebration of 'unity in diversity' was indeed like an unsigned social contract. I witnessed its spirit and feeling when I mingled with all of the members of the SABC staff at their functions and, in particular, at the two main staff Canteens (the one at Radio Park and the other at the TV section - Henley House). The discussions I used to engage in with

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[90] These were the views of one of my key respondents at SABC.

various people generally provided me with some insights into the social and political dynamics at SABC.

However, much as there was celebration of diversity, there were also suppressed feelings of contestation and resentment among most ethnic groups, as shown by some people who argued that decision making and the general corridors of power at SABC are manned and occupied by Xhosa people.[91] This was further expressed by one white South African I met at the staff canteen, who commented that:

> '…I know you are from Zimbabwe, I am sure you have noticed that here there are more Xhosa people all over, particularly in positions of authority. It is like the situation in your country, where most spaces that matter are controlled by Shona people. This, to us, was as a result of the Mandela and Mbeki effect. However, since we are expecting Jacob Zuma as President, it remains to be seen whether he will change that.'

Adding to the excerpts above from my conversations with people, one Coloured lady (meaning those of mixed parentage) at Radio Park reception, made an intriguing comment by saying; *'….if you are planning to go for lunch, you better do it now. Otherwise, you will not find any meat, you know the Xhosas, they are many here and they eat a lot of meat.'* This could have been presented to me as a joke, but it carried with it serious social innuendos. The above statements served to show the generalised social acceptance of the existence of the Xhosa in most influential spaces, while in the main they also served as expressions of protest and contest, usually presented in the public gallery as jokes, but with a tacit communicative element. There were many such statements that I came across while mingling with the people at SABC. The advantage I had was that I speak most of the languages in South Africa. At least, it became clear in a way that the political move to follow the tribalised contour lines that were vestigial to apartheid, saved South Africa from the broader chaos usually associated with most postcolonial states. However, the question I had to ask myself was; whether it was by accident of history that apartheid leaders stumbled on these ethnic contour lines, and then exacerbated them, or was it that they actually understood them and deliberately essentialised them, in a bid to further their policy goals? Sekibakiba Lekgoathi (2009: 576), in reading statements by Carl Fuchs, The Director-General of Bantu Radio, in 1969, attempts to grapple with this question, by explaining that 'the multiple African language channels were established as part of the apartheid state's imagination of the different 'nations' within the country.' Then

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[91] The Xhosa in South Africa are presented to constitute around 17.6% of the country's population according to the word's CIA records. Others peg it at around 18%. Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki belong to these ethnic groups.

Carl Fuchs is said to have added that these radio stations then had an overt mission of "encouraging language consciousness among each of the Bantu peoples, to encourage national consciousness." By giving each ethnic group social spaces, they at least reduced the social and political friction usually associated with a contest for centralized resources. This statement, at least, provides an explanation in view of some questions that kept racing round in my mind while I was within SABC's corridors conversing with people. It became clear that the concept of the Rainbow Nation is quite elusive. I will refer to this later in this Chapter and in Chapter Eight.

It suffices here, however, to highlight that Sekibakiba Lekgoathi's statements captured South Africa's enigma and its colossal arrangement as part of a transformative and emancipatory project. While the statement captures what may have been uttered in the late 1960s, it still has a bearing, especially in presenting the reality that South Africa's Bantustan homelands, during apartheid, served as seceded states that were managed from the centre. By implication, South Africa during apartheid was made up of multiple ethnic states that were semi-autonomous. This meant that at independence the challenge for the new leaders was to bring these previously semi-autonomous ethnic states to coalesce as parts of one country (Comaroff 1997). Based on this knowledge, it became clear that the slogan for the new leaders was to continue with the notion of separate existence within the former homelands, using the 'Rainbow Nation' concept as a cue. It also follows that this celebration of diversity, albeit progressive, could not have been done differently even if the new leaders were aware of other African scenarios.

Then, in terms of South Africa's public broadcasting terrain, I observed that ethnic radio stations that are under the auspices of SABC remain tightly linked to the political yearning and developments of the day. SABC, in particular, remains a contested political terrain, whose influence in broader state politics conjoins it with being accepted as a political state institution, a space for communication and a turf for the new nationalists' manoeuvrings. This discussion will be dealt with in detail in my discussion Chapter, where an engagement with the South African native club of 2006 will be made. In this Chapter also a section on political developments at SABC will provide detail on how the contestation for control of SABC has always been a major issue for political players.

6.3 Inherited Currents of Power, Structural Transformations and Consent

As stated in the preceding Chapters, South Africa's broadcasting terrain provides an intriguing scenario, at least, in Africa. Part of South Africa's uniqueness is rooted in

the anti-colonial thought, its philosophy and the legacy of their late departure from colonialism (apartheid). Following this position, it emerged that some structures, such as, radio broadcasting created during apartheid could not be dismantled, as they would prove useful to the incoming government. As stated in Chapter Two, even the name SABC was inherited from the apartheid regime. Given that most of the ethnic radio stations were also established a long time ago, a sense of originality, tradition and belonging had been created among the people, making it difficult to discontinue them. The case of Bantustans, for example, which kept people in their homelands, and defined them along ethnic lines, together with the ethnic radio stations broadcasting in the various local languages, provides a case in point.

It also emerged that even before the Bantustanisation process, people already lived within these territories as indigenous ethnic groups. These territories for these ethnic groups bordered on indigeneity, territoriality and belonging. However, as Comaroff (1997), in his fifth proposition, suggests that ethnicity as a principle of the collective consciousness of society may be perpetuated by factors quite different from those that caused its emergence, it can be argued that with the creation of Bantustans, which took advantage of already existing territories, these forms of collective consciousness were exacerbated by this new policy of separate development. Ethnic consciousness, as a product of collective agency, began to work in tandem with the new context. As a result, the creation of Bantustans and ethnically-motivated radio stations in these homelands, as shown in Chapter Five, merely followed the already existing contour lines of ethnic locations within their different settings. South Africa's new majority leadership then sought to transform these radio stations by changing their names, symbols, management style and political culture. However, in terms of broadcasting languages, they did not change anything. In some cases, even the locations of these radio stations were not changed, except possibly changes in the names of buildings. The latter applies to the SABC building in Polokwane (formerly Pietersburg). During my interview with Thami Ntenteni, Head of Radio Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) division, he confirmed that;

> ..We could not just dismantle everything simply because it was created by apartheid, which we had fought against. We had to appreciate that some structures were important and very useful; therefore our task was to transform them for the good of a new era. That was setting the course for the process of social transformation.

These residual policy models impacted on radio broadcasting in South Africa as the instrument of ideological inoculation and the churning of propaganda. Possibly, this change in terms of broadcasting ownership and management style among

political players, could be summed up by using comments from one of my respondents from *RSG FM,* who said:

> ..You see, in the past, our radio station, as the Afrikaans broadcasting station, was used by the ruling Afrikaaner élite for political purposes and propaganda. This duty ended in 1994, with the ascension to power of the new Black government, who decided to shift this duty to radio stations that broadcast in English and other local languages. Now we are no longer under pressure, but this does not mean that our colleagues in other radio stations are not facing the task of churning propaganda, as we used to do. Their task is enormous.

From the foregoing, it can be gleaned that post-apartheid South African broadcasting arrangements continue to exude traits of apartheid policies, such as the creation of radio stations meant to serve people in their linguistic regions. However, as opposed to the clear case of the outright control and management scenarios of apartheid, the approach is different this time. The approach, presented at face value, is a *laissez faire* one, while the reality has it that grip and control is tightened on news and current affairs programmes. A comparison with Lekgoathi's (2009) account of apartheid's Radio Lebowa, in which the government maintained a tightly controlled news and current affairs regime, also shows that there has been little departure from the post-apartheid arrangements (see appendices for the programme schedules).

To further illustrate the lessening of outright control in the current regime, one anecdotal case of the apartheid era sums it all up. In one of my interviews, with Fritz Klaaste, the Specialist Composer for *RSG FM*, he narrated to me that during apartheid he used to do sports commentary on radio. Rugby being his favourite, it is said that every time he was broadcasting live on-air, in their studios there would be a police officer or state agent, whose task was to listen and observe as he was presenting. He recalls a day when, for example, during one of his live sports commentaries it happened that one of South Africa's white Rugby players was badly tackled. He was not allowed to comment negatively on it. Even when the South African team performed poorly, he was not allowed to comment negatively. Added to this, he recalls one incident when a South African Rugby player badly tackled another player and he commented on it live on air. While he was still commenting about the tackle, he was punched in the ribs by the attending police officer. But, because their conditions were clear, he continued with live sports commentary as if nothing had happened. No sound was allowed as an expression of pain, '*...I had to continue with my live broadcasting as if nothing had happened.'*

This anecdotal narrative presents a clear picture of how state control was in radio broadcasting in South Africa during apartheid. Further, it would suffice to highlight that these particular forms of control have been dismantled, but the general

set up and structural arrangement still shows a tinge of some of apartheid's policies, as argued above. SABC of the apartheid era, for example, was a clear case of state control and SABC could be clearly characterised as a state broadcaster. This was because SABC during apartheid was answerable to the state through the Minister of Home Affairs and later information. Further, SABC still functioned through a Board of directors, whose appointments were always quite political. However, the SABC as seen through the lenses of the social transformation era, shows signs of policy progression and, to some extent, some kind of variation can be noted, although some similarities with the past are still evident. Most probably, as one of my respondents argued, it is because South Africa is only sixteen years out of apartheid. For example, the appointment process of Board members shows a reduction in the direct caprices of the political leaders. This is because now the appointment of prospective Board members follows a call for nominations, which is announced to the public by the Minister of Communications. Individuals who are nominated are then vetted through a parliamentary process, following the parliamentary oversight procedure. If approved, they are then formally appointed as SABC Board members by the state President, following the stipulations of the Broadcasting Act of 1999.

However, this policy of appointing Board members through the parliamentary door, despite the arguments presented that it is transparent following the parliamentary oversight policy, and also being anchored to the multiparty composition of the South African legislature, does not completely dispel the possibility of political influence, as it was used in the same way during apartheid. Similarly, this was also echoed by one of my respondents at ICASA, who added that even for the regulator (ICASA), the appointment of Councillors, while it goes through the same process as that of the SABC Board members, becomes a challenge at the vetting stage where political allegiance often becomes a major factor. Otherwise, the only major variation from the apartheid scenario is the attempt to minimise political influence from the onset. However, following recent developments (events of between June – August 2009) whereby the SABC Board had to be dissolved before the expiry of its term of office by the new State President, Jacob Zuma, it follows that political influence cannot be completely removed. Further, the parliamentary oversight procedure does not imply that parliament, as the legislature, is free from political influence, since it is clear that entry into the legislature follows a political process whereby Members of Parliament are voted into parliament by the public on political party lines. Again, there is no guarantee that the Minister responsible, as an executive arm of the state, who is often tasked to oversee and ensure the smooth

functioning of the SABC, when opening the call for nominations will not follow a political route in influencing the nomination process.

Having discussed SABC's structural arrangement by way of the Board, it is necessary to also outline the general internal structural layout at SABC. SABC's genesis, as discussed in Chapter Two, particularly its formation in the late 1930s, went through a lot of organisational changes. Most of these changes happened during apartheid and were meant to polish and sharpen the system's functioning. As a result, led to the creation of Radio Bantu in 1960 (Lekgoathi, 2009) then, subsequently, ethnic radio stations were established within the regions, with a view to serving the Bantustan homelands. These radio stations already had offices within their respective regions.

The social transformation process, as an emancipatory project, thus inherited most of the infrastructure, including the personnel in some stations which had earlier served the apartheid system. In justifying the latter, Dr Snuki Zikalala, the Group Executive, News and Current Affairs, during my interview with him, stated that upon attainment of independence the new order was brought about by new leaders, who, suddenly discovered that they did not have people with a lot of experience in their ranks. This, he said, was because a lot of time had been spent fighting against apartheid. Having realised this limitation, the new government set out to harness some notable experiences from other people. This meant retaining some people with expertise, although with clearly defined expectations. In agreement with Thami Ntenteni's assertion, above, Dr Zikalala, the Group Executive, News and Current Affairs, added that it was not ideal for them, 'to just destroy everything simply because it had been formerly an apartheid structure.' To him, the process of social transformation is still an ongoing process and part of their nationalist agenda. The other explanation I received, from Mapule Mbalathi, Head, Radio News and Current Affairs, was that by embracing some of the apartheid infrastructure, including personnel, they were extending the hand of reconciliation. She even added that;

> In my case, I have worked for SABC for more than 20 years now, I see no reason, for example, why the new leadership should have retired all of us with all this expertise. Besides, by working within the SABC when it was still a state broadcaster, serving the interests of apartheid, we managed to contribute to the struggle against apartheid in our own way. You see, now, I was part of the establishment of *Munghana Lonene FM* when it was still *Tsonga Stereo*. I oversaw its transformation as a radio which serves our people, the Tsonga, as an ethnic group and also in the process of social transformation. Now, I can openly say it to you that I am proudly Tsonga, everything else comes second.

The above statement by Mapule Mbalathi provides a telling narration of South Africa's state formation process and the challenge of having to manage the past.

Further, it is a pointer to how these ethnic radio stations have, over the years, managed to encourage ethnic identities and feelings of belonging. Following Mapule Mbalathi's statement, it is clear that the apartheid arrangement had established their radio station as a radio station for the Tsonga people, meaning an ethnic group. The same applies to other radio stations for other local languages. However, while, during apartheid, the name of each radio station clearly delineated the ethnic group that it served, the post-apartheid period shifted to embracing ethnic symbols as a way of toning down apartheid's overt tribalisation process. Nonetheless, this did not imply that the latter process did not covertly encourage the celebration of ethnic identities.

Furthermore, the apartheid system used ethnic radio to sideline all the black ethnic groups from participating in the mainstream economy. The major focus being to keep Blacks away from urban areas and to concentrate them in their traditional ethnic conclaves, Moyo (2010) envisaged that the more each ethnic group embraces and discovers itself, the prouder it is likely to be, therefore, it would fulfil the objective of fuelling ethnic animosity among the different ethnic groups. While some scholars have argued that this 'divide and rule' approach worked, it is my contention (as will be shown in Chapter Eight) that this arrangement marked apartheid's negation. It is on this note, that in Chapter Eight, I introduce the argument of the 'Babelian motif.' Further, I argue that apartheid's demise and dismantling came through the use of different languages that challenged apartheid as a greater whole, thereby causing a major communication discord and its gradual collapse. This informs the 'Babelian motif.'

However, the current configuration which allows each ethnic group to embrace and identify itself along ethnic lines seems to have worked for economic reasons as a strategy to bring the previously disenfranchised ethnic groups to the economic front. In the five ethnic minority radio stations, I observed that they are encouraged to hold ethnic events and festivals that cement their group identities, such as 'Diwali' for Lotus FM, and various other festivals. In addition, these festivals and other events are forms of cultural tourism. Furthermore, these ethnic minority radio stations, as decentralised public broadcasters, while encouraging the celebration of group identities carry with them an existentialist streak, indirectly causing people to be answerable for their actions to the state. Through these ethnic minority radio stations, ethnic pride comes with a price: submission to the authority of the state.

Further, through the notion that these ethnic radio stations are a public broadcaster whose upper echelons, the Board members and management, are answerable to parliament, which is composed of elected individuals, people are then

made to believe that these stations are therefore directly answerable to ethnic communities, since their representatives sit in parliament as legislators. This scenario resembles a power game, where power is given with a spoon and then taken away with a shovel. One of my respondents, a presenter with *RSG FM,* invoked the old statement in attempting to describe the political game of government manoeuvring by saying, 'The more things change, the more they stay the same.'[92] Another said: 'nothing much has changed at SABC. In the past SABC was answerable to NP, but now it has simply shifted to another ruling party, ANC.'[93] Another respondent added that: *'...all other public radio stations, in particular, English broadcasters now have a duty to perform what RSG FM, as formerly an Afrikaans radio station, used to do; serving the interests of the ruling party (Élite).*

These views from my respondents are quite telling. They present a case of élite transition (Sparks 2009) and the creation of a new hegemony which rides on the representation of these ethnic minority radio stations as being people-centred radio stations. The following section seeks to address the bureaucratic challenges that were faced while entering the field of research. It also presents the general political climate of the time.

6.4 Face to Face with Bureaucracy: Élite Connections and Interviews

Having discussed the structural arrangements that make up SABC, the general public broadcasting arrangements in South African and their genesis, I now turn to the section on my research experience and the challenges faced while in the field. This section is important for my research as it spells out the strategies that I employed when faced with the challenges of the unpredictable political terrain of broadcasting in Africa; especially public service broadcasting. This part became one of the most challenging in my fieldwork, as the research outcome rested on it, like the axis of a see-saw that could go either way. The outcome generally depended on;

a) How I presented my case,

b) The reasons given as the cause for researching on SABC, and

c) How I navigated my way around various forms of barriers; herein referred to as the gatekeepers.

The latter constituted the general bureaucratic arrangement in most public institutions that tend to clog not only policy and the decision making process but can

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[92] This was said by one of my respondents at RSG FM on 24/02/2009. Given the sensitivity of the statement, I have decided to protect her confidentiality.

[93] This statement was echoed by one of my respondents during my field trip.

upset efforts to access those in charge of public offices. At this stage, I must hasten to add that the process of acquiring information for my policy study was thus quite laborious, tedious and extremely difficult, for reasons that will be discussed below.

However, the main difficulty was handling and managing bureaucracy from SABC's high offices. Above all, having to smile and put on a lively face, even in the most challenging of scenarios; for example, when the scholarship money had dried up and yet I still had to keep an appointment for fear of setting a very bad record, given the bureaucracy at SABC, and knowing that if I failed to fulfil the appointment that probably would be my last opportunity of ever being allowed in by an unpredictable secretary. So I had to walk and brave the steep slopes of Auckland Park from Brixton, including the area most notorious for blood thirsty thieves, who have a record of even killing a person for carrying a cheap mobile phone. This added an extra notch to the challenges whose impact went deep into the gamut of my research focus and caused some research limitations, in some cases arriving close to delaying or blocking my work.

While in South Africa, at SABC, it was also noticed that despite having communicated with most relevant offices before my departure from London, the reality on the ground was different from having to send an email from an office in London. Apart from the fact that Radio Park, the main Headquarters of SABC's Radio section, is considered a security area, with fortified security check points that greeted me on arrival, I noticed that in order to skip the first hurdle one had to be quite audacious. Above all, I had to present myself to the security with authority, but also allow myself to be subjected to all manner of questions from a security guard who is seemingly advised that every stranger who dares to come his way should automatically be considered a suspect. I quickly put into practice what I had learnt from Yoweri Museveni's (1997) book, *Sowing the Mustard Seed:* that in Africa one cardinal sin is attempting to show security guards, the police and public servants that you know your way around and that you know your rights. This might be interpreted to mean that you are saying they actually do not know what they are doing. In that case, the backlash tends to be intensified 'bureaucratic constipation.'

Furthermore, one therefore has to quickly learn the art of negotiating oneself out of the role of being a suspect into that of being a dignified visitor. I was quick to learn the ropes; at first I presented myself as a foreigner from London. Given that I was aware of the recent history of xenophobia and the way they generally treat black foreigners, I had to use the name London to gain acceptability. It worked. But what completely unlocked the puzzle was being able to communicate in Zulu and Xhosa.

This shocked my security hosts to the point of immediately accepting me as one of their own. Instead of searching me, they would always spend time asking me where I learnt their language, and how it was that I was that fluent in their language when I was a 'foreigner.' I had mastered the power of language and how one can easily become part of a broader family (insiders vis-à-vis outsiders) by being able to speak the language of the host (Mate, 2005: 07). Given that my study focuses on ethnic issues, this was already a telling point. I stayed in the field for six months, as a result I made friends with most of the security guards who were even more kind to the extent of inviting me to their homes in Soweto, Thembisa and some in Alexandra Park. These are some of South Africa's high density suburbs. I often took these invitations with great pleasure and even fulfilled them. As a result, I made a lot of friends.

After going through the first hurdle at the main gate, I discovered that the main gatekeepers were the secretaries to the main bosses (authorities). I also noticed the culture at SABC, whereby if the secretary does not want you to meet her boss, she can always block you. Changing appointments and diaries is common. I was a victim of that in many instances. In essence, secretaries are very powerful people; at least, this is what I was quick to learn. Further, they (secretaries) are able to determine for a researcher who within the organisational hierarchy would give the best answer, or attend to your research queries, without allowing the main boss to meet you. Given this problem of bureaucratic constipation and general office malfeasance, I therefore had to find a way of circumventing these bureaucratic barriers. I also had to bear in mind that my attempt to circumvent this barrier had to be properly managed, as secretaries were always likely to block me again at my next visit, in the event my strategy failed. This was in consideration of the fact that I was going to be there for a long time.

While I had to toe the line with the secretaries as gatekeepers I had to also devise strategies for handling them as people who were, literally, holding the keys to the bosses at SABC. In comparison to the study I had conducted in 2006 (cf. Mhlanga, 2006, 2009) on *X-K FM,* where I had to constantly play football with most of the teams in Platfontein, (Kimberley) so as to gain acceptance and entry into the two communities; the !Xû and Khwe, this study was clearly different, difficult and posed new challenges. It may be necessary to elucidate that in 2006, when in the field in Platfontein, I used various other strategies to access the communities in order to get their views on the radio station; its ownership, management style and community participation. Apart from having to play football with their teams, I also hired two research assistants; one from the Khwe and another from the !Xû. These research

assistants also provided the proverbial key with which to unlock my access to the communities (Mhlanga, 2006: 55).

Given the narrative of my experiences in the field in Platfontein in 2006, the case of SABC Headquarters and the bureaucracy therein required me to first assess all the potential challenges in order to determine which would impede my access to my respondents. With the challenge of bureaucracy, I quickly noticed that in this case again the fact that my introduction also stated that I was a foreigner from London reduced the general conditions of suspicion and heightened my chances of being accepted. I also noticed that for most people, in particular secretaries, the introduction of being a foreigner, from London, did unlock some bureaucratic tendencies.

Then, on the case of suspicion, this was caused by the politically charged climate within which my research was conducted. This was at a time when South Africa was preparing for general elections in April, 2009. There were political camps at SABC drawn along the feuding cliques between Jacob Zuma, who was poised to take over the State Presidency, and Thabo Mbeki, the former President who had just been deposed in a party recall; a situation which some political analysts described as a 'palace coup.' This pro-Mbeki camp was seen as the one that had led to challenges within the ANC structures that, in turn, had led to the formation of the Congress of the People (COPE). I will discuss the political challenges later in this chapter. For now, it suffices to state that by being able to break the barrier of suspicion I was able to explain my research interests, and people could afford to open up to me.

Furthermore, I also managed to access one of the General Managers (Shanil Singh) of some of the ethnic minority radio stations. Shanil Singh was a postgraduate student at the University of Westminster. After discussing with him some of my research ideas, I maintained contact with him. When I was in the field, he was instrumental in creating links for me within Radio Park, for example, he gave me direct email addresses for some of his colleagues. I was therefore able to email them, in particular their immediate boss, Lulama Mokhobo, the Group Executive: PBS, Radio and Television.

After communicating directly with Lulama Mokhobo, I received an email from her which linked me directly to the people that she felt were relevant in dealing with my research interests. The first was Mr Thami Ntenteni, the Head of PBS Radio. She also communicated with him directly on my behalf and even helped by issuing a directive to all the General Managers asking that I be assisted. At least I had managed to evade the secretaries' bureaucratic arrangement. However, that was not enough, as I still had to do more interviews with people who are in even higher offices, while

others belong to sections other than Lulama Mokhobo's. These included Mapule Mbalathi, the Head of Radio News and Current Affairs and Snuki Zikalala, Group Executive, SABC News and Current Affairs. In order to access these other officers, with at least the one advantage of the directive from Lulama Makhobo, I was able to befriend most of the secretaries who, in most cases, believed that I was well connected with their bosses and were more than willing to help me, rather than cause a bottleneck in my research process. As they feared any such mishaps might land them in trouble, they were able to liaise on my behalf with other secretaries elsewhere and set up appointments for me. I could see that for some of them even the promptness with which they served me, to the extent of arranging some appointments for me, was not necessarily something they were totally happy to do, it was because they simply wanted to ensure that they had dealt with me and that I was no longer anywhere close to their offices. There were many reasons for this, as I observed. The main reason was the result of suspicion, because I was a stranger to most of them, and even to their bosses, who only knew that a directive about me had come from Lulama Mokhobo, with no explanation. They still wondered how I had managed to have links with her in the first place. In that regard, some of them even entertained the idea that I possibly might have been lying that I was doing academic research, but instead might be some kind of spy for the political leadership, given that it was when SABC was bracing itself for new political leadership. I will return to this in my discussion of political forms of bureaucracy and how they conjured up suspicion.

I also identified some secretaries who had worked for SABC for years and who had gained a lot of experience, so I worked with them as my link with most people because they also had personal relationships with most of my target respondents. As a result, they could easily make appointments for me with the officers. One main secretary, particularly, proved extremely useful because of her links.[94] However, to compliment her, when she could not find direct links, I asked the bosses that I would have interviewed to suggest people who could be of help to me with more information. This snowballing effect was very helpful in enhancing my sampling method, which was cluster random sampling with the target group being SABC officials. Each time they made a suggestion, I would immediately request to be linked directly to that person by way of a telephone call. It worked, because any form of communication from one SABC officer to another is not intercepted or questioned

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[94] In the interest of protecting my respondents I have decided not to name her. However, emphasis has to be made that she contributed greatly in the shaping of my research's course. I also noticed that this was not based on the fact that she also was suspicious; rather, it was that she had experience in dealing with strangers and had worked for SABC for almost 20years.

by secretaries. I was therefore able to communicate directly with most executives before meeting their secretaries. Some even agreed to meet me immediately without having to diarise any appointment. This happened in my first interview with Mapule Mbalathi. Such positive responses were quite helpful and useful

However, in some cases these facilitated telephone conversations merely set the ground and paved the way for meetings. The main advantage was that by the time I met their secretaries in most cases an appointment would have been set. Further, it was important that I maintained good relations with the secretaries, but as, when I met them, I had already communicated with their bosses, this tended to concretise their belief that I was well connected. They were then even more willing to assist me further and even suggested possible people I could meet for my research. I must add that my research benefited immensely from their advice.

6.5 The Impact of South African Politics on my Research and the Gatekeepers

This section will present the other factor which was an impediment to my research and how it was overcome. Having noted that 'bureaucratic constipation' was also caused by the secretaries, in this section I will also submit that the general South African politics; its landscape and internal upheavals in the ruling party played a major part in my research. As stated above, my task as a researcher was to be able to read these political signs and to evade them or minimise their impact on my research, in particular, suspicion.

In order to present the impact of politics on my study, in particular, the challenge of suspicion, there is firstly a need to briefly discuss the general state of South African politics when I conducted the research. In so doing one has to trace its fissures from around 2005, after Jacob Zuma's removal from the office of Vice President by the then President, Thabo Mbeki, following the Arms deal corruption case and the subsequent rape case which resulted in his acquittal in 2006. It must be stated that the corruption case has a life of its own as it keeps on dying and being resurrected with more political players getting involved. It is also worth emphasising that this is not the object of my thesis and is only touched on here to buttress the picture on the impact of politics on SABC and how that inadvertently affected my research. In view of William Gumede's (2007) thesis on *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle of the Soul of ANC*, I contend that instead of the general state of affairs within the ruling party, the ANC, and it's tripartite consorts the SACP and COSATU, being the necessary components for galvanising this battle of the soul as the ultimate control of ANC, with its culmination of an epic struggle being the capture of power and state;

the real soul of the state and port of power is the public broadcaster SABC. The shock and disillusionment of some, following the recall of President Thabo Mbeki, by the ruling African National Congress (ANC) was constantly reported at SABC. This recall happened despite calls from various other political sectors, who argued that the ruling party must not tamper with the sitting President, since he had been voted in by people across the Board. Some even suggested that those who moved the motion for the recall of the President had at least to subject their motion to the people through a referendum and not have such a national matter decided by a political party caucus. Nonetheless, the President was finally recalled, a co-regent was nominated and voted in by the House of Assembly, Kgalema Motlanthe. His main task was to manage the six months transitional period until the April, 2009 general elections.

The recall of a serving President, still with six months of his term of office to run, exacerbated political tensions within ANC. These tensions were also translated to the management and general running of various state institutions and parastatals, including the SABC. At SABC the major impact was on the management and general existence of certain officials, considered to be aligned to the ruling party. The emergence of feuding camps within ANC trickled down to the SABC management. Unfortunately, this development further encouraged people to align politically, even those who actually wished to serve the SABC professionally as technocrats. I must add here that one major factor aggravating political alignments within these state institutions, in particular SABC, as I noticed it, was that almost everyone at the helm shared a considerable past with the political players; that is, one was either in exile, on Robben Island, or had participated in the fight against apartheid in one way or another. In that regard, most top people either belonged to ANC or sympathised with it.

Furthermore, some of my respondents stated that this form of political allegiance had initially existed with tacit encouragement from the first President, Nelson Mandela. Most argued that it was encouraged through Board appointments, always members of the ruling party and that most senior SABC positions tended also to be political appointments. This scenario is referred to in Chapter Eight as state capture', while Colin Sparks (2009) views it as élite continuity. It is emphasised that during Thabo Mbeki's term of office, it was also encouraged. Even if it was not state policy to appoint senior officers of a public broadcaster on a party basis, it then became indirect policy, as Francis Kasoma (1992: 04) observes: 'lack of …policy could itself be a policy', especially if it remains unarticulated but is being perpetuated. In this case, a lot of challenges were faced during Mbeki's time. It was

also punctuated by the rise of an anti-Mbeki crusade. As a result, during the political crisis between Mbeki and Zuma caused some SABC officials to be seen as either pro -Mbeki or pro -Zuma, thus giving cause for the subsequent investigation, as was seen at the Zwelakhe Sisulu Commission, which was mandated to investigate allegations of the existence of a blacklist of commentators from accessing SABC. The allegation was first raised by John Perlman, a radio talk host, in June, 2006.[95] The findings of the Sisulu Commission showed *prima facie* evidence of a blacklist on which a sizable number of journalists and political commentators were specified as *persona-non-grata* at SABC. In a similar spate of developments, recently (as early as June 2010) it was alleged that the SABC is under strict orders not to give former president Thabo Mbeki coverage.[96] The ruling party, ANC, has had to respond denying the allegation. Also some political parties have challenged it with SABC vehemently denying it (refer to the appendices for the attached stories). Congruently, in the previous case, of June 2006, the Sisulu Commission came into existence as a result of various media reports accusing SABC's upper echelons of tacitly blacklisting certain individuals from commenting as political analysts and writing as SABC journalists for both radio and television. This move was seen by most political critics as being created by the then President, Thabo Mbeki, who they also argued was bent on turning the SABC into the mouthpiece of sectoral interests within the ruling party.[97] In brief, the report's introductory remarks outlined the following;

> 1.1. The Chief Executive Officer of the South African Broadcasting Corporation Limited, Mr. Dali Mpofu appointed a commission of enquiry on 29 June, 2006, with the following terms of reference: **"**The first issue;

> 1.1. The existence or non-existence in the News and Current Affairs Division of the SABC of guidelines or stipulations in respect of the utilisation of independent political analysts/ commentators/ experts. If such guidelines exist, whether they are already operational in practice or at a policy-formulation stage.

> 1.2. The content of those guidelines or stipulations and whether they amount to undue 'blacklisting' or 'banning' of such analysts. (In this context the word 'undue' shall include any arbitrary reason and/or improper or ulterior motive.

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[95] For more information on this please visit *Mail & Guardian* archives on the Sisulu Commission report on www.mg.co.za

[96] This followed a story carried by The Times Newspaper of South Africa on July 11 2010, in which it was reported that the Head of News Phil Molefe had called a meeting of senior personal at the public broadcaster and advised them that it was believed that Thabo Mbeki's appearance on TV undermined President Jacob Zuma; thereby suggesting a gag on the former president's appearance. This story also directly linked the public broadcaster with ANC as it was further alleged that the directive came from Luthuli House, ANC's Headquarters. For more information on this refer to the following link: http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/article543835.ece/SABC-news-boss-Molefe-bans-Mbeki or http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page72308?oid=186252&sn=Detail

[97] For more information on the Sisulu Commission report, visit the Mail & Guardian archives on www.mg.co.za.

1.3. The making of any remarks or assertions by any employee of the SABC in respect of the official SABC statement issued on 20 June 2006 (and discussed on SAFM on 21 June 2006). More particularly whether such remarks or assertions were in conformity with the factual situation, as at that date, within the news and current affairs environment. If not, the nature and extent of any deviation and the probable causes thereof.

The report's outcome set the stage for political unmasking and fighting. It must be further highlighted that all these accusations and counter-accusations resulted from divisions that had long existed within the ruling party, ANC; mainly between the SACP leadership, alleged to be working closely with COSATU in support of Jacob Zuma. It is this political 'trinity' which, whenever it shook, also influenced most state institutions and structures. At this time, the major cause of these upheavals were what others considered to be Thabo Mbeki's managerial practices, seen by the two left leaning organisations, COSATU and SACP to be retrogressive in their cause (cf. Gumede, 2007; Gevisser, 2009; Russell, 2009; Hadland & Rantao, 1999). As stated above, the removal of Jacob Zuma from the Vice Presidency heightened these divisions.

This exposition of the political turmoil in South Africa during my research, and previously, as mirrored in the SABC's structural and managerial arrangements, was considered a serious challenge, as summed by views cited above from one of the secretaries. Even the ultimate assumption of the Presidency of the ANC by Jacob Zuma (in December, 2007) led to considerable tongue wagging within the SABC. This was perceived by many I talked to during my research, as a sign of a new political dispensation already beginning to unfold. In that case, the accusations and counter-accusation alluded to above as part of generalised political conjecture and refutations; set the stage for the wrestling for control of the public broadcaster, SABC; as the soul of the 'nation.'

One anecdotal event was the suspension of Snuki Zikalala, Group Executive Officer, News and Current Affairs, on May 6th, 2008, following an allegation of the leaking of sensitive information about the public broadcaster and particularly the Group Chief Executive Officer and the SABC Board. The statement about his suspension was issued by SABC's Group Chief Executive Officer, Dali Mpofu.[98] However, Snuki Zikalala was reinstated after two months suspension (on July 7th, 2008). The major SABC drama was seasoned by the political turn of events, characterised by the eventual suspension of the Group Chief Executive Officer, Dali

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[98] For more information regarding Snuki Zikalala's suspension from SABC refer to the following website: http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-05-06-sabc-suspends-snuki-zikalala

Mpofu; a day after he had announced Snuki Zikalala's reinstatement.[99] The suspension of the GCEO (Dali Mpofu) by the SABC Board was interpreted by most media critics, and scholars like Jane Duncan, as a sign that bigger political powers were at play. It was also reported in various South African news media that these developments at SABC mirrored power shifts at Luthuli House;[100] following Jacob Zuma's winning of the ANC Presidency in Polokwane, December 2007. Further, it was suggested that Snuki Zikalala's first suspension was inspired by the new ANC leadership led by Jacob Zuma with the blessing of the Group Chief Executive Officer who it was argued had earlier been a strong supporter of Thabo Mbeki, but was beginning to shift allegiance in line with the political tide. As a result, his subsequent suspension by the Board was also considered a backlash conjured by the pro-Mbeki SABC Board which, it was alleged, felt that by shifting allegiance he was double dealing and failing to be accountable to them. According to these sources, following the ouster of the Group Chief Executive Officer, Dali Mpofu, the Group Executive Officer of News and Current Affairs, Snuki Zikalala, had to be reinstated as he was still considered pro-Mbeki and likely to serve the SABC Board and Mbeki faction's interests at Luthuli House.

Following these political squabbles within the ANC and the accusations that those thought to support Thabo Mbeki were blocking anyone perceived to be supporting the other faction, mainly the Zuma faction, from accessing the public broadcaster (SABC) the stage was set for jostling and outmanoeuvring within the public broadcaster. One secretary, who had decided to trust me, given the suspicion which already hovered within SABC's corridors, boldly commented during one of my visits to their offices that;

> You see all these people in high offices, our bosses; they are each fighting for positions as they prepare for the leadership of Jacob Zuma. Everyone at the top is literally preparing for them to be found acting in line with the new order that would have been brought by Jacob Zuma. This is obvious, they fear being chopped from SABC as Zuma will obviously purge our organisation as a way of ensuring that most people sing his name just like Mandela and Mbeki did it. We are now used to it. We know this is coming. The only person who did not change anything, really, is Kgalema Motlanthe. I think it was because he knows that his position is not substantive and is obviously weak. I only fear for Snuki Zikalala whose term of office is said to be expiring next month. I doubt if ever they will renew it. For all along he has been seen as pro-Mbeki. You see, that is a very

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[99] For more information on the general developments at SABC visit the following website: http://www.thetimes.co.za/News/Article.aspx?id=798802

[100] Luthuli House is the name of ANC Headquarters in Johannesburg which is located at Commissioner Street.

serious offence here, given the formation of **COPE**[101] which is believed to be aligned to Mbeki.[102]

It is imperative to state that Snuki Zikalala, then Group Executive, News and Current Affairs, was subsequently removed from SABC following the expiry of his term of office.[103] However, he was given hefty benefits, dubbed as a 'golden handshake.' One respondent told me that the new leadership of Jacob Zuma had long wanted to remove him, and so, on taking power they sought to purge the SABC. I must add that in another email from one of my key informants, following Jacob Zuma's landslide victory into the position of State President stated that the entire SABC Board was finally dissolved, following amendment to the Broadcasting Act.[104] Then the Group Chief Executive Officer, Dali Mpofu, who had earlier been said to be suspended or on 'special leave', had his case settled through a deal agreed by the interim SABC Board, headed by Irene Charnley. In an out of court settlement, the SABC Board agreed to pay Dali Mpofu 11million Rands. This followed his concession to withdraw all pending legal actions against SABC. [105]

From the foregoing, it is noteworthy that these political events occurred not only at SABC's apex, but also in the lower ranks. Information obtained from some of my key informants who often discussed SABC's general politics without having to complete my question guidelines, confirmed that jostling for positions on party lines had trickled down to some officials in the management of public radio stations. Some officials were even said to harbour ambitions of rising within the SABC ranks following the continued purging of the pro-Mbeki group by the new leadership at Luthuli House

Having outlined the political situation in the broader context of South Africa and how it had also permeated into SABC's structures, management, and day-to-day running, my challenge as a researcher in such a political minefield was to find a

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[101] My emphasis. COPE stands for; Congress of the People.
[102] This was said by one of the secretaries in the SABC offices during my field trip in April, 2009. I feared for her, but understood what she meant as I had become accustomed to this politics in South Africa. However, she added that, as secretaries, they were so used to this form of politics, as they had witnessed the change from Mandela's time, and how Mbeki's era brought with it many changes, which she outlined, some of them a continuation of Mandela's policies, seen as a form of Xhosa nationalism. So, they anticipated many changes given that Zuma is Zulu and might want to deconstruct some of these structures as he asserts his authority.
[103] For more information, see: http://www.mg.co.za/article/2009-05-01-presidents-power-surge
[104]For information, refer to: 'SABC Board Dissolved' published by SAPA on 6 July 2009, at:
http://www.southafrica.info/news/business/407106.htm
http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page72308?oid=143908&sn=Marketing web detail
[105] This story was also carried by the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper; http://www.mg.co.za/article/2009-08-15-cope-mpofus-golden-handshake-an-insult

compass that would help in navigating this tide, but still ensure that I was able to conduct my research. These political scenarios had a way of replicating themselves in the eyes of ordinary workers by creating fixed mindsets of suspicion against strangers at SABC. My major challenge was how to handle this suspicion. As I was always conscious of political developments within the country and at SABC during my fieldwork, after my literature review and background research I always tried to avoid being part of any political events, although it must be emphasised that this was quite difficult because of the nature of my research.

However, my major trump card was to always make it known that I was a foreigner, so as to remove suspicion and gain acceptability. Added to that, I often endeavoured to follow traditional ways of conducting myself when meeting elders. Being conversant in Zulu, my first language, and Xhosa, was an added advantage. Further, the fact that I made it known that I was studying in London even raised the bar of acceptance. Often in life these things are considered minor in terms of social signification and most researchers tend to avoid them, however, they do work, as they did here. In case some might seek to refute it, van Den Berghe (1970), in his sociological study of race and ethnicity in South Africa, particularly in the section on; *'Research in South Africa; the study of my experiences with Tyranny'* (1970: 155), discusses how in his research methodology he had to deal with the problem of subjectivity, attitudes and scientific objectivity. As a result, he dismisses scientific objectivity, saying, 'far from denying the charge of bias, I have always tried to make my ideological position explicit. I have always claimed that the attainment of objectivity is an illusion, although its approximation may be an ideal.'

Following this observation, van den Berghe also presents a case for how people's attitudes changed due to suspicion when, after noticing the difficulty in accessing the black population of the Pondo people, who spoke Xhosa and Zulu, he decided to train an assistant to conduct interviews. Then, after training his research assistant, he set out to test his research questions with a few respondents in the field. His questions consisted of non-sensitive and sensitive questions; the latter concerned black people's attitudes towards whites and Indians. On responses when he was present and testing the questions, as he was also guiding his research assistant on how to conduct interviews, he says, 'the workers responded, though slowly and sullenly, as they would have in most situations involving a white man giving orders.' This was because they perceived him to be performing the usual role of a white man giving orders. As a result, even the responses to the sensitive questions were 'evasive', with respondents saying: "I have nothing against them", or "they don't bother me." After

noting the evasive nature of these respondents, van den Berghe decided to leave his research assistant alone to conduct interviews, the responses changed, with views such as, "They are my worst enemies", "I hate them", "I will feel much better when I am dead than being ruled by the Europeans." These latter responses showed a marked difference to the first ones, and were a sign of how suspicion can hinder the process of conducting research. In van den Berghe's anecdote, he says;

> On the following day, my assistant again attempted to interview workers in three other compounds up to twelve miles away from the first one, and he met with complete failure. Overnight a non-cooperation order had spread over the entire area, and my assistant returned with a none-too-common 100 percent refusal rate. It turned out that the interview schedule was thought to be a government census (1970: 155).

From the research experiences shared by van den Berghe I was able to understand how to manage suspicion. By being able to converse with everyone in one or two of the local languages, especially Zulu and Xhosa, the reception became warm. However, I was always careful not to assume everyone understood Zulu and Xhosa, because I was warned by one of my key informants about poor ethnic relations among different ethnic groups.

I was accepted into the community and also offered an office in the SABC library. Even conditions governing the library's running were relaxed in some instances, thereby allowing my research at SABC to be quite fruitful. Permission was also granted for me to borrow books and some archival material as secondary sources of information from the beginning of December, 2008, and to return them in January 2009, which I did. Following the first acceptance into the library, a useful repository of information about SABC, its history and general policy documents, I then set out to access the officials. Further, in order not to continue having hitches at the main gate and reception, a request was made for the Head of Library services to write a memorandum to all entry points at SABC; Radio Park and the TV section, Henley House, advising them that I was a visiting researcher and that they must therefore allow me unlimited access to the premises. This was granted and an email memorandum was sent to all reception desks. This opened avenues, as I also managed to gain acceptance. Furthermore, I also befriended everyone at the reception, in particular the reception manager who was always keen to assisting me with my research after learning what I was doing. She was always engaging in very interesting issues about her long stay at SABC and sometimes compared the situation during apartheid and then. Due to this rapport, I was able to request her assistance with links within the SABC, especially with some officials I was finding it difficult to meet.

One may wonder why I had chosen not to ask the Library Services Manager. The answer is quite intricate, given South Africa's history and the fact that it still enjoys considerable racial divisions. In this case, the Library Services Manager is white, and so, for acceptance I had to quickly learn that in most African societies fictitious relations are usually created on a surname basis and following ethnic lines. By being fluent in some South African languages I was able to strike a chord with most people at SABC. The question which I ended up having to answer all the time was; "how is it that you speak our languages so fluently, and yet you claim to be a foreigner, based in London?" Often when a question of this nature is asked, it serves as a statement of acceptance. Confidence was one way to encourage my acceptance, as Yoweri Museveni (1997) in *Sowing the Mustard Seed* has it that when one wishes to gain entry and acceptability in most African spaces, one has to always exude a note of authority and confidence in the face of authority. Confidence tends to break barriers and allows one to have access to otherwise very closed situations.

The reception manager, together with her team, proved to be quite useful. Through them I managed to gain more access to officials. This was in addition to the fact that I had communicated with some SABC officials and most of the managers in my five targeted radio stations when still in London. Following these arrangements it became much easier to gain acceptance and access when I finally requested meetings with them. With the above strategies and in view of a number of factors, I was able to gain more access to some offices that I would otherwise not have easily accessed.

6.6 Conclusion

This Chapter has outlined the political terrain in which my research was conducted. Further, it gave an account of the notion of the 'Rainbow Nation' as it was shared with me by some of my respondents. In the same vein, it also set out to briefly present South Africa's politics, given the contemporary political problems at Luthuli House, and to show how these problems tended to be mirrored at SABC. The conclusion reached following this observation is that SABC is the soul of the nation, and politicians always contest each other to gain control of it. It is here, then, that one gains an understanding of the politics of ethnic minority media and how they came about, in particular, their management under the auspices of SABC.

Further information on the latter will be discussed in the following chapter which will present the research findings using both qualitative and quantitative analysis, but it suffices to say that doing research in such a politically charged environment, coupled with its bureaucracy, has its own challenges. It is these

challenges that I present as the marks of originality and the points of strength of my research in its contribution to knowledge, given that there has been no previous such research.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

> The basis of the Rainbow concept is that. 'God created us different not so that we should be alienated from one another. But to ensure interdependence and complementarity. You cannot enjoy freedom; your own little freedom, when others are not free. This is a moral universe. (Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu – 11th June, 2008).

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a presentation of my research findings. These findings will be clustered into two sections; first, qualitative presentation, followed by the statistical representation of my data in the form of graphs and tables. The other corresponding tabulated data and further statistical results will be placed in the appendix section. The previous chapter mainly discussed my fieldwork experiences as part of the report of my research findings. It provided a window through which one could peep into the SABC, the drama of élite politics at Luthuli House and how it is imbricated into the public broadcaster. Further, the chapter provided an engagement with the challenges I faced, given the bureaucratic nature of a government institution such as SABC. This partly synchronised with the qualitative engagement with the data following research conducted among 65 respondents. The qualitative epistemological engagement of my research, as stated in the previous chapter, is rooted in phenomenology, and accompanied by an interpretivist pattern (cf. Fischer 2003), especially in engagement with my research respondents and through attempting to understand SABC's policy perspectives.

My research respondents were interviewed on their background, about their world, seeking interpret to their world, meanings and perspectives, thus employing Max Weber's (1948) reflection of the notion of *'verstenhen'*, discussed in Chapter Three, on pages, 71 -72. By describing what Alfred Schutz (1967) referred to as the need to *'epoche'* or *'evidenz'* in social inquiry, my research strategies allowed research respondents the latitude to define and construct social meanings and to interpret them using their viewpoints. Following these epistemological underpinnings, as a policy study, my research was able to tap into a wealth of knowledge from SABC and ICASA officials, as policy makers, seeking to understand the politics of ethnic minority media, nation-building and the entire social transformation process, together with its emancipatory project from their perspectives. Further, delving into ethnic

minority radio stations staff (station management, staff – presenters) I was also able to enter my respondents' world in a bid to understand the duality of their roles; as policy implementers while living these policies as ethnic group members from the five ethnic minority radio stations. These were dealt with following various research strategies employed during élite interviews.

The current chapter will further be organised into various themes to present the research outcomes of this qualitative research as part of my data analysis. It will be divided into two clearly distinct sections; a qualitative reading of my research findings and a short statistical representation of these research outcomes. The qualitative interpretation of the outcomes will also introduce major emerging themes (issues) as a prelude to the discussion in Chapter Eight. Furthermore, the five selected case studies *(Munghana Lonene FM, Lotus FM, Phalaphala FM, RSG FM* and *X-K FM)* of ethnic minority radio stations will be presented separately to elaborate on emerging themes.

The section on statistical representation will focus on the presentation, analysis and the decoding of my research data using Microsoft Office Excel. This package was chosen to complement the qualitative data presentation and analysis. The advantage of employing it is that, when combined with the qualitative analysis from my research findings, one is able to capture emerging issues that are otherwise hidden. By using it, one aims to further utilise descriptive or summary statistical representation, through the use of tables following the tabulation responses as variables (see appendices). These variables were further decoded to produce graphs, used to illustrate the research outcomes. Furthermore, the choice of Microsoft Office Excel for my statistical data analysis and presentation was inspired by its compatibility with qualitative data and presentation through the use of two main features from the social sciences; variables and levels of data conditioning, also presented below. Furthermore, my data did not require a particularly sophisticated statistical package to decode it.

Before engaging with the statistical section in detail, the qualitative engagement with my data follows.

7.2 Qualitative Analysis and Report of my Visits to the Radio Stations

After time spent conducting research among officials at SABC's Headquarters, Auckland Park, Johannesburg, I set out to visit the selected ethnic minority radio stations; *Munghana Lonene FM, Lotus FM, Phalaphala FM, RSG FM and X-K FM.* Given my limited resources, I was lucky to be able to cover the *RSG FM* radio station at SABC's Auckland Radio Park offices, Johannesburg, without having to travel a long distance. However, in order to provide clear details of my experiences and research outcomes, it is imperative to highlight that all the emerging issues will be thematised here for clarity and easy access.

7.2.1 Licence Conditions Revisited

One major emergent issue from this research that cuts across all the five radio stations is that of licence conditions for all the stations and their programming (for more information on programming and licences, please refer to the appendices). But before discussing the issue of licence conditions, it is worth emphasising that in the whole process of acquiring licences, it emerged that SABC is the main actor, together with ICASA, the regulator. Most station managers and their management teams professed lack of knowledge of the application procedure. They even emphasised that their role during the application process is to prepare the necessary documentation which is then handed to SABC, the mother body. Some even said they did not know the life span of their licences.

Then, on programming schedules at these radio stations, it emerged that all the stations are required by law (as conditions stipulated in their licences) as public broadcasters to have at least 2 hours of current affairs per day. This comprises of news and other information related to current affairs. These conditions are presented in the radio stations' licences. For *Lotus FM Munghana Lonene FM, Phalaphala FM* and *X-K FM,* these programme conditions are stipulated in section 6 of their licences; that is, from 6.1 to 6.6. For *RSG FM,* it starts from Schedule C, of the licence, in the 'Special Conditions' section. However, for all the licences the wording is similar. All these sections on programme conditions begin by clearly stating that:

a) The state shall be the sole shareholder of the licensee.

b) The Licensee shall be governed and controlled in accordance with the provisions of Part 3 of Chapter IV of the Broadcasting Act.[106]

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[106] This information was obtained from the Broadcasting Act 1999.

This section then explains what is expected of the station and how programmes will be composed. It highlights requirements in terms of slots on news and current affairs, thus stipulating that a total of 2 hours is required for news and current affairs per day. This is followed by a further delineation of various requirements on specific programming, for example, Children's programmes are expected to be 1 hour (60 minutes) per week on *Lotus FM, Munghana Lonene FM, Phalaphala FM* and *X-K FM,* while, for *RSG FM,* the stipulation is that programming must be 7 hours per week. When asked to explain this variation, station management team members at *RSG FM* seemed not to know. For all the radio stations, information knowledge programmes are expected to comprise 3 hours per week; educational issues, 5 hours per week, Drama, 2 hours 30minutes per week. *RSG FM* has a further programme slot for Other Requirements that includes;

a) People living with disabilities,

b) Health related issues,

c) Gender issues,

d) All age groups.

It is emphasised in these licences that there is the need for a bigger slot for news and current affairs, which allocated at least 2 hrs per day, seven days a week. While this can be spread across the day's programming, it is worth noting that news and current affairs has a bigger slot than any other programming on these radio stations, with a total of at least 14 hours per week.

7.2.2 Retribalisation and the Policy of Universal Access to Public Radio

Added to the information above, it also emerged that one major policy in all the five radio stations, although seemingly unwritten, is that people who are employed have to come from the respective ethnic groups. This means that *Phalaphala FM,* a station for the Venda, for example, would have to employ a Venda presenter, something similar happens in the other radio stations. While it might appear natural to have a speaker of the correct language employed at a station broadcasting in a particular language, it is worth noting that this pattern is part of the state's project of empowering ethnic communities and allowing them to manage their own affairs. Further, there is a need to acknowledge that this policy is part of an array of other patterns inherited from apartheid.

However, information received from some management team respondents showed that this only applies in the case of station presenters; otherwise, people from other ethnic groups can be employed in management team positions. But this

assertion was refuted by most respondents; especially presenters. On checking with other members of station staff I proved that this policy exists as an unwritten code, but radio stations generally do not want to employ members of ethnic groups other than their own. For example, one of my respondents narrated the story of a Venda lady who was employed at *Munghana Lonene FM* in the station's management team. When the Station Manager was elevated to become General Manager, she was also expected to be elevated to the position of Station Manager, but traditional elders (Chiefs) and members of the Tsonga community protested, and she was even removed from their station. Another respondent also added that while it had happened before that a person from another ethnic group had been employed at their station, following the case above; it must not be taken that people were always comfortable with that arrangement. He added that, *'people had always protested it, arguing that they want our own people to be employed at the station.'*

Another prominent incident was that of Sibusiso Leope (popularly known as DJ Sbu), a Sotho employed as a presenter by one of South Africa's leading radio stations, *Ukhozi FM,* for the Zulu. His employment as a presenter was challenged by the Zulu people, to the extent that senior Zulu elders commented about it and even approached SABC to register their displeasure. . Following these protests, the station management had to request permission from SABC to change the presenter. However, this information, although it is about a different ethnic radio station from those I researched, serves to show how posts at these radio stations have always been taken by the listeners and speakers of a particular language; as a preserve of their ethnic group. To them, these ethnic radio stations serve as their space and symbols of peoplehood and must be guarded jealously. As a result, people from other ethnic groups are perceived to be 'intruders.'

A follow up on this policy, as to why it had not been written down: one respondent, an official at SABC Headquarters, stressed that while they celebrated this diversity for their people, they feared that turning such a position into official policy would openly encourage ethnic cleavages. However, they acknowledged, after further probing, that this policy existed and that it worked for them. A senior officer at SABC, also emphasised that it would be difficult to imagine a person who was not of Indian origins serving as a staff member at *Lotus FM*; that is, either as a management team member or a presenter, even if presenters usually broadcast in English with only an hour per day of broadcasting in the five Indian languages. I was also told that only a few radio stations were exceptions in that such policies had to be officially recognised. These include *RSG FM* because the Coloured community is one of South

Africa's disenfranchised communities and suffered marginalisation during apartheid. As a result, RSG FM has a policy of trying to create parity between White and Coloured Afrikaans speakers, hence the emergence of what are commonly referred to as the 'white' and 'brown' dialects which represent the two groups. Another scenario is that of *X-K FM*, a radio station established to serve two ethnic communities; the !Xû and Khwe. Following its establishment, a policy had to be formulated to avoid ethnic conflict. As a result, the station broadcasts mainly broadcasts in !Xûntali and Khwedam, with Afrikaans being used as the language that bridges the ethnic divide.

According to William Heath[107] this arrangement had to be followed because there was always a tension and, to some extent, violent ethnic conflict between !Xû and Khwe. He said it had to be agreed that if there were station vacancies a policy would have to exist whereby two people must be employed at the same time as an ethnic balancing act; that is, one !Xû, the other Khwe. During the broadcast of every programme there be two presenters; one presenting in !Xûntali, the other in Khwedam. In the event that there is only one presenter, that presenter must use Afrikaans, a language also used by everyone in the village of Platfontein, again as a bridging mechanism.

7.2.3 Ethnic Proximity as a Contributor to Ethnic Rivalry

It also emerged from my research that the more close different ethnic groups are, in terms of proximity to each other, the more likely it is that there are ethnic tensions, rivalry or conflict. This followed an observation I made in the provinces I visited during my fieldwork. In Polokwane I noticed that there is always heightened tension between the Tsonga and the Pedi, the Venda and the Pedi, while, on the other hand, the Tsonga and the Venda also have marked suspicions and there is always strife over resources. The same was observed of the !Xû and Khwe in Northern Province. Then in KwaZulu-Natal province, I observed a marked tension between the Zulus and the Indians. However, it was also noted that among those of Indian origins there are entrenched ethnic differences among the five ethnic groups: Gujarati, Urdu, Tamil, Hindi and Telegu. Most probably, these demarcation lines and spaces of contestation between different ethnic groups that are in proximity, forms one of the major factors that buoyed apartheid, and were later inherited by the post-apartheid leadership. It

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[107] William Heath is a member of the technical team at SABC's Kimberley offices. His area of work covers Platfontein, *X-K FM*. He also has a rich knowledge of the genesis of the *X-K FM* radio station, since he played an influential role from its inception to its launch on 18th August, 2000. He still views *X-K FM* as his project and is always willing to talk about the station, its history and possible future. I first met him in Kimberley (Platfontein) in July, 2006, and had another meeting with him in February, 2009.

would appear that while this is not wholly accepted and encouraged by the post-apartheid leadership, these differences also provide a functional impetus for the continuing state of affairs. One of my *RSG FM* respondents confirmed this, saying, *'...the more things change, the more they stay the same. Nothing much has changed at SABC. In the past, SABC was answerable to the NP, but now it has simply shifted to another ruling party.'* This statement is an indirect pronouncement on élite transition and state capture. Possibly, the emergent issue of conflict as a result of proximity also explains this notion of élite transition.

7.2.4. Symbolic Transformation of Ethnic Radio Stations and their Naming

Beginning with the South African state as the bigger structure, as presented in Chapter One, the state's name was reached through a compromise arrangement in which all ethnic groups and races would feel a sense of belonging and ownership. While it may be taken simply as a mere act of managing race and ethnic relations, it also carries deep cultural and political symbolism. Coming from the ANC charter, the use of a geographical location as the name carries with it the sense of an all-embracing cultural symbol. It also serves as a political symbol of a state in which belonging is of major concern, for as long as citizens find themselves located within the confines of its political boundaries. Then, focusing on SABC as the 'soul of the nation', (following my argument in Chapter Six), it emerged that the name SABC was inherited from the apartheid regime, together with its structural arrangements. However, a few changes had to be made to encourage the institution its role as a public broadcaster and to carry its major communicative role as a player in the social transformation process.

However, while this role assignment was being modelled, the state embarked on a symbolic transformation of the inherited ethnic radio stations, from around 1996 until the turn of the millennium, especially of the three ethnic minority radio stations that are part of my case study; *Lotus FM, Phalaphala FM* and *Munghana Lonene FM*. It emerged from my research that this process led to further nativisation of these ethnic radio stations, by giving them more ethnically-inclined names and symbols. For example, the continued use of the name *Lotus FM*, which derives its meaning from the lotus flower, has a symbolic religious meaning for the station's founders; for example, those of Hindu origins. However, for most of my respondents the lotus flower carries with it special strong religious significance for most Asian religions, especially in India. Most respondents further highlighted that its growth from the bases of a river bottom towards the water's surface resembles the coming of light. It

is therefore seen as a symbol for an awakening to the spiritual realities of life. Above all, its significance in the naming of the radio station clearly defines its target audience, those of Indian origins.

Among other ethnic radio stations, *Phalaphala FM*, also carries with it a marked traditional symbol. My respondents at the station narrated that *'phalaphala'* is, for the Venda people, the traditional horn which used to be blown whenever there was a special message for the community. By blowing it in a particular way, the Venda people would know and understand the message being communicated. The radio station is seen to emulate the traditional, symbolic role as their 'modernised-traditional horn, this time using new technologies. Further, there was a designated person who had a traditional role of blowing the horn. This role was acquired through ascription.

For the Tsonga, *Munghana Lonene FM's* name means 'your special or true companion/friend, or trusted messenger.' It carries deep-seated symbolism of a traditional aspect among the Tsonga. One academic, Thompson Mabunda, a member of the Tsonga ethnic community, described it as follows;

> Remember, the station is essentially called *'Munghana Lonene Ndzalama Ya Rixaka'* which may be translated as 'The Guide of The Nation.' Please note, once again, that the concept of the "Nation" in this regard is narrowed to refer only to the VaTsonga people and as such excludes other nationalities who may be part of its listenership. So, generally, *'Munghana Lonene Ndzalama ya Rixaka'* means 'A true Friend and Guide of the Nation.'[108]

This statement makes it clear that Munghana Lonene FM is an ethnic minority radio station. Following this explanation, one can also denote its mandate. Further, Thelma Ngobeni, says it is believed that a 'true friend' or 'guide' *'is always there for you in good and bad times. This is someone that you can trust all the time.'* In addition, Mabunda, says;

> …the literary meaning of the term *'Ndzalama'* refers to that which is believed to be 'swallowed' by someone who is to assume the role of Chieftaincy. It is believed, further more, that this stone-like swallowed stuff tends to come out when the Chief dies, only to be given to the next person who is to take over as chief. Without this stone, it is generally believed that a person cannot rule as he/she will be without the guiding principles of the leadership role. Against this, it becomes clear that the term *'Ndzalama' in 'Ndzalama ya Rixaka'* is suggestive of the role the radio station is charged with; that is, 'a True Friend Charged with the Task of Guiding the Nation.' This is essentially part of the reason why the name 'Munghana Lonene' was chosen over the former 'Radio Tsonga', which obviously emphasised mere 'ethnicity', without linking it with tradition and territory, in terms of the concept of the Chieftaincy and authority.

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[108] Information obtained from Thompson Mabunda, a Tsonga academic at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

It follows, therefore, that the radio station carries a special traditional meaning and symbolism for the Tsonga people and also that the name, *Munghana Lonene FM* in Tsonga carries with it a notion of belonging and ownership for their people - territory.

However, while for *RSG FM* the station seems to have been shifted from its original name, as stated in Chapter Two, to a more watered down symbol, the station still carries with it a meaning. Most respondents emphasised that their stations still enjoys a big listenership and even that the new name carries more meaning for them in the face of social transformation. The name *Radio Sonder Grense FM,* in Afrikaans means 'a radio without borders or boundaries.' To my respondents, the name also symbolised universal accessibility and the growth of Afrikaans as a language. Furthermore, another respondent added that *RSG FM* symbolises the acknowledgement of belonging to a people and that the station has removed apartheid inhibitions that caused it to be understood as apartheid's mouth-piece.

These symbols concretised the argument presented in Chapter One and subsequent chapters that by continuing with this radio station the state retribalised and also encouraged a new form of nationalism: nativism. Unlike other stations, *X-K FM,,* as stated above, is very small and has a footprint that only covers Platfontein. That alone expresses its symbolism and being an ethnic radio station. This does not require further elaboration.

Now I turn to individual reports for the five ethnic minority radio stations.

7.2.5 Brief Report on *RSG FM*

My first port of call was Magdaleen Kruger's office. She is the station manager. In setting up the first meeting I communicated with Terrance April, the Station's Programme Manager. On meeting them, Ms. Kruger was more than wiling to meet me, we immediately set the date. Thereafter she took me on a tour of the station's offices and studios. While on this tour, I was informed by Ms. Kruger, that she believes her station has a much bigger role to play in South Africa's on-going process of social transformation and nation-building. In her view, this is because, *'...all the wrongs that were committed by the apartheid regime were done through Afrikaans Stereo FM, (now RSG FM), and so, all those wrongs have to be undone using RSG FM as well...'* This was quite a telling statement about the enormity of work she believes still lies ahead for them. She also added that since her station was *'used as the mouth piece by the Apartheid regime, most South Africans hate RSG FM, because to them it still stands as the last outpost of apartheid and a bastion of 'white racist'*

Afrikaans speakers.' However, she noted that this stands as another challenge, in terms of causing those psychological shifts.

I also had an informative engagement with the Programme Manager, Terrance April, although he was not willing to be interviewed. He was working on a busy schedule, and so, could not spare the time. Through him I was able to learn that the station listenership numbers were constant. A recent survey of RSG FM's weekly listenership trends also shows an interesting constant. Figure 4, below, shows weekly trends picked randomly from June 2009-June 2010. A weekly average, from Monday to Friday is also presented. From the listenership trends, it can be seen that the station enjoys a marked loyal listenership. Most of it was alluded to Afrikaans-speaking communities and the fact that the station's spectrum is country wide.
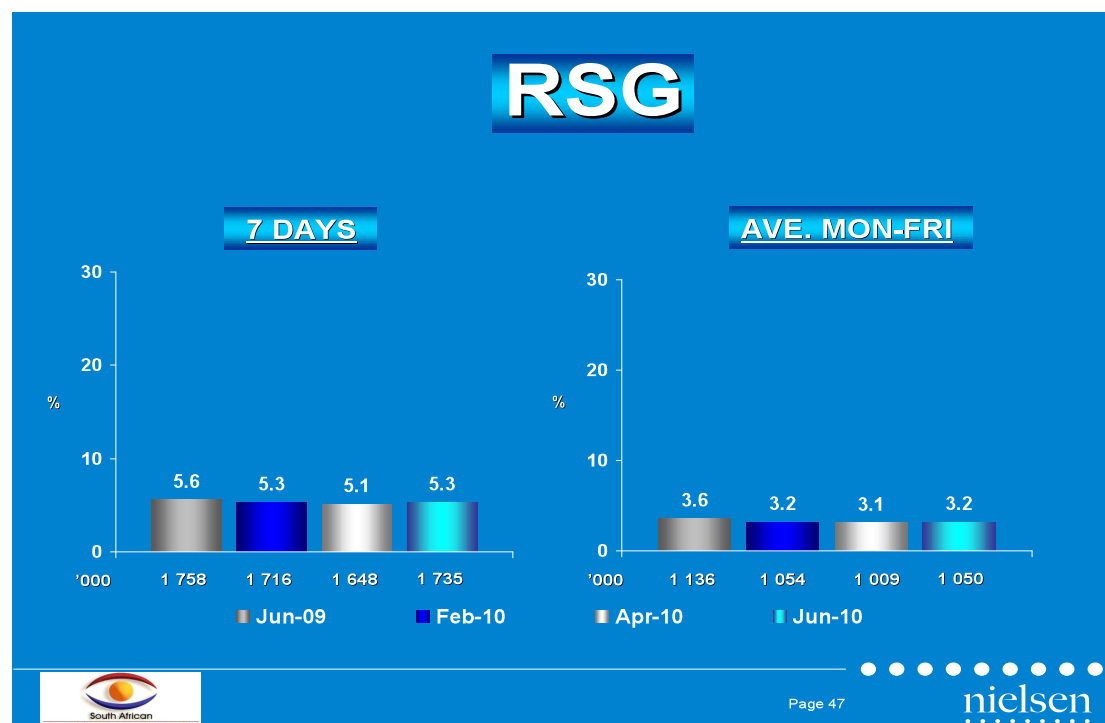
Figure 4. Showing weekly listenership trends (Source: SAARF 2010).

Terrance April was very instrumental, in setting up appointments for me with the station's presenters. Generally, reception at *RSG FM* was warm and everyone was willing to at least communicate with me. During my interview with Ms. Kruger I gained a lot of information about the radio station, its history and current state. She also gave me a book by Dunbar Moodie (1975), on *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*. The radio station has other branches in South Africa's three regions; Western Cape Province, Gauteng Province and Eastern Cape Province. It enjoys countrywide full coverage (see appendices for map of radio spectrum).

After discussion with the Station Manager, I was able to talk to other staff members (presenters), this time with the help of the Programme Manager, Terrance April. More detail on my research findings from *RSG FM* will be presented here and in the following sections. There is both qualitative and quantitative data. However, it suffices to highlight that following my research interviews there were quite a number of emergent issues. For example, I found that *RSG FM,* one of the oldest radio stations now operating under SABC, had managed to retain most of its staff who had served during apartheid. Established in 1937, it currently boasts of a permanent staff complement of 25 people. This figure can be further broken down as follows;

TOTAL STAFF FOR RSG FM	25
FEMALE	15
MALE	10
TOTAL	25
BLACK	9
WHITE	16
TOTAL	25
VACANCIES	0
TOTAL PRESENTERS	11
FEMALE	5
MALE	6
TOTAL	11
BLACK	6
WHITE	5
TOTAL	11

Conclusion:

Areas that need attention :	Male support staff
	Black support staff
Action:	Vacancies need to give preference to areas that need attention

Figure 5. Shows the total number of staff at RSG FM, including a breakdown in terms of gender and race. Please note that those being referred to as Blacks are members of the Coloured community (Source: Station Manager 2009).

The other emerging issue was that the station had embarked on the path of social transformation by rebranding itself. This was done by changing the name *Afrikaans Stereo FM* to *Radio Sonder Grense,* as discussed above. Most respondents said this name change was meant to shake the apartheid notion and a conception of

the radio station as being for White Afrikaners only. Impliedly, the notion of the radio without borders represents the removal of the restrictions that were enforced during the apartheid period, aggravated by the creation of physical boundaries. This name change, together with the new policy of employing Coloured presenters, was aimed at removing the psychological scars created by apartheid's borders. Most presenters I interviewed believed these policy shifts dismantled the barriers that were created by the continued violent enforcement of apartheid policies by the state. They also argued that it will take time for such policies to finally find buyers among the conservative White Afrikaners. According to one of my respondents, *RSG FM* in its bid to unshackle the bondage of apartheid and to lead the path of social transformation has embarked on development-related programmes, such *'as donating books to schools; a gesture of corporate social responsibility whose main focus is to project the image of change.'*

Added to the activities being undertaken, the station's major drive, according to the Station Manager, has been the enforcement of a policy of hiring those from previously disadvantaged groups, but who speak Afrikaans as a mother tongue. These groups included people from the Coloured communities, who can be classified as black. According to one specialist announcer and publicity officer who has worked with the SABC as a whole for twenty seven years, including with RSG FM, the station, *'...has managed to introduce a variety of people, including Coloured Afrikaans speakers.'* He added that, *'before 1994 we did not have space for them. Now we even have Coloured artists. RSG FM has done a lot to make the white listeners know and acknowledge the diversity of our other Afrikaans speakers that were marginalised in the past.'*

The station Manager, also added that at *RSG FM, 'we have a duty therefore to convince everyone that this radio station is for everyone and we try to show visibility and that we care, hence the slogan that RSG FM is "jou ma se stasie",* which means *RSG FM* is *"your mother's station."* She, however, acknowledged the challenges they are facing following calls by the Coloured communities who argue that if the Indian and some San communities have their own radio stations, why do Coloured people not have a radio station that serves their interests? I raised this question with the Group Executive Officer Current, Dr Snuki Zikalala. He acknowledged that this is a plausible call, considering that the South African government had taken the route of creating radio stations along ethnic lines, but was quick to add that in the past there were problems of frequency spectrum, both as a resource and for financial reasons.

He also stated that while the issue of frequency spectrum is no longer a problem following the advent of ICTs, lack of finances remains a major question.

Another issue that emerged is that the advent of majority rule brought a shift in terms of control and where power resides at SABC; that is, among Black people. One of my respondents noted that, *'what is happening now within SABC is that we are now beginning to see people jostling for power on the grounds of ethnicity, mainly between the Xhosa and Zulu, as major ethnic groups. There are complaints from the Indian and Coloured communities that Blacks are monopolising power.'* The latter was further echoed by most of those I talked to at SABC. I recall one incident when I was playing mini-soccer with some Coloureds, one was a presenter at *RSG FM*. They stressed their frustration following their marginalisation not only on ethnic lines, but also on race lines. One of them added that,

> ….these new policies create the picture of a good transformation process and positive change when it's not. I think we have departed from the philosophies of equality for all that guided the struggle. We now have a fake transformation of cadre deployment and cadre empowerment. Imagine this, less than 3% of Coloured people in SA are in Management positions, yet coloured people make up 9% of South Africa's population. 4,5% of the population is sitting in different prisons. Also a sizable number of young Coloured men between the ages 25 – 35 form the majority of dead bodies in mortuaries. This, in essence, means that the Coloured community is a population that is slowly dying. We are forced once again to move into ethnic issues. Otherwise, we shouldn't be talking this if there was positive change in SA. South Africa is deeply entrenched in this ethnic accommodation crusade; this explains why Coloured people cannot find space while other ethnic groups are being accommodated. A lot of us, Coloured people, who work for *RSG FM,* are unhappy people; we only have to know our space.[109]

Further to these changes, most Coloured presenters interviewed said they faced a lot of challenges of acceptance, since *RSG FM* was traditionally a radio station for white Afrikaans-speakers. One female presenter even added that, *'our listenership is still located in the old white ideology. Some white Afrikaners still believe that this is their last bastion, as a result they want it to preserve their Afrikaner culture.'*

Another presenter added:

> ...within the station it's 'us' and 'them.' We are still being put in our place. Most White Afrikaners seem to have withdrawn from most activities that involve everyone. Even within the SABC, as a public radio station we seem to be having our own "boerestaat." We are operating on our own; we do not get involved with the staff from other radio stations. We are not touched by the culture of the day at the corporation.[110]

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[109] This was said by one of my interviewees in Johannesburg at *RSG FM*, also a member of the Coloured community. His identity shall be protected. The interview took place on 11 March 2009.
[110] I had this interview with one of the presenters in March 2009, in Johannesburg at SABC, Radio Park.

A general trend of discontent and resentment could be gleaned from most of my Coloured respondents. Another Coloured respondent even said;

> In all of these structures of the post 1994 unification process us, the minority, are not taken into perspective. As a minority within the station all the time we have to conform. The majority voice matters and oppress us. Now at *RSG* the majority of listeners are still white, yet they are minority in terms of the language speaking. There are more Coloured people who speak Afrikaans which is more original than that of the white Afrikaners. We are the originators of the language because it started as a slave language spoken by the Khoisan slaves. The language was then abused during apartheid. It was used to enforce apartheid policies, and so, it ended up appearing as if it is the white man's language. The language originally belongs to us, the Coloured people.[111]

The above statement presents a telling picture of ethnic relations among Afrikaans speakers within the radio station and at SABC as a whole. It also emerged that among the Afrikaans speakers there are two types of dialects; the White dialect and the Brown dialect. The White dialect is spoken by White Afrikaners, while the Brown dialect is spoken by the Coloureds.

From the statement above, one major issue that emerged from my interviews is that of the rivalry between the Brown and White dialects among the Afrikaans speakers at *RSG FM,* with Coloured people feeling marginalised. As a result, it became apparent that *RSG FM,* while attempting to champion the cause of social transformation and the notion of a 'Rainbow Nation', has the challenge of divisions between dialects, which also emerges as an issue of race relations. Another point to note is that most Coloured respondents argued that by being marginalised they think it is more advantageous to identify more closely with their ethnic groups, and they are proud to belong to them first, before considering themselves South Africans. However, all my white respondents professed that they are proudly South African first before anything else. They added that Afrikaans, which is their ethnic group, comes second.

The following is *RSG FM's* Organogram.

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[111] This follows one of my interviews with one of the Coloured respondents at *RSG FM* in March 2009.
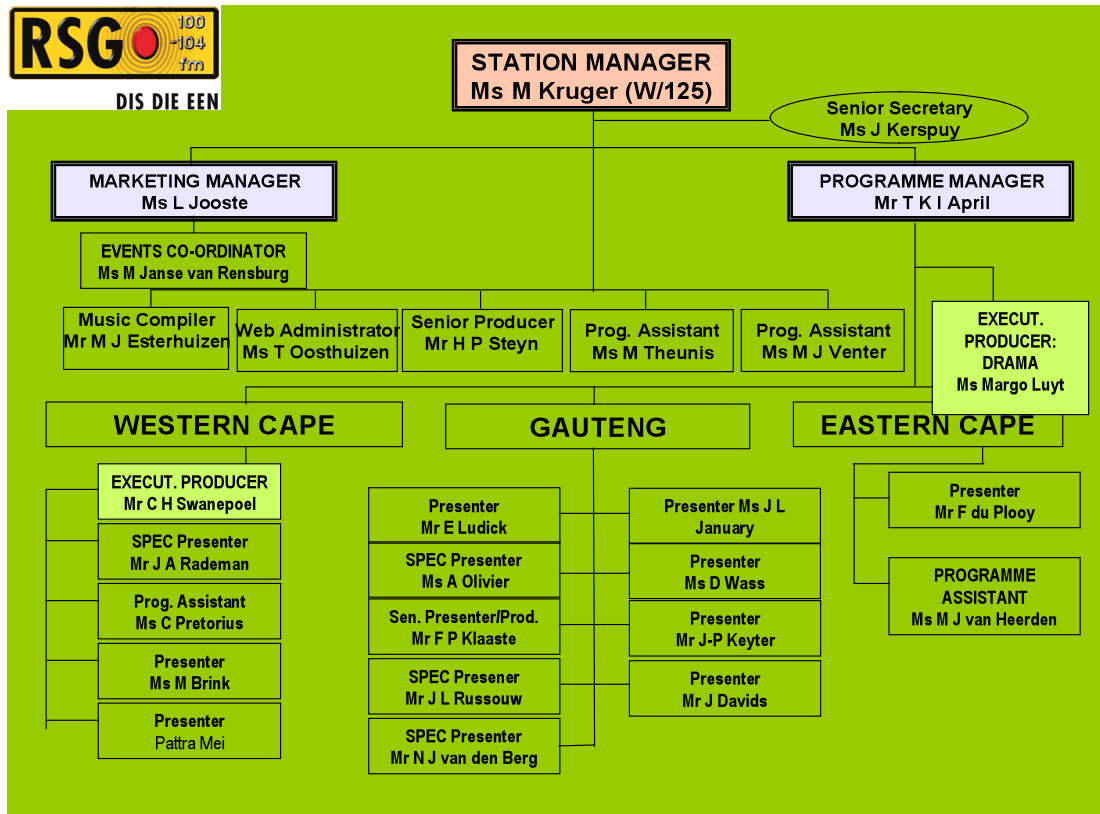
Figure 6. An organogram presenting the internal arrangement at *RSG FM*. (Source: Training Manager – PBS 2009).

7.2.6 Brief Report on *Munghana Lonene FM* and *Phalaphala FM*

After my visit to *RSG FM,* I proceeded to Polokwane, where *Munghana Lonene FM* and *Phalaphala FM* are located. Polokwane, formerly Pietersburg, is the administrative city of Limpopo Province (see appendices for more information on its location). It is worth emphasising that during and after the attainment of independence, this city continued with the name Pietersburg following the history of Apartheid and its dominion. Following recent political developments in indigenisation; that is, a nativist state sponsored policy of renaming various places and streets using South Africa's indigenous names, Pietersburg was renamed Polokwane. There is a lot of contestation, however, regarding the name's actual meaning, but, it is a name derived from the Pedi (Northern Sotho) of South Africa, and is believed, by those who feel strongly, to mean, 'a place of safety.'[112]

This city houses the provincial legislature for the Limpopo Province, as a result of South Africa's federal project on its system of governance. Three main groups are found in Polokwane; the Pedi (also known as the Northern Sotho), Tsonga

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[112] This information came from one of the taxi drivers who used to transport me to and from SABC Building in Polokwane. This information was confirmed by a security guard at the entry point to the building.

(also known as Shangaan) and the Venda. Each ethnic group has its own radio station as already presented. Three radio stations are located in Polokwane; *Munghana Lonene FM, Thobela FM* and *Phalaphala FM,* representing the Tsonga, Pedi and Venda, respectively. From my interviews with the General Manager in charge of these radio stations, Zamambo Mkhize, I was told that they had started on a project of combined broadcasting to encourage their respective listeners to celebrate brotherhood and being South Africans in a 'Rainbow Nation.' She also told me that these combined broadcasts helped in conscientizing their listeners to avoid ethnic clashes and xenophobic attacks in June, 2008. Due to this, these radio stations have earned themselves the label the 'Limpopo Combo.' Above all, the major thrust is to encourage the cementing of ethnic relations. I was also informed that the two radio stations (*Munghana Lonene FM* and *Phalaphala FM*) have a loyal listenership from their ethnic communities. Figures 7 and 8 present weekly trends, randomly analysed by SAARF, for the two stations from June 2009 to June 2010. A weekly average per month is also shown in the two figures below.
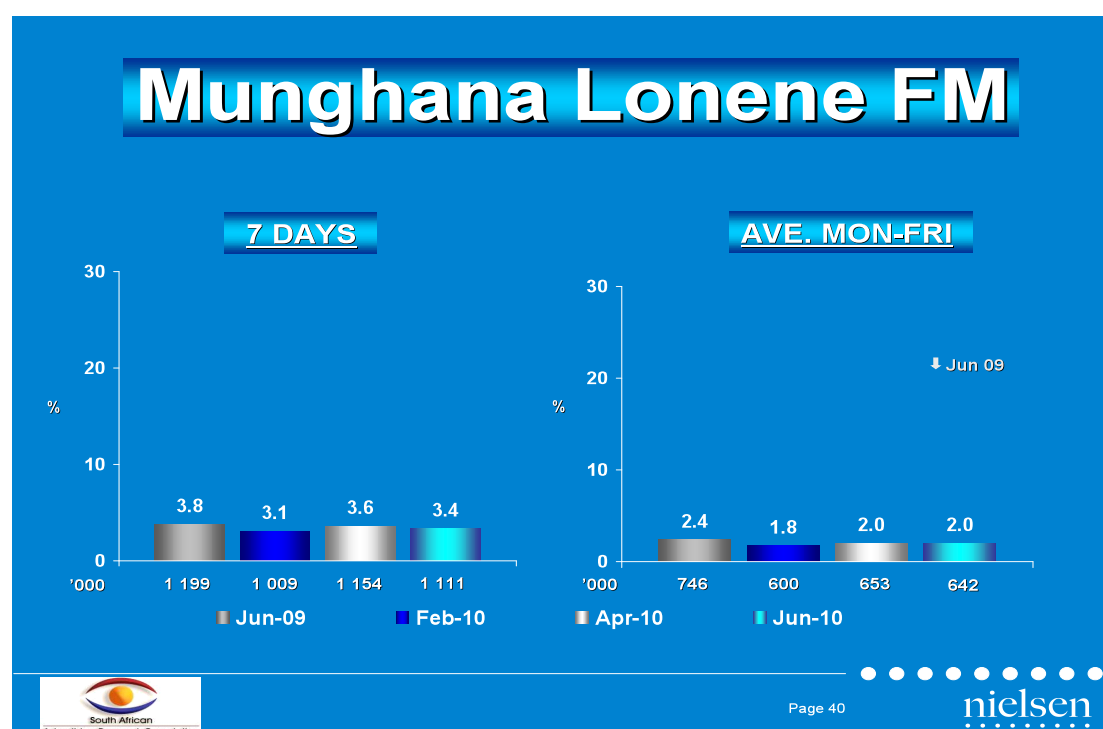
Figure 7. Shows the station's weekly listenership trends. (Source: SAARF 2010)

This is followed by that of Phalaphala FM. The figures differ on the basis of the ethnic groups they serve. Figure 8 below also presents interesting weekly listenership trends.
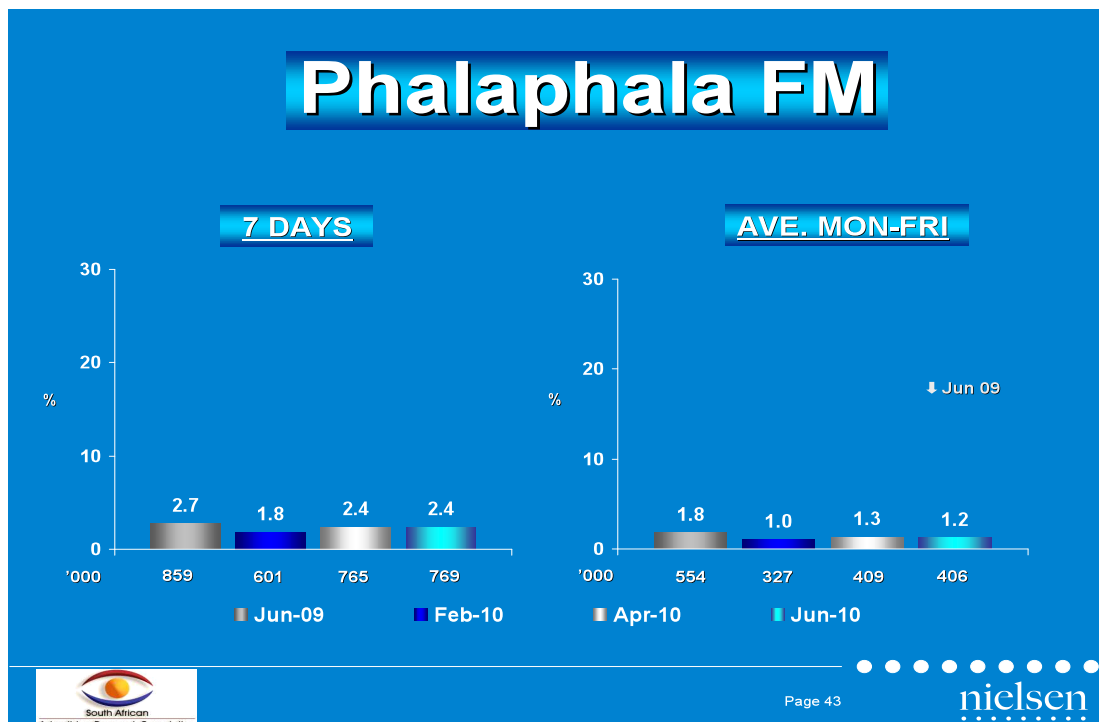
Figure 8. Shows the station's weekly listenership trends. (Source: SAARF 2010)

As stated above, the station's figures vary depending on listenership communities targeted. In order to read the figures, columns represent the percentage of listenership while the rows are the population figures tabulated in '000s' (thousands). Each month is shown in a different colour.

My visit to Polokwane was for two weeks, given my limited resources. I enjoyed a great reception from the two station managers; Fred Sadiki of *Phalaphala FM* and Tsakani Baloyi of *Munghana Lonene FM*. Upon arrival I was offered an office at *Phalaphala FM*, at the behest of Fred Sadiki. I also had unlimited access to the offices of the Programme Managers for these two radio stations. Being given an office was a warm welcome and made my work much easier. The Programme Managers for *Phalaphala FM,* Tshaamano Nepfumbada and Thelma Ngobeni, who was acting Programme Manager for *Munghana Lonene FM,* set out to prepare an itinerary of interviews and the names of my respondents. I enjoyed the warm welcome, as I was co-hosted by these two radio stations and could easily cross over to the other station, *Munghana Lonene FM,* with no problem. I observed that these stations enjoyed cordial relations, following recent efforts to combine broadcasting, but they each enjoyed keeping their space and arrangements. That broadcasting is done separately is, for them a sign of plurality and the celebration of diversity which grants them independence in their own spaces, not a sign of division. It also allows them to mingle out of their own volition. It was added that they celebrate this

arrangement because, by having their own radio stations, they are able to make their listeners proud of their languages and listeners develop a sense belonging to their ethnic groups.[113]

Following those combined broadcasts sessions, the stations are now popularly referred to as the 'Limpopo combo', meaning 'Limpopo Combined.' One of my key informants added that these radio stations are regarded highly by their listeners because they broadcast in their local languages. I was told that people in the Limpopo region regard these radio stations highly, mainly because of the languages they are broadcast in. This large following stems from the fact that radio still commands a larger audience than other media, such as TV and the press. The main reason, as I was told, is that the greater part of the population lives in remote and rural areas. As a result, not everyone has access to electricity for TV, but with a radio they can still use small batteries. Added to limited electrification, there is a low literacy rate, which adds listenership figures to these three radio stations, as people always prefer radio. Recent statistics from Research and Analysis of Media results (RAMS) for *Munghana Lonene FM,* show a significant audience recovery from 1,199,000 in May, 2009, to 1,238,000 in August, 2009, an increase of almost 39,000 listeners was registered. This increase was mainly registered in the Gauteng Province. RAMS for *Phalaphala FM* are pegged at between 865,000 and 1million.

However, during the interviews I was informed that following recent trends to combined broadcasting for some special activities within the region, and having them broadcast in different languages from the same place, has managed to reduce problems of ethnic clashes. The station managers for *Munghana Lonene FM* and *Phalaphala FM* further informed me that these gestures in combining their radio broadcasts also extend to cross visitations, as the stations visited each other's domain. For example, when *Munghana Lonene FM* has a function in Giyani, one of the major towns for Tsonga people, the other two radio stations (*Phalaphala FM and Thobela FM*) also travel there to combine broadcasting. They added that this move aims to inculcate the spirit of oneness among them as South Africans, thus emphasising the notion of a 'Rainbow Nation.' These combined intermittent broadcast sessions are said to have started during the xenophobic violence of June 2008.

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[113] Station Manager for *Munghana Lonene FM,* during our long trip to Johannesburg in which she narrated a long history of her people and how proud they are of being Tsonga. I learnt from her narrative that they are all proud of being granted their separate spaces as different ethnic groups. She even added that this *at* does not alienate them, if anything, it serves to create a sense of belonging to their people and to the state (South Africa).

Furthermore, these radio stations, as public broadcasters, are housed within SABC regional offices. The big building housing them has the SABC logo displayed outside, with no station names on it. According to one of my respondents, it was agreed that the building use the SABC logo, since attempts had been made to have all of the three radio stations' names, and had caused a lot of ethnic contestation. Another respondent also told me that what had aggravated the situation was that the Pedi are in the majority in the region. As a result, there is always a contest for control of, and access to, resources. Two other ethnic groups (Tsonga and Venda) considered to be minority groups, felt that by placing the name *Thobela FM* ahead of theirs, it would mean that they were not respected as South African citizens.[114] Furthermore, I was informed that the building used to house *Thobela FM,* so it was commonly known as *Thobela FM.* When the other two radio stations were brought in at the start of the transformation process, there was need for the building to be renamed in a way that would depict inclusivity. This caused a lot of debate; and, to some extent, ethnic hatred among the three ethnic groups.

At *Phalaphala FM* and *Munghana Lonene FM* a total of 20 people were interviewed; that is, 10 from each station. More information on the responses and data obtained will be presented in the following section. *Munghana Lonene FM's* staff complement can be broken down as follows:

PEOPLE
Headcount Analysis

Staff Composition	Actual
Total Staff Composition (Excluding Freelancers)	17
Male	11
Female	6
People with Disability	1
Permanent	17
Fixed Term Contracts	8

Management Composition	Actual
Total Composition	6
Male	3
Female	3
People with Disability	None
Permanent	5
Fixed Term Contracts	1

Freelance Composition
• Total   : 19
• Female   : 8
• Male   : 11
• Disability   : 1

SABC
Vuka Sizwe!

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Figure 9. Shows the breakdown of the staff complement at *Munghana Lonene FM.* (Source: Office of the Programme Manager, *Munghana Lonene FM*, 2009).

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[114] Information obtained from a respondent during research conducted in March, 2009.

The other slot of 19 freelance staff; can be further delineated as follows: those dealing with Drama, that is, actors and artists, Religion, for example, Ministers of Religion (Church Pastors), etc., (refer to appendices for more information on the station's programmes). However, the noticeable trend is that news and current affairs programmes control the majority staff share as shown above.

Phalaphala FM has a staff complement of 37: that is, 18 permanent and 19 freelance staff. Further, the spectrum for *Munghana Lonene FM* covers Limpopo Province (please refer to Appendices for spectrum coverage), as the main target, Gauteng Province and some parts of Mpumalanga, such as Nelspruit. The station also enjoys a listenership in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. This is because, in these two countries, Tsonga communities are also found and enjoy strong ties with their counterparts in South Africa. They even boast that in Mozambique the founding State President, Samora Machel, was Tsonga, and so they have a close affinity with Mozambique. The Programme Manager also gave a narration of the station crew's visit to Mozambique to market their station. She added that the reception was overwhelming.

Phalaphala FM has a spectrum which covers the greater part of Limpopo Province (please refer to Appendices for spectrum coverage), it covers the Musina area stretching towards Zimbabwe. In the Southern part of the country it covers Gauteng Province. A proposal has been made for it to also extend to some parts of Northwest Province. The station also enjoys a substantial cross border following on the Zimbabwean side among the Venda ethnic group of Beitbridge.

Following the above information it, suffices to further highlight that some of the emerging issues within the two radio stations are that all my respondents emphasised that they are proud of belonging to their ethnic groups first, before considering themselves South Africans (refer to Figure 25 & 26, on pages. 227-8). It will suffice here to quote the words of a Venda respondent, who emphatically stated that; *'I am proudly Venda first, everything else follows, even being South African follows.'* Another, who is Tsonga, said; *'I am Tsonga first, everything follows.'* These statements corroborate Mapule Mbalathi's views in Chapter Six.

My data analysis showed that a 100% of the Venda and Tsonga feel they belong to their ethnic group first, ahead of being South African. In the five ethnic minority radio stations, a staggering 78% emphasised that belonging to their ethnic group came first, then belonging to South Africa. All respondents further acknowledged that these ethnic minority radio stations have inculcated in them the spirit of belonging to their ethnic groups first. Furthermore, it became clear during

interviews that these arrangements in having radio stations broadcasting in their local languages had become a necessity to them, since it had started during apartheid.

However, most respondents also stated that while apartheid was bad in terms of its policies, in terms of being granted broadcasting space as different ethnic groups, for example, they argued that this was a positive move, despite the fact that some objected to apartheid policies, which they accused of aiming to encourage 'divide and rule' tactics. Furthermore, responses obtained from interviews also show that most presenters hold that these radio stations (*Munghana Lonene FM* and *Phalaphala FM*) serve as symbols of their peoplehood. Their views were that had these stations not existed, their languages would have suffered, since they are considered minority ones, which they also feel is a sign of being despised by those from major ethnic groups. To them without the radio broadcasting in their languages, their people would have lost their sense of belonging, and that would have divided South Africa on ethnic lines. In view of this, one respondent said:

> ….Possibly, even this whole thing of a Rainbow Nation and the statement 'Proudly South African', would not have any meaning. These radio stations have worked like a glue (adhesive effect) in South Africa. If anything they do not divide us, but unite us. Remember due to this arrangement we do not feel coerced to belong to South Africa as a whole, and so, we identify with South Africa in my view out of our own volition.

The following are diagrammatic perspectives showing the organisational structures for the radio stations: *Phalaphala FM* and *Munghana Lonene FM*.
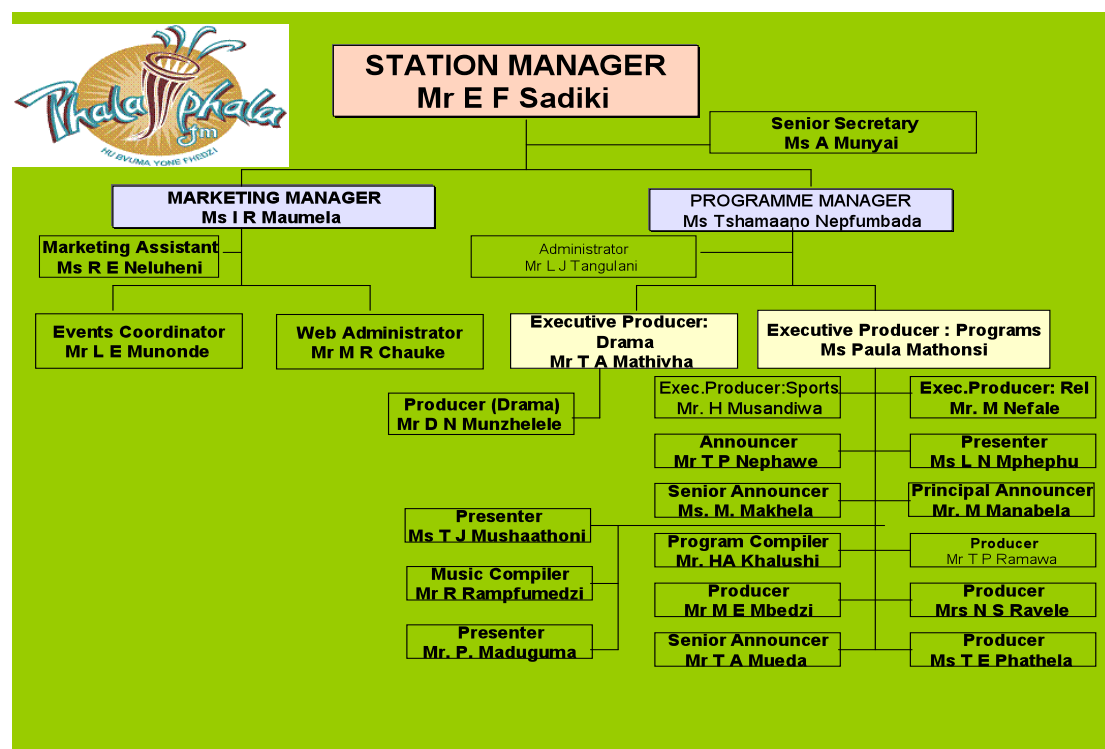
Figure 10. Shows the internal organisation of *Phalaphala FM.* (Source: Training Manager – PBS 2009).
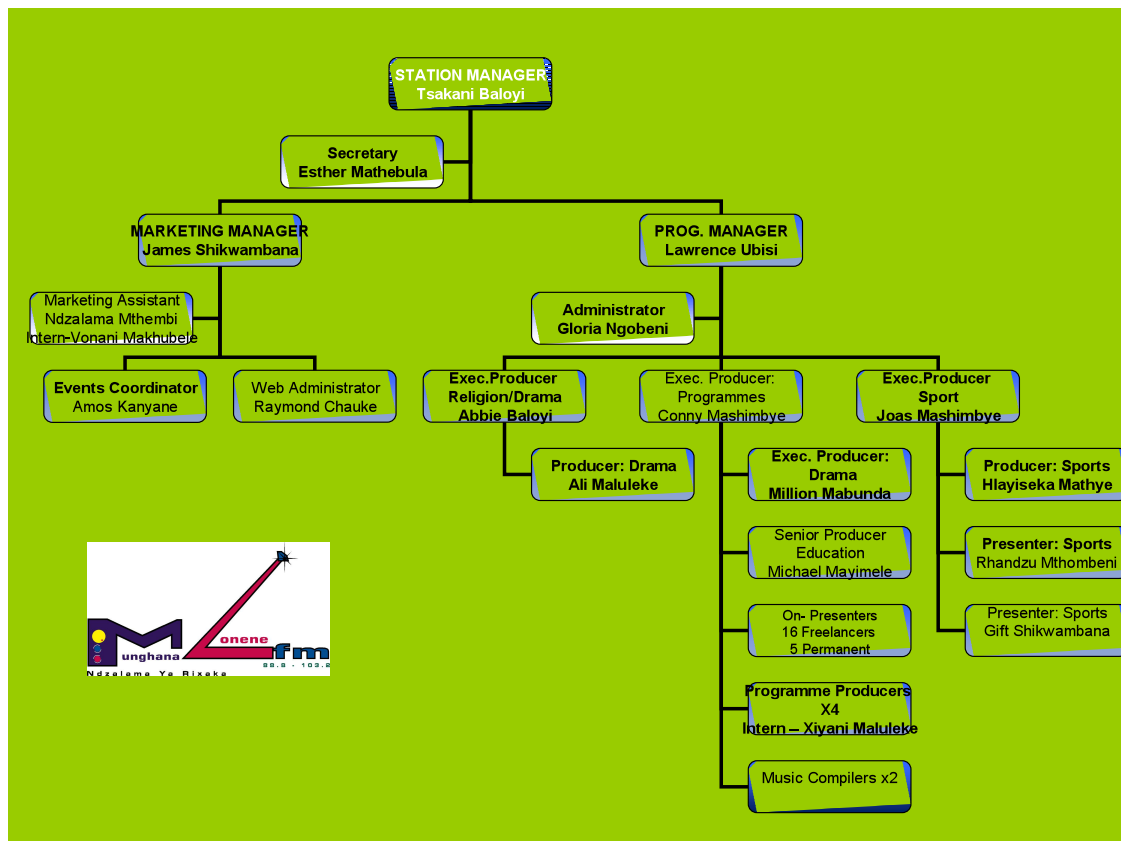
Figure 11. Shows the internal organisation of *Munghana Lonene FM.* (Source: Training Manager – PBS 2009).

7.2.7 Brief Report on Lotus FM

Contrary to responses from the Venda and Tsonga people in Polokwane, the responses from Indian respondents at *Lotus FM* were quite different. Four respondents emphasised that they were South African first, before being Indians or celebrating their ethnicities. They added that, to them, being Indian is only a form of identity derived from their physical outlook that present a link with India as their place of origin. For them, this is a transient form of identity, considering that within South African Indian society there are five different ethnic groups; Tamil, Telegu, Hindi, Urdu and Gujerati. One respondent also added that:

> …being considered as Indians is in fact a mistake, because that is calling us according to the name of another country when some of us do not have a clue what actually happens in India. Some of us have never been there but we are called Indians. Why can we not be called South Africans? If you wish, you then can call us, South Africans of Indian Origins.

The position above shows how transient they understood their identity to be. Console Tleane and Jane Duncan (2003: 103) similarly propose a revisiting of these regional stations as they see them as divisive rather than being likely to cause cohesion.

Before presenting some of the emergent issues from Lotus FM, including responses obtained through interviews, it suffices for me to highlight that, contrary to the warm reception I had received at *Munghana Lonene FM* and *Phalaphala FM* (in Polokwane), I received a relatively hostile reception at *Lotus FM.* Further, I would add that *Lotus FM* is one of the two main stations located in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal Province; a few kilometres to the Indian Ocean (please refer to map of South Africa). *Ukhozi FM,* a Zulu station is the other public radio station based in Durban, it boasts of a listenership of between 4 and 6million (please refer to SAARF 2010).[115] Figure 12 below shows the station's listenership trends per week. They are randomly picked from a few selected months between June, 2009, and June, 2010. The station has a loyal listenership, as stated above, and since it broadcasts in English it also has some listeners who are not necessarily from the station's target audience.
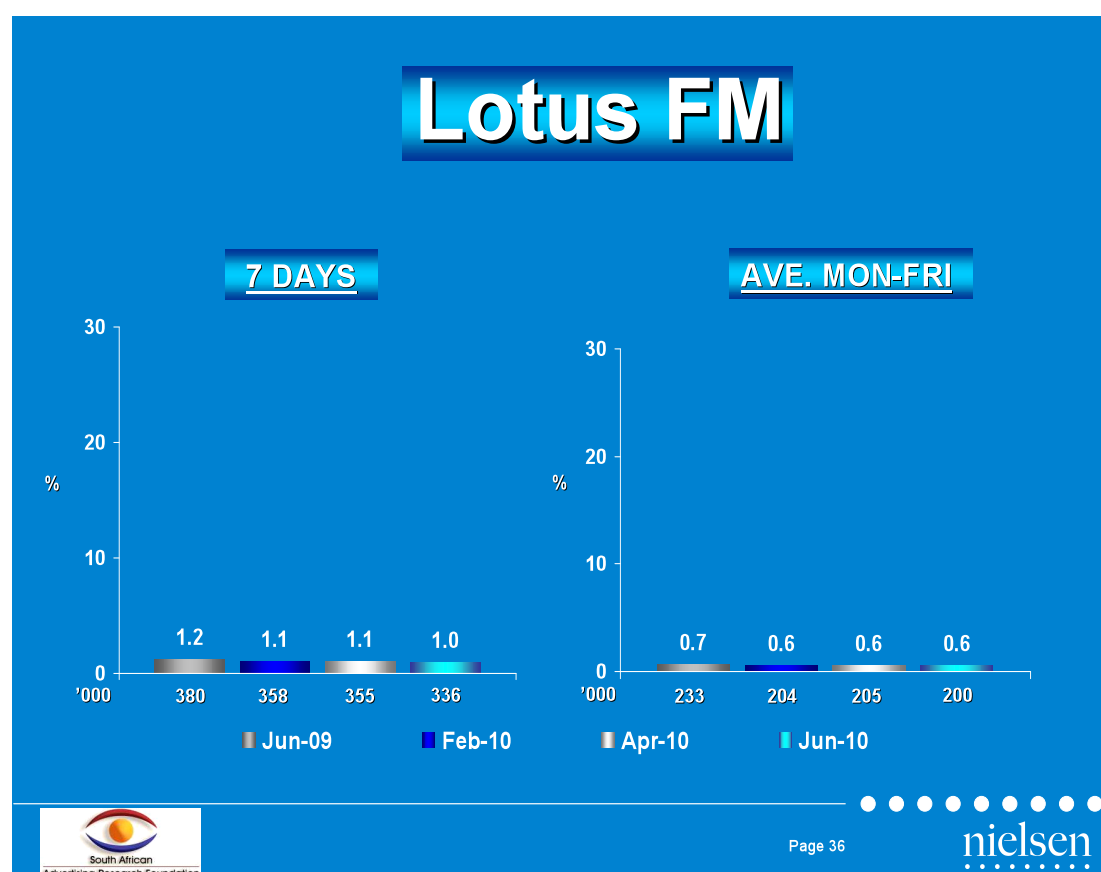
Figure 12. Shows the station's weekly listenership trends (Source: SAARF 2010).

Durban is located in the South-Eastern tip of South Africa. It is renowned for the amount of revenue that it generates as one of Southern Africa's busiest ports, in one of its richest regions. Durban, a city popularly known as eThekwini, in South Africa, forms the administrative city of KwaZulu-Natal Province. The dominant

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[115] For more information on these RAMS, please refer to; http://www.saarf.co.za/

ethnic group in this province is Zulu, followed by a marked population of people of Indian origins. It goes without saying that ethnic rivalry also exists here between Zulus and Indians. *Lotus FM* is also a major station in the region, with an audience that ranges between 500,000 and 1 million. This means that there are only two public radio stations in KwaZulu-Natal: *Lotus FM* and *Ukhozi FM*.

I made efforts to communicate with the station management when I was still in London. Based on the very informative response I received from the station's Web Administrator, Krishnan Nair, I then set out to do research in Durban. I also obtained permission to access the station and to conduct interviews from the General Manager at SABC. Following these developments, I then attempted to communicate with the station's management team, in particular, the Station Manager or Programme Manager. I visited *Lotus FM* at the SABC building having communicated with them about my research trip by an email sent from Johannesburg, SABC Headquarters. At first, the Station Manager, Gail Samuels, stated that they were quite busy with deadlines. I had to wait patiently. It took a couple of days for me even to access some of their staff.

The diagram below shows the organogram for *Lotus FM*
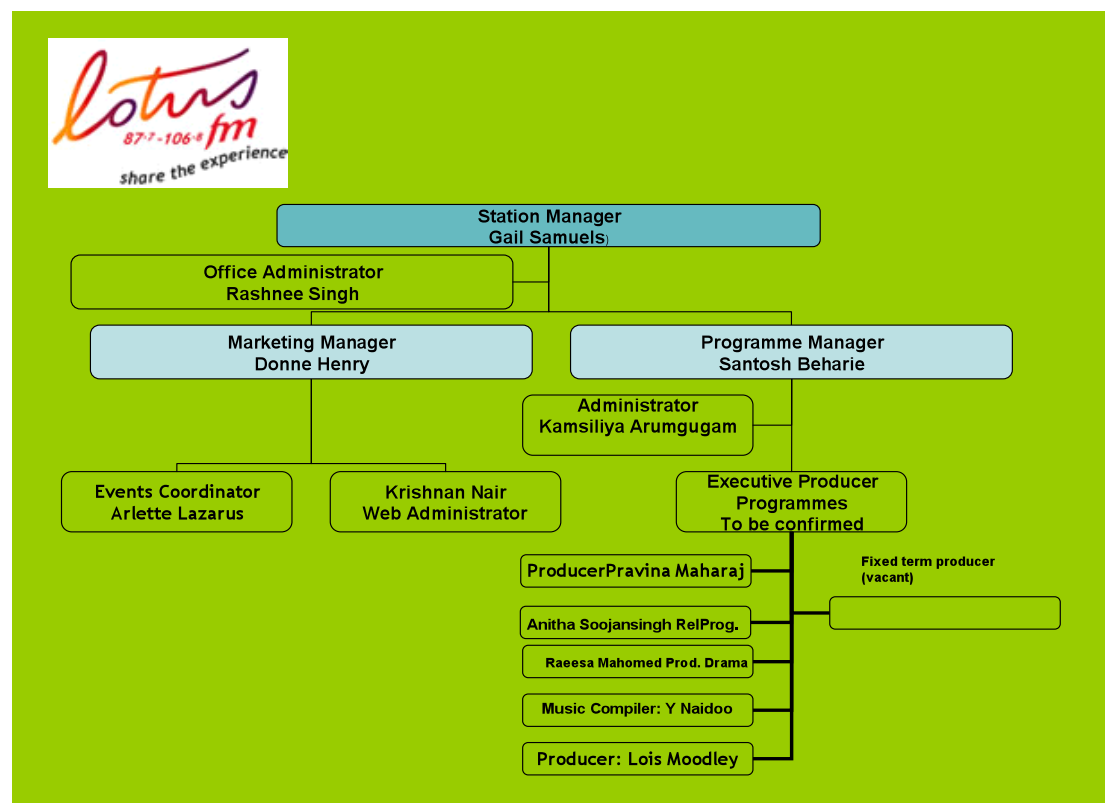
Figure 13. Shows the internal organisation of *Lotus FM*. Source: Training Manager – PBS (2009).

Finally, after discovering that I had been in Durban for almost a week without interviewing anyone, I had to devise another strategy. This time, I had noticed that the Station Manager was not eager to communicate with me, so each time I went to the office and was informed that she was not there; I would immediately book presenters who were available for face-to-face interviews. They all agreed, but this had to be a random choice, as it also depended on their availability, since the interview also had to be conducted promptly, without having to set an appointment. However, there were some presenters who requested an appointment after a day or two. These were few. It was after another week of employing this strategy, that I managed to interview 8 people, including the Programme Manager, Santosh Behari. He was one of the last people I interviewed. I failed to interview the Station Manager and the Marketing Officer, as they showed unwillingness to be interviewed.

Despite this minor set-back, I still managed to gain information. Quite a number of issues emerged from my interviews. The first was that most of my respondents argued that there is need for more broadcast hours for the five Indian languages: Urdu, Hindi, Tamil, Gujarati and Telegu. At the moment, broadcasting in these five languages is pegged at five hours per week, which means an hour per language (please refer to appendices programme schedule for more information on programmes). My respondents also added that most of the station's broadcast is mainly in English. The reason for this, according to follow up interviews with senior officials at SABC was said to be because most people of Indian origins in South Africa have embraced English as their language of communication. When I also raised this response from the SABC officials, some of my Indian respondents strongly protested, pointing out that this explains why the Rainbow Nation is going to face a lot of future problems. One lady said:

> …while we celebrate being South Africans, sometimes some of our people end up feeling left out. As you can see, if we do not broadcast in our own languages what are we then? .....A people without their own languages? Then what are we celebrating here as part of a broader diversity programme of the Rainbow Nation?'

This is quite telling about the deeply entrenched issues of ethnic marginalisation and divisions that exist in South Africa, despite the 'rainbow' concept. This statement further confirmed what one of my SABC respondents had said during one of my engagements with ordinary staff members at the SABC staff Canteen, TV section, he said:

> …My brother, this thing called Rainbow Nation is far from us, it belongs to those at the top and their white friends. Us and our languages in the villages and our regions are always left there to feel happy and enjoy that our languages are on air,

but that has no meaning for the broader picture of the Rainbow Nation. It is a 'Rainbow Nation' for the élite, having been started by Mandela and his comrades, not us.

The statement above was part of a conversation after playing one or two rounds of mini-soccer on a challenge basis. It was quite revealing, in particular, about people's perception of the grand picture of a 'Rainbow Nation.' This position also emerged during my research at SABC.

However, one interesting oxymoron was that, despite this negative feeling, some respondents at *Lotus FM,* as stated above, still held the belief that they are South Africans first, before belonging to their different ethnic groups. I interpreted this as a direct result of the lack of more broadcasting in their languages, which would entrench the feelings of belonging I had witnessed among the Venda and Tsonga in Polokwane. However, it also emerged that by constantly referring to them as Indians, most of my respondents felt this was alienating and it caused them even to shift in terms of their level of patriotism.

Another emerging issue is that of the marked ethnic differences among the five ethnic groups, arranged according to the five languages mentioned, above. It also emerged that Lotus FM has a large North Indian following, in particular, Hindus. These differences also seem to follow religious lines. I was told by one respondent that Christian groups are being marginalised. The reason, according to my respondent, is that they are seen to have sold out, because Christianity is seen as a white man's religion. Furthermore, there were said to be divisions around the history of certain Indian festivals and their dates, for example, Diwali. One presenter said;

….The North Indians seem to have so much of control, for example, the case of Diwali. The South Indians always get annoyed when the North Indians fail to acknowledge date specifications of Diwali, as agreed on by the religious leaders…

Another issue related to that above is that there are four programmes that broadcast in Tamil, Telegu, Gujarati, Hindi, and Urdu; that is, at 7-8PM, Monday to Friday (please refer to appendices for more information). Added to the North Indian bias, it emerged that there is a contest between North and South Indians. My respondent added, '…that this is an issue of Tollywood vs. Bollyhood...' There is also a clash of music, again along the five ethnic lines, in particular, through regional identities; North and South. In response to the latter, a policy is said to exist which suggests that when playing music, for every piece from the North there should be one from the South. The North, for the Indians in South Africa, is composed of the Hindi,

Gujarati and Urdu ethnic groups, while the South is composed of the Tamils and Telegus.

Around the issues raised above, the station is said to be operating quotas that are defined in the licence conditions. For example, the station has 60% of North Indian broadcasting, 30% of South Indian broadcasting and 10% in English. Mainly, these relate to music. However, it also emerged that English, as a language of broadcasting, plays a major role in bridging these North-South divisions.[116]

7.2.8 Brief Report on *X-K FM*

X-K FM is located in a small village, Platfontein, in the outskirts of Kimberley (please see Appendix for the location of Platfontein). Its footprint covers a limited radius of 30 kilometres (Mhlanga, 2010). The !Xû and Khwe moved to Platfontein between 1999 and 2003, while some remained at Schmidtsdrift, where they continue to be employed by the army. The radio station is a fairly new development and serves the two ethnic communities whose spoken languages are different.[117] Generally, !Xû resemble the San phenotypically, whereas the Khwe and their language have fewer clicks and a limited use of the hard palatal, thus showing striking similarities with the general Bantu languages. This can also be gleaned from their surnames.[118]

The two communities are settled on a high level plateau, but are separated from one another by the school and the radio station. The !Xû are located in the northern part, covering a wide area due to their numerical advantage. The Khwe are located in the southern part, towards Kimberley and the main road, and are numerically fewer. In between the two communities there is the school, the radio station, and business centre.

I first visited Platfontein in 2006 when doing research for my masters' degree. I engaged in various activities in a bid to be part of the broader society. In my recent research visit (early 2009) I was warmly welcomed, like a member of the two communities. This made it easier for me to settle within the communities, since they all remembered me. On arrival, the station manager, Regina Beregho, together with

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[116] These views were first echoed by the one of the SABC official interviewed in Johannesburg at SABC Headquarters in February 2009, and was later confirmed by one of my respondents at *Lotus FM* interviewed in Durban in April 2009.

[117] The radio station was formed in August, 2000, and according to information from interviews, people started settling in Platfontein between 1999 and 2003

[118] This includes my own observation, since most of their surnames were similar to those used in some communities in Zimbabwe, where I come from. These surnames are: Kapungu, Kabwata and many others also found among the Nambya, Tonga and Shona people of Zimbabwe. Douglas also attempts to give a background to the two communities. In so doing, he ends up linking them up with various Bantu groups found in Namibia, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

her assistant, Malton Edburg, helped to set up my interview itinerary with the stations' presenters. I was offered a makeshift office in the Station Manager's office for the duration of my stay in Platfontein.

Fig. 14 is a diagrammatic presentation showing audience breakdown for *X-K FM* among the !Xû and Khwe. It attempts to provide a detailed presentation of the audience population following a survey conducted in 2005. Fig. 15 shows the station's organisational arrangement for the period 2007/8. The organogram also represents the current organisational set-up at *X-K FM.*
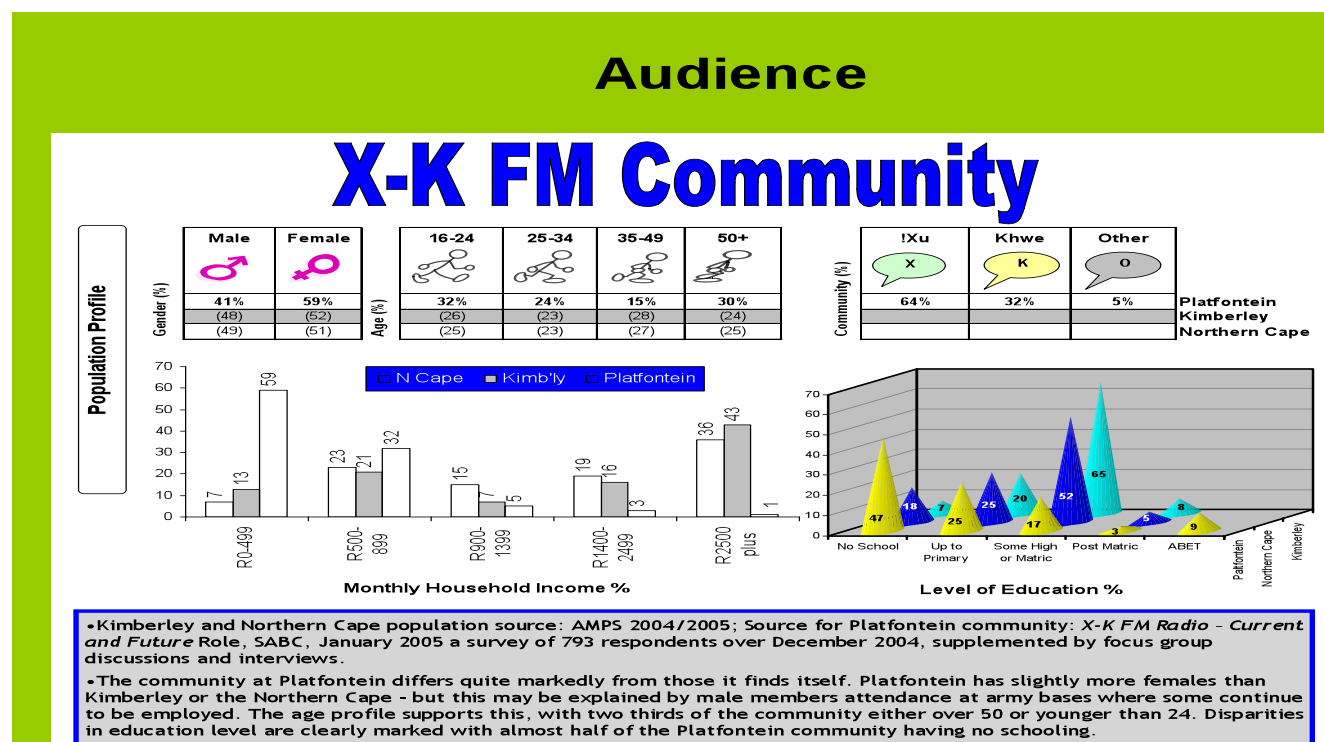
Figure 14: Shows a break down of the audience population for *X-K FM.* (Source: Station Manager – *XK FM - 2009).*
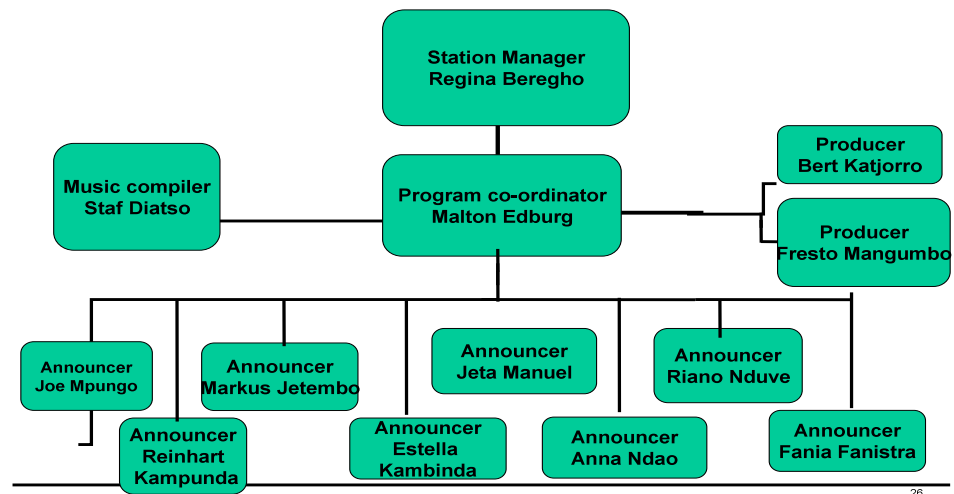
Figure 15: Shows the internal organisation of *X-K FM*. (Source: Training Manager – PBS 2009).

The main issues that emerged from my research were that the radio station was created for the two ethnic communities because; firstly, they share a similar historical background, in that they moved together from Angola and Namibia. Secondly, it was noted in my interviews with SABC officials that due to limited resources they could not afford to have two separate stations for the two ethnic communities. I was further told that this was aggravated by the small size of their populations and so they could not be offered two radio station licences as this was not economically viable.

However, it also emerged that this arrangement created a lot of challenges: ethnic hatred, suspicion and, in some instances, violent conflict. Due to this, a policy had to be formulated which ensures that two people are employed at the same time for every recruitment to *X-K FM;* that is, one from the !Xû and the other from the Khwe. This, as I was informed by the Station Manager, is part of ethnic balancing. Furthermore, it emerged that the reason for this social arrangement was the violent ethnic conflicts that have marred these two communities since they settled in South Africa in 1989. The respondents also added that ethnic clashes were a common feature in their communities as late as 2003. However, they observed that the advent

of a community radio station and the continuous churning out of information about social problems had caused the two communities to work together, although they still prefer to maintain separate arrangements in terms of settlement patterns. One community leader, who also works closely with the radio station, is from the Khwe ethnic group. He told me that; *'for the first time in our history we have managed to work together and even share solutions to our problems, even if we are two different communities.'*[119] He added that they have learnt a lot from presenters, as models for how feasible it is for people from the two communities to work together and shape their future. Observations revealed that the Khwe tend to look down upon the !Xû. Hence, the use of derogative names like: *n#hã,* used by the !Xû when referring to the Khwe, while the Khwe call the !Xû, *n!hae.*[120] It is also argued that the crisis of ethnic relations was also exacerbated by the selective treatment they received from SADF, favouring the Khwe at the expense of the !Xû. They even favoured the Khwe for educational opportunities ahead of the !Xû (Douglas, 1996; Mhlanga, 2006, 2009).[121] As a result, Khwe people have higher literacy levels than the !Xû, thus locating the Khwe on a higher step of the social mobility ladder.

7.3 Responses from Face-to-face Interviews with SABC Officials

In presenting responses from face-to-face interviews with SABC officials, the style used will be similar to that used above in the case of radio stations. A total of 12 SABC officials in their various capacities in public service broadcasting were interviewed. The same questions used for the 49 respondents from the radio stations above were also used with SABC Officials. It is worth stating, however, that there was also a question guideline with questions specific to them. Given that only 12 people were interviewed, the data generated fits the focus of a qualitative study, but cannot be presented using statistical variables as it is quite small. As a result, this section will be a qualitative summary of their responses.

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[119] These were the views of one member of the Communal Property Association, a community structure created to address issues in their communities. This structure is blended of members of the two communities and operates like a secretariat with offices located 5km into the farms owned by the two communities. The views were expressed during my interaction with the CPA in the offices from August, 2006, to date.

[120] Information on the use of derogatory names was obtained from Erasmus Matesta, a !Xû. Matesta assisted me in 2006 as my research assistant. He gave this information in emphasising ethnic differences between the two communities. These terms can be pronounced in the following way: 'n!hae', used by the Khwe in depicting the !Xû, can be pronounced as 'ngcaye.' It means people who come from the bush. The name 'n#hã', given to the Khwe by the !Xû, can also be pronounced as 'nca'. When probed about the meaning, they said it has no meaning, but depicts the way the Khwe speak.

[121] This information is also based on discussions with people in the field. It also depicts ethnic cleavages that still exist in the community.

This is also because most of their responses have been presented in the remainder of the thesis and, in particular, in Chapter Six. Regarding the responses to the question: Have policy makers, politicians and public radio station staff managed to entrench feelings of ethnic belonging and the quest for groups to be part of the nation-state project? It is worth emphasising that the concept of ethnicity in such research is considered very sensitive and has been criminalised in furtherance of nationalist goals. Even within South Africa, a state that has retribalised, the sensitivity of the term 'ethnicity' remains evident. As a result, I had to explain how ethnicity can be used positively, for example, one's participation in a global village without losing one's identity. Following this explanation, the responses obtained were slightly more open, although they tended to border on the needs of most SABC officials to want to feign, or present, a picture of an ethnic free radio broadcasting arrangement. This is also because, while the state has openly retribalised, various cultural descriptors of their perception of ethnicity elsewhere in Africa have gained conventional acceptance. Ethnicity, in particular, in its retrograde sense, which is perceived as 'tribe', is still viewed with scepticism and suspicion. For most respondents, there is no clear cut understanding of what ethnicity is, for example, phrases like, 'cultural diversity', 'language identity', 'class' and 'Rainbow Nation', have gained acceptance in the discourse around ethnic relations in a bid to avoid openly discussing ethnicity. Ethnicity is like the proverbial 'elephant in the house.' However, the reality, as it emerged, is such that SABC, as a para-statal, owns more than 10 ethnic radio stations. Furthermore, these ethnic radio stations broadcast in 10 of the constitutionally mandated South African ethnic languages. Responses from 12 SABC officials to the above questions were positive.

On the question about the reasons and objectives behind the establishment of ethnic minority radio stations: pre-1994, all the 12 respondents expressed that these radio stations served to further the goals of apartheid, which were to entrench the state through 'divisive ways and for propaganda reasons.' In response to the second part of the question, on the post-1994 period, all 12 respondents defended their continuation, citing the need for radio in the service of the social transformation process. They also emphasised that these radio stations have been transformed into public service broadcasters, despite still serving different ethnic groups. This showed how they understood the political demands of their unfolding environment, given the new demands of a transitional arrangement in South Africa.

The other question asked was: Do you think programming in public radio stations has managed to ease ethnic tensions? All 12 respondents emphasised that this

is still work in progress, primarily because they all argued that apartheid had left deeply entrenched feelings of lack of trust among South Africa's ethnic groups. They further argued that the formation of these radio stations as propaganda machinery during apartheid and within homelands had encouraged hatred for other ethnic groups.

7.4 Statistical Presentation of the Data from the Five Radio Stations

In presenting a statistical representation of responses from the five ethnic minority radio stations, a descriptive analysis of the responses/data was made on the key questions. It must be noted that a question guideline with 45 questions was administered. However, not all the questions will be represented; only a few selected key questions will be used to illustrate the responses. As stated above, eventually, 49 people were interviewed from the ethnic minority radio stations. Focus in this area is on the frequency distribution of responses given by interviewees (or respondents) to these selected questions. A frequency distribution is a list of all responses to a given variable or question, showing how many respondents from the sample gave each of these responses. From this analysis, we are able to see, from all possible responses to a given variable, how many people listed each response. This is usually converted into a percentage with 100% representing the entire sample. This analysis focuses on the percentage indicators. However, it is worth emphasising that in order to understand the statistical figures, below, one has to constantly refer to the appendices for a detailed question guideline for the questions were turned into variables and the tabulated variables are presented as Microsoft Excel spreadsheets in the appendices.

The data was input into Microsoft Office Excel 2007 for Windows, an application that is part of Microsoft Office. In order to do the inputting, 45 questions were each given a variable and then coded (see appendices for a question guideline with coded variables). Following this, all the responses were then analysed as variables on Microsoft Office Excel 2007. The subtitles written in bold, below, represent paraphrased questions from which variables were derived.

Number of languages spoken by respondents, in addition to their mother tongue

Respondents were asked about the number of languages, other than their mother tongue, they speak. The pie chart below presents the distribution of the number of languages spoken. Specifically, each slice indicates the proportion of the percentage of respondents who speak a specified number of languages. Figure 16 shows that 41% of the sample speaks one language in addition to their mother language; 25%

speak two additional languages; 12% speak three; 18% speak four, while only 6% speak six languages in addition to their mother tongue.
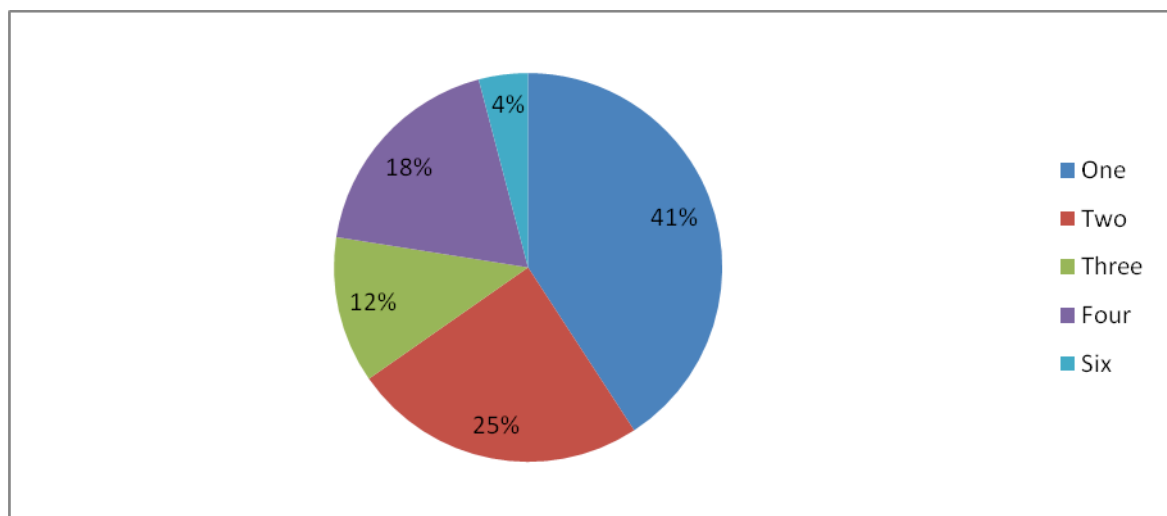
Figure 16: A Pie-Chart showing the number of languages spoken by each respondent.

Reasons for continuing with the ethnic radio stations established during apartheid post-1994

For the radio stations established before 1994, respondents were asked what they thought were the reasons for their establishment. Respondents belonging to these radio stations were 38 of the 49 interviewed. These included the following radio stations: *Lotus FM, Munghana Lonene FM, Phalaphala FM,* and *RSG FM.* Two main reasons were given by these respondents: propaganda (the station was meant to be used for propaganda and control) and ethnic empowerment. Note that these responses are not mutually exclusive; that is, respondents could mention both or either of the two. The distribution of these responses is presented in Figure 17, below, which shows that the majority of respondents (slightly over 70%) believed radio stations established before 1994 were meant to be used for propaganda and control by the apartheid regime. Only close to 37% also mentioned ethnic empowerment as one of the reasons for establishing pre-1994 radio stations, thus presenting an interesting trend, which was also picked in the post-apartheid period. It is clear from these responses that while the apartheid regime may have used these radio stations to assert their control through churning out propaganda, to most ethnic communities in the Bantustan homelands these ethnic radio stations also had a function of re-awakening ethnic consciousness. At least, through these responses we can glean human agency, as they negotiated their way through the state's ownership structures.
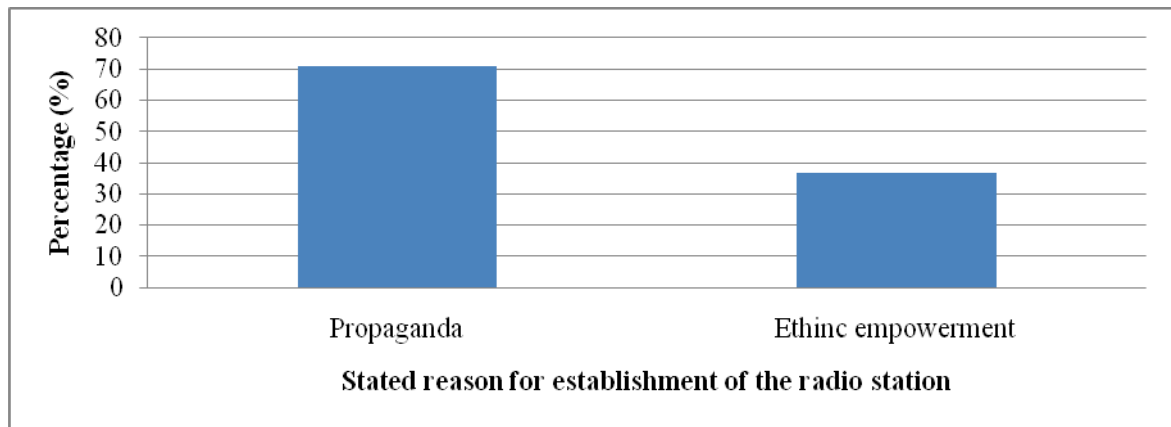
Figure 17: Stated reasons for establishing radio the station

However, when the respondents were asked what they considered to be the reasons for continuing the radio stations after 1994, their responses could be grouped under two main categories: nation-building/social transformation and ethnic empowerment. Fig. 18, below, indicates that close to 66% of respondents mentioned ethnic empowerment as the reason for continuing post-1994, while close to 63% mentioned nation-building and social transformation. That propaganda and control is not mentioned here reflects changing perceptions and realities following the end of apartheid. However, as discussed in Chapter Eight, it might also be as a result of the shrewd nature of the new hegemony, which is able to create social negotiation and consent among the people. However, as Antonio Gramsci (1971) argues, in a hegemonic arrangement, ideas, values and beliefs are not imposed from above, neither do they do develop in a free and accidental way, they are, instead negotiated through a series of social encounters and collisions of classes. Ultimately, what emerges is the feeling of ownership of a process by the masses, which feeling is managed by the elite. This feeling and perspective continues to run as the defining thread among the masses. This view will be discussed in the following chapter.
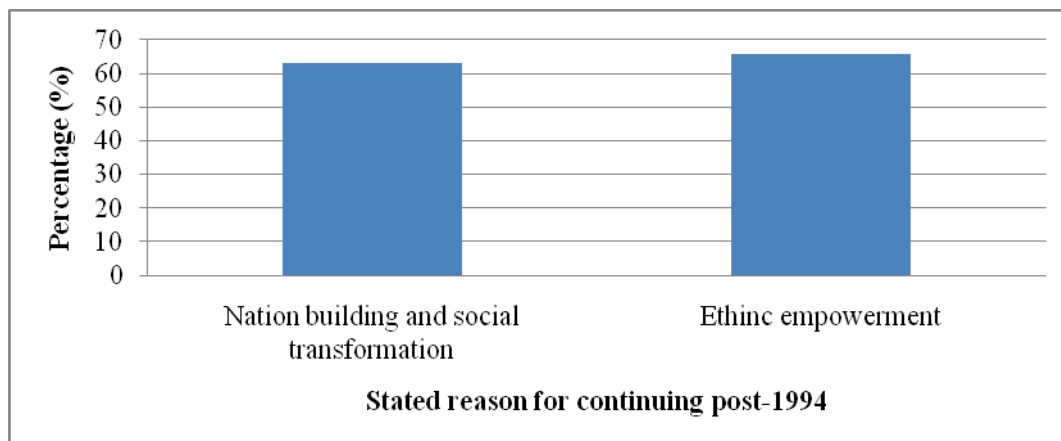
Figure 18: Stated reasons for continuing post-1994

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When asked which stakeholders/ key players/persons were involved in the formation of the station in the post-apartheid period, responses included the government, ICASA, IBA, Language Board SA, the regulator, ANC, SABC, the business community, as well as the public or communities. For analytical purposes, ICASA, IBA, Language Board SA, regulator (ICASA), and ANC were grouped under Government. The local communities consist of ordinary people, chiefs, other traditional leaders, religious groups, among others. The distribution of responses is presented in Figure 19, below. The most commonly mentioned stakeholder among the 49 respondents was the government (around 84%), followed by local communities (55%), SABC alone consists (53%), while the least mentioned is the business community (only 14%). A strong relationship exists between the first two responses; one that identified the government and the other that identified local communities. This is because, following the analysis made in Figure 18, above, most ethnic communities had negotiated and internalised the notion that these radio stations actually belong to them, by virtue of broadcasting in their languages. As a result, when the new era set in, pressure was on the new leadership to work with the various ethnic communities to ensure the continuity of these ethnic radio stations. However, the role of government was to assist in the restructuring of these radio stations and to licence them through an independent body, ICASA.
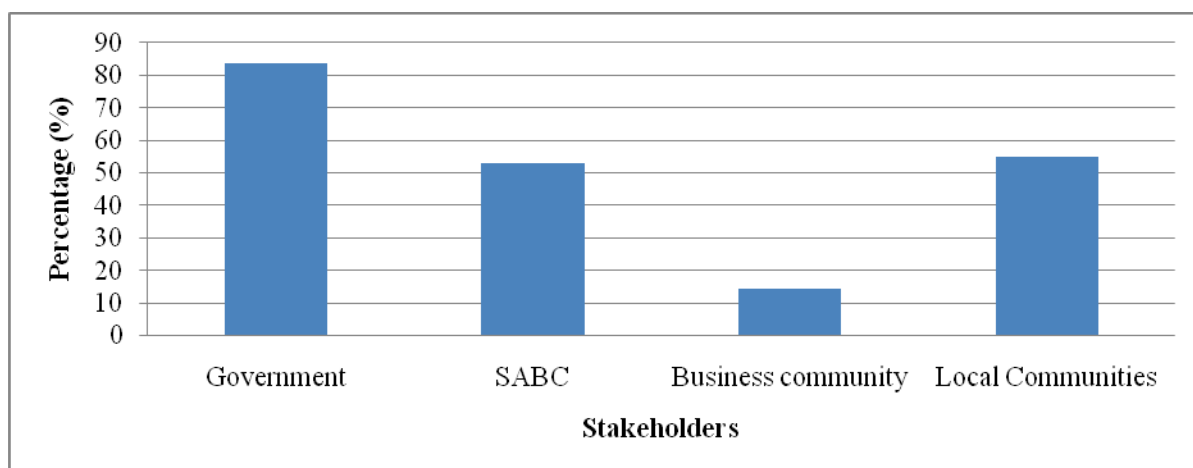
Figure 19: Stakeholders involved in the formation of the radio station

Do you consider your station to be a Community radio station?

Interestingly, while the stated major stakeholder was the government (see Fig. 19), when asked whether they considered their radio stations as community radio stations, a majority answered in the affirmative. Specifically, the data reveals that 71% (35 respondents) of the respondents considered their radio station to be a community

station. This is illustrated in Fig. 20, below. However, as shown in the information above, this is a result of years of social forms of tacit negotiations through human agency and internalisation, whereby ethnic communities ended up acknowledging these radio stations as their stations. Further, the issue of language for broadcasting is a major determining index for this response. The perspective most people have of the government being formed by representatives from these ethnic communities encourages this view.
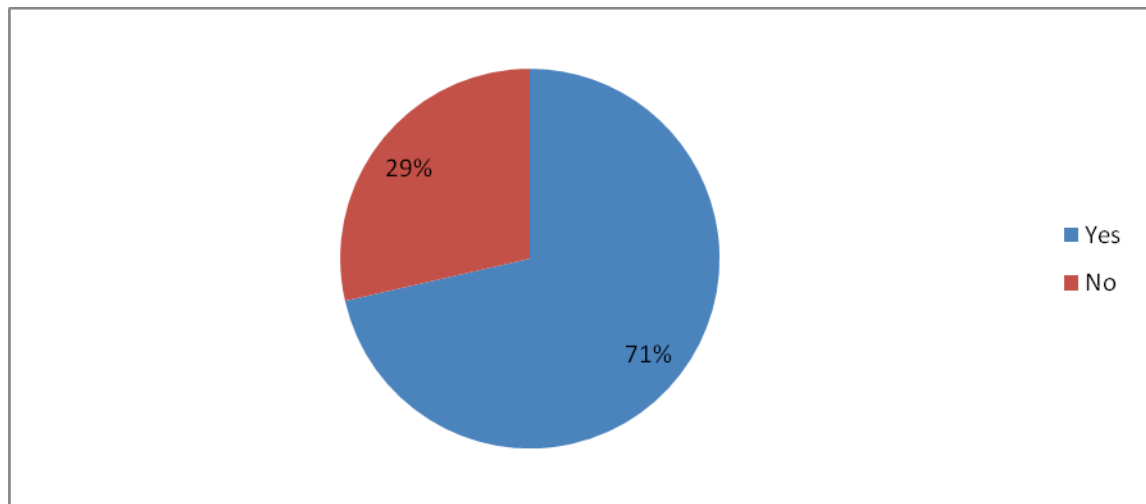
Figure 20: Whether the station is considered to be a community station

Does your station serve any distinct ethnic group(s)?

When asked whether their radio station served any ethnic group, an overwhelming 96% answered in the affirmative. These responses, when presented in a table before being translated into a pie-chart, look like this:

Ethngp	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
No	2	4.08	4.08
YES	47	95.92	100.00
Total	49	100.00	

Figure 21: Showing frequency of responses as tabulated data in Percentages

Only 2 people (4%) responded negatively. They came from RSG FM. Their argument was that Afrikaans is now spoken by people from across ethnic divides. In their view, the station's listenership, while it is for the traditional Afrikaans speakers, was crossing over to other speakers. This is represented in Fig. 22, below.
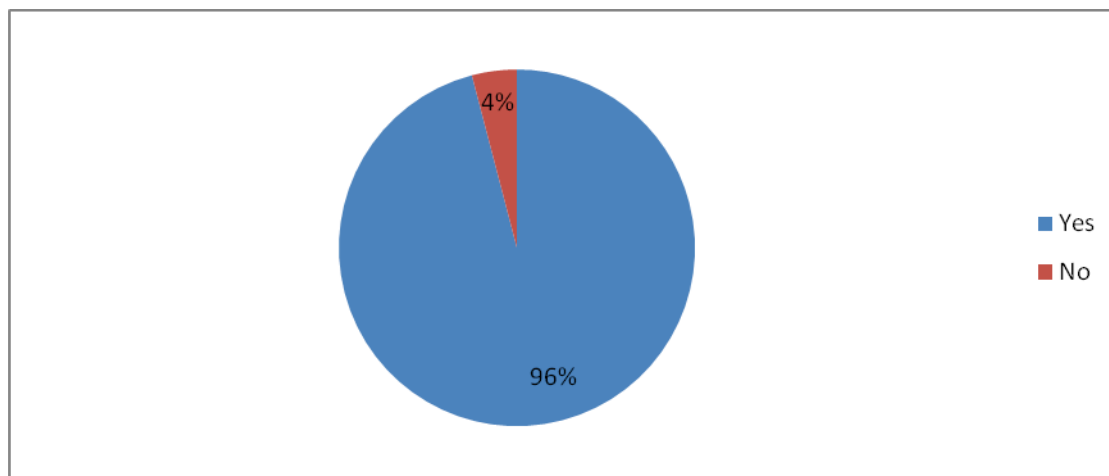
Figure 22: A Pie-Charts showing the views of respondents on their understanding whether they think their stations serve distinct ethnic groups.

Given the above, do you, as an ethnic group, claim political rights to the state?

When asked whether the respondent's ethnic group claims political rights to the state, 78% answered in the affirmative. This question can be further represented as a table:

Ethright	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
No	11	22.45	22.45
Yes	38	77.55	100.00
Total	49	100.00	

Figure 23: Showing frequency of responses as tabulated data in Percentages.

11 people (22%) argued that they are being treated as outsiders. These answers came from a mixture of respondents from *Lotus FM, RSG FM* and *X-K FM.* At *Lotus FM* and *X-K FM,* they pointed to the view that they are still considered to be immigrants and that treatment varies. Whereas, for *RSG FM,* most responses from the Coloureds, as stated in Chapter Six and this chapter, said that they felt marginalised as a group. This is represented in as a pie-chart in Fig. 24, below.

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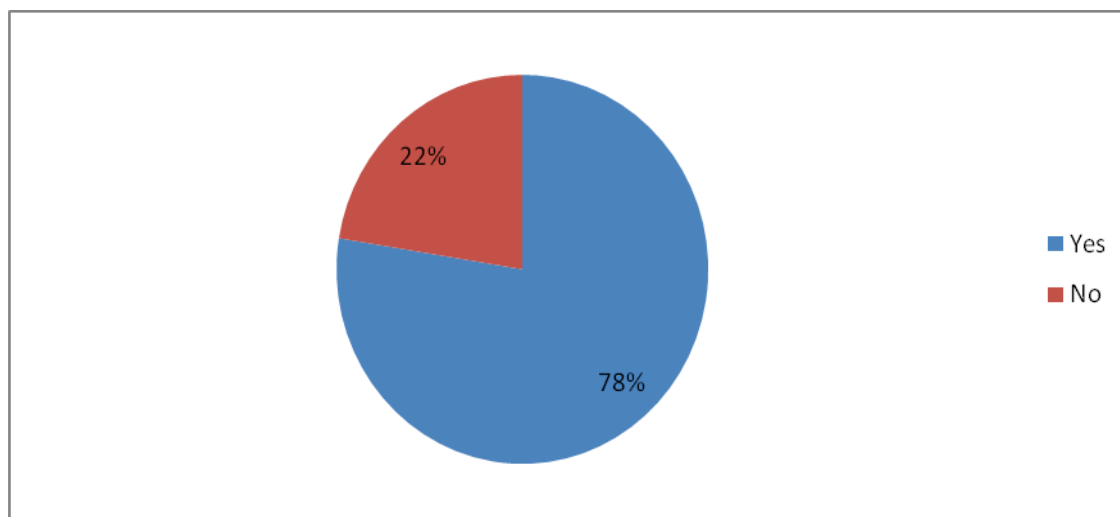
Figure 24: A Pie-Chart showing people's responses on whether their ethnic groups claim political rights to the state.

In view of your ethnic identity and belonging; which one comes first to you; your ethnic group or being South African?

78% of respondents indicated that they consider themselves as belonging to their ethnic group first, before being South African. This presents the notch of retribalisation as aprocess. The reason for the 22% is that, at *Lotus FM,* some respondents argued that while they still have their ethnic languages, some now seem not to be able even to speak in those languages. As a result, they argued that English has now become like a mother tongue. They added that since it is an official language, it follows that South Africa comes first to them. However, they did highlight that there are a few issues about which they are not happy, but those issues did not dent their nationalist feelings. A table of responses looks like this:

Ostateth	Freq.	Percentage	Cum.
!Xû first	5	10.20	10.20
Afrikaaner first	4	8.16	18.37
Indian First	4	8.16	26.53
Khwe First	6	12.24	38.78
South Africa First	11	22.45	61.22
Tsonga first	10	20.41	81.63
Venda first	9	18.37	100.00
Total	49	100.00	

Figure 25: A table showing frequency of responses as tabulated data in Percentages.

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The table above shows a breakdown of ethnic responses from various ethnic groups. One is able to understand the story being projected here around the ethnic groups' sense of ethnic belonging vis-à-vis belonging to the state.

However, it is worth emphasising that a sizable number of Afrikaans-speaking respondents, mostly white, at *RSG FM,* argued that given the transformational epoch they felt a sense of duty to assist in the dismantling of apartheid's structures and culture. To them, being South African had to be placed at the apex as a major ideal. This is shown in Fig. 26, below.
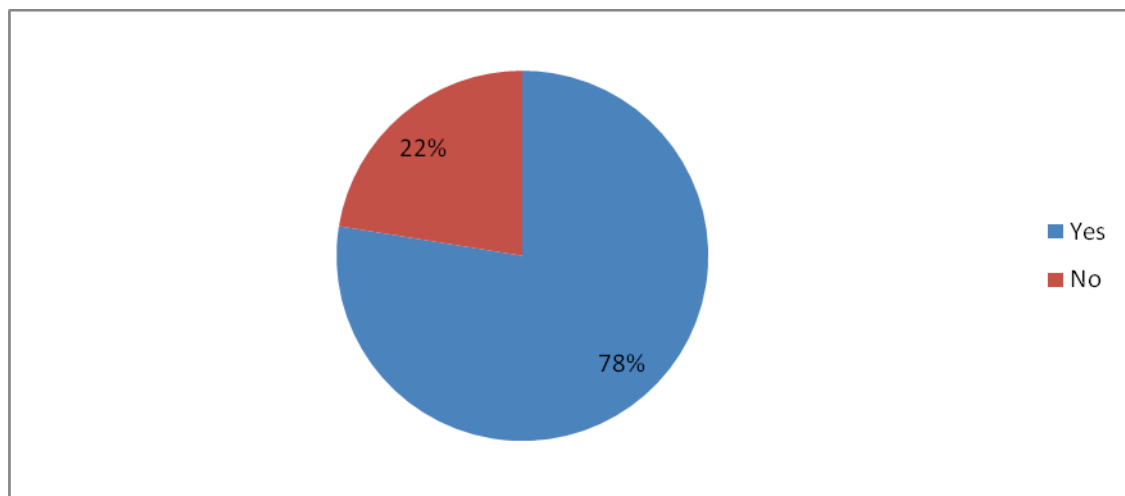
Figure 26: A Pie-Chart showing people's responses on whether they consider themselves to be belonging to an ethnic group first before the state.

Is there a clearly laid down staffing policy that takes into consideration language or ethnic representation in your radio station?

The table of responses from this question can be presented as follows:

Staffrep	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
No	1	2.04	2.04
Not sure	5	10.20	12.24
Yes	43	87.76	100.00
Total	49	100.00	

Figure 27: A table showing frequency of responses as tabulated data in Percentages.

Around 88% of respondents indicated the presence of a laid down staffing policy that takes into consideration the language or ethnic representation in their radio station. Only one respondent (2% of the sample) said no such staffing policy existed in their station, while five respondents (10%) were not sure whether or not such a policy existed. While most respondents acknowledged the presence of such a policy, it is here that the case of a presenter at *Ukhozi FM,* DJ S'bu, who was forced to relinquish his post because it was argued that he is not Zulu, must be considered.

Fig. 28, below, is a pie-chart showing the responses, as presented in the table above.
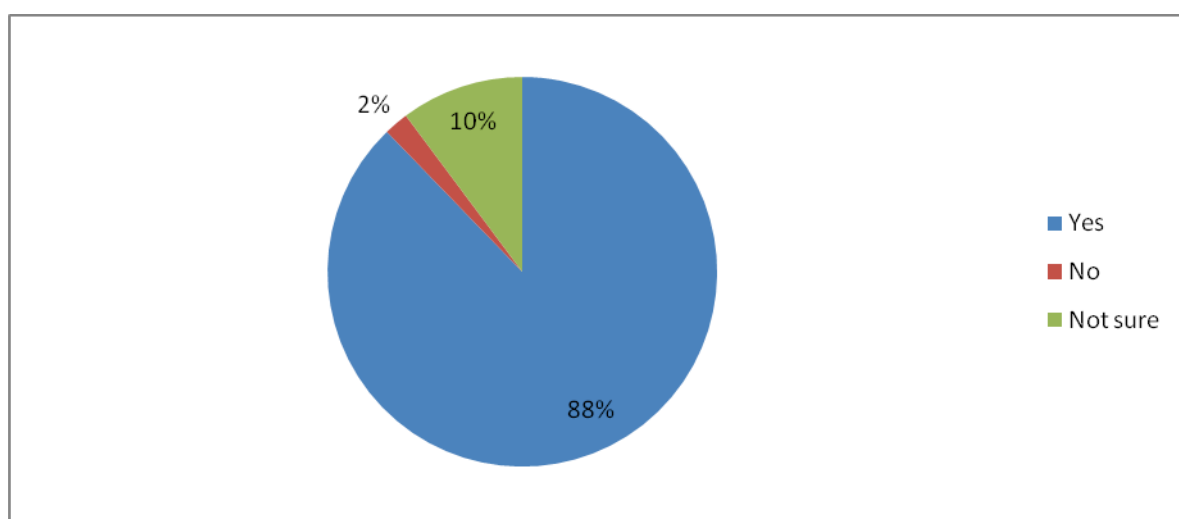
Figure 28: A Pie Chart showing responses regarding the existence of a staffing policy to consider linguistic and ethnic representation.

On what level and in what way does the community become involved in programme production?

While a significant number of respondents indicated that the local community stands as one of the stakeholders involved in the formation of the radio stations, responses about the level and way the community becomes involved in the production of programmes indicates negligible community involvement. 92% of respondents indicated no community involvement in programme production, while only 8% indicated community involvement through phone-in, specialist programmes and/or sending mails to the station. This outcome is a pointer that, even if these radio stations are located in the regions and continue to broadcast in the languages spoken in those regions they remain answerable to the centre. There is limited community involvement. This position also buttresses the views discussed in Chapters One, Two, Six and Eight regarding government control and the notion of new assimilationism,

and as presented by Stephen Riggins in his discussion of the integrationist model. It is therefore clear that while various ethnic communities perceive of these radio stations as theirs, these perceptions remain managed; a process which serves to encourage a new hegemonic arrangement as stated in Chapter Eight. Fig. 29, below, is a pie-chart presenting the responses about community involvement in programme production.
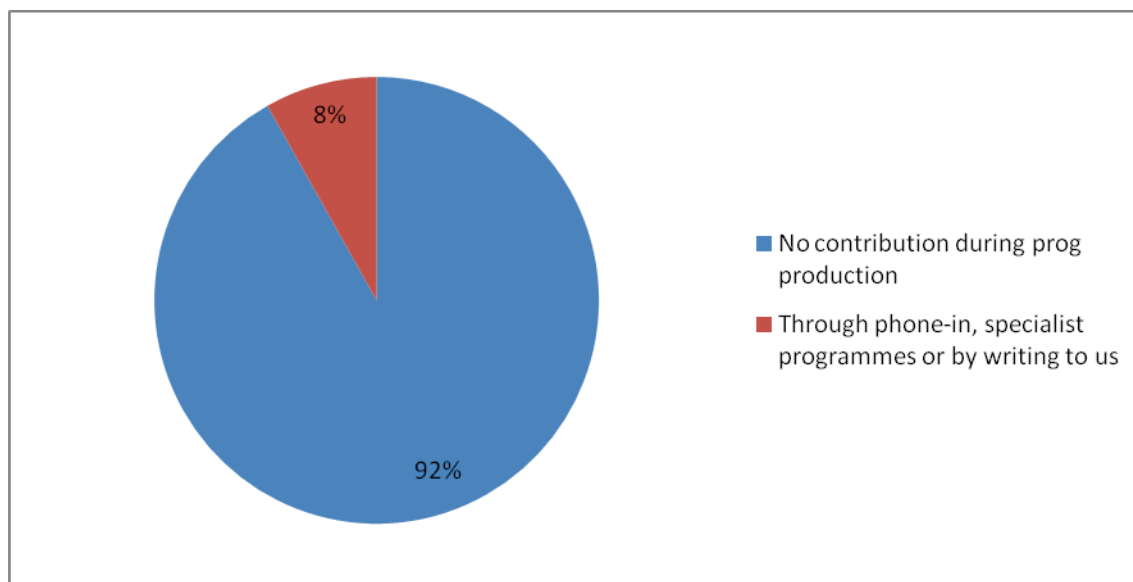
Figure 29: A Pie Chart showing responses on community involvement in programme production.

7.5 Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter is both qualitative and statistical. It has presented corroborative perspectives on the five ethnic minority media, the politics of ethnic accommodation, and how these radio stations are managed at SABC. Various issues have emerged from the individual radio stations, and also from the entire research, that further confirm the projections submitted in preceding chapters. The following discussion chapter seeks to synthesise these findings by using the theories of ethnicity, public service broadcasting, models of ethnicity and extensive literature in the previous chapters. These theoretical projections will be used to illuminate the research findings in order to present my thesis on ethnic minority media and the politics of ethnic accommodation in South Africa. It will close by offering a polemic conjecturing on the role of the media in understanding ethnicity as a social phenomenon.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

"I have often wondered – tell me: Are there any people in that thing of yours?"

It sounds like the biggest joke John has heard in years. He laughs till tears roll down his cheeks.

"No. It's just voices". "The people are far away and as they talk, this machine picks up their voices from the air".

"Very clever", Old Man says and keeps quiet. "Very….very…clever", He says again with his mouth, but he is thinking that he does not like this talking machine. There is something weird about human voices coming out of a thing without lungs and a mouth. He doesn't like it- just as he doesn't like most of the things the boy brings from town useless things, to the best of his knowledge – but the boy behaves as if he invented them and as if without them life would immediately stop (Charles Mungoshi, 1975: 29).

8.1 Introduction

Radio is the 'thing' that is being referred to in the quotation above. The quotation is a satirical presentation of the coming of radio broadcasting, in particular, its enigmatic instance to most African rural communities. There will be more on this in the sections that follow. The focus of this thesis, as stated in Chapter One has been to investigate ethnic minority radio stations in South Africa from a policy perspective. From the research findings and analysis in the previous chapter, it follows that an understanding of the nuanced politics of ethnic accommodation in South Africa, a new nation-state which is undergoing a process of nation-building, presents an interesting case study. Above all the intention from Chapter One has been to understand the politics of ethnic minority radio stations in South Africa, and how they impact on South Africa's broader project of democratisation, emancipation and transformation. Furthermore, the focus has been to understand the functioning of these ethnic radio stations as subsidiaries of the public broadcaster, SABC.

This chapter will use theories of public service broadcasting, ethnicity and nationalism to illuminate my research findings. Typologies of ethnic minority media, together with John Comaroff's (1997) five propositions on ethnicity (as introduced on page, 26) will further be engaged. The intention here is to engage these theoretical lenses with the research tools used during the course of this journey and to arrive at some conclusions regarding South Africa's management of multi-ethnic nationalities.

Various sections will be included for easy access to the reader. Furthermore, each section will be designed to discuss issues that emerged from the research findings in Chapter Seven. However, since the chapter does not intend to address emerging issues alone, it will also critically engage and project these as forms of social phenomena to understand South Africa's emancipatory project, the social transformation process; under the aphorism of South Africa as a 'Rainbow Nation' (Tutu, 1995: 183, Allen, 2006: 291). In the latter, the issue of broadcasting in different languages as a strategy of dismantling apartheid will be discussed. This will pave the way for what in this chapter is presented as the 'Babelian motif'; taken from the biblical story of the Tower of Babel. The notion of the 'Babelian motif' is developed from Ali Mazrui and Alamin Mazrui's (1998) thesis on *'The Power of Babel, Language and Governance in the African Experience.'*

The 'Babelian motif', as introduced in this chapter, seeks to critically discuss the power of broadcasting in different ethnic languages and how that has influenced a shift of mindsets among the targeted ethnic groups to the extent of negating apartheid. The latter emerged from my research, with most of my respondents: station managers and radio presenters, professing pride in their ethnic group identities first, before celebrating being South African. I further argue that while the latter, as a political development, may be perceived as divisive, in the case of South Africa it has managed to gradually conjure up feelings of 'patriotism' as people do not feel coerced to belong to South Africa. On that note, I further submit that a new form of cultural pluralism has been created which indirectly fuels a new hegemony arising from people's perception that they are managing their affairs without critically assessing this celebration of their ethnic identities, which seems to be managed from the centre. Borrowing from Riggins' (1992) model, these ethnic minority radio stations present a case of assimilation dressed as multiculturalism.

Following the above, I further argue that through this communicative approach, in using ethnic radio to broadcast in different languages in a bid to raise the bar of ethnic consciousness, this has brought with it a new form of African nationalism; 'nativism.' Thabo Mbeki (1998, 2002) was its architect, following his thesis on the 'African Renaissance', and his position as enunciated in the speeches, *'I am an African'*, and *'Africans defining themselves.'* It is here that a section discussing ethnic radio stations and the concept of public service broadcasting is included. The ambivalence posed by this continuity, with its off-shoot as a new form of hegemony, finds expression in nativist nationalism, with people having to identify themselves through their ethnic groups as a basis.

Despite these possible challenges, it is imperative to highlight that this move by the post-apartheid leadership has so far shown features of progress. This is dissimilar to other African countries, where nationalism is seen from a monolithic perspective. South Africa has been able to harness ethnicity and ethnic group potential in a bid to enhance cultural tourism and its economic value in pursuit of liberal economic policies (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009) by first encouraging the celebration of ethnic diversity as a natural resource. Following Comaroff's (1997) position that ethnicity, while rooted on a specific historical narration, can be transformed and perpetuated by conditions that would not have encouraged it in the first place. South Africa presents a case study whereby ethnicity, having been groomed by the apartheid system for divisive purposes, is now used to conjure up national alignment and patriotism. My respondents emphasised their celebration of being 'proudly South African' within the comfort of their own ethnic groups; and the aphorism for that is a 'Rainbow Nation.'

8.2 Ethnic Radio Broadcasting and the Creation of Collective Consciousness

The quotation above from Charles Mungoshi (1975) presents the enigmatic instance of radio broadcasting in most African communities. Instead of seeing this assertion merely as a natural human element, whereby people identify with radio that communicates in their language, the imperative is to note that radio in Africa has continued to be pervasive. The case of ethnic radio broadcasting to eleven of South Africa's ethnic groups presents a telling story here. In South Africa, ethnic radio has exacerbated ethnic consciousness and group identities. The major reason has been the continuation of the bifurcated state in postcolonial Africa (Mamdani, 1996; Young, 1997) using the inherited patterns of apartheid in which the state is demarcated along the old Bantustan models; with the regional homelands remaining rural, traditional and having low literacy levels compared to the urban centres that continue to hold the niche for modernity and the economy.

Most of these radio stations have a history that dates back to the 1960s, while *RSG FM,* as an Afrikaans radio station has a history that dates as far back as the late 1930s. According to information obtained from most of my respondents at SABC, and confirmed by Sekibakiba Lekgoathi (2009), together with Console Tleane & Jane Duncan (2003), ethnic radio stations that existed before 1994 served the state by broadcasting into the Bantustan homelands and not to the audiences as the public, thus making these radio stations stand out as state and not public broadcasters. Being aware of these realities, the government of Nelson Mandela decided to transform

these radio stations into 'public' radio stations, with a new public mandate; to educate, inform and entertain, but still maintaining them within their original homelands. In view of this development, Tleane and Duncan argue that;

> Given the country's past divisions that were based on the homeland or Bantustan system, which, as some argue, have been resurrected in the form of provinces, attempts to build a "provincial identity, culture and character' might be seen as further perpetuating the old divisions and, in fact, in direct opposition to attempts to build a nation (2003: 103).

This line of thinking is hinged on the monolithic position of nation-building, which is held elsewhere in Africa, as seen in Chapters One and Five. Its assumptions on nation-state formation as a continuous process were disputed by most of my respondents at these ethnic minority radio stations. 78% of them argued in favour of these radio stations and said that they had helped them to develop their sense of belonging in different ethnic groups. They further stated that they enjoy being South African, because they go into it coming from their own ethnic groups, recognised by the state. As a result they do not feel coerced into belonging. To them, belonging to an ethnic group creates a sense of duty and responsibility.

At this juncture it can be stated that radio, as a form of modern technology, seems to assist in the new form of transaction in which ethnic languages dialogue with the state in fulfilment of the cause of human agency, thus presenting a localised form of contra-flows, where radio feeds back into the ethos of South Africa's state formation process and the ideals of social transformation, as an emancipatory project. Further, this has changed the old notions of 'supertribalisation' (Wallerstein, 1960, 2001) whereby binaries existed in which the ethnic rural represented tradition = lack of progress, and the urban represented modernity = progress. Through this approach by the post-apartheid leaders, we now see a fusion of western modernity leading to cultural tourism (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009). Cultural tourism, in this instance, uses modernised forms of communication to find an economic value for ethnicity. The advantage of this approach, if assessed using Comaroff's (1997) proposition is that using radio ethnicity is being perpetuated, this time, by factors that are quite different from those that caused its emergence. Ethnicity seems also to be having a direct and independent impact on the regional context, with most of my respondents expressing pride in their ethnic identities but still ultimately seeing themselves as South Africans.

At least, the notion of an osmotic potential in the centre-periphery model of modernisation (Lerner), does apply here, but it will not be discussed, since it is not the object of this thesis. However, it is worth highlighting that low literacy levels in most African communities continue to play a major role, thus tacitly encouraging the

celebration of radio which, while it broadcasts in the respective community languages, also appeals to them through their sense of hearing. When a message is communicated in this way it creates a sense of a 'we' feeling as a notion of ethnic belonging (Mhlanga, 2010), hence the view that language is the 'mother tongue'; thereby expressing the notion of the 'umbilical cord' as the spiritual and symbolic attachment to nativity (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998). In the case of South Africa, radio has taken advantage of this situation thereby presenting new lifeblood to ethnicity. These five ethnic minority radio stations have captured the centrality of communicative action in ethnicity, by conjuring up a sense of ownership ('we' feeling) on the part of the different ethnic communities to which they broadcast. This has tended to increase radio's popularity ahead of other types of media (especially newspapers, magazines and television).

In addition, radio has the advantages of affordability and portability, in particular, the receiving gadget which now, due to new technologies and convergence, means that radio can be listened to through mobile phones. While the latter may not be popular among some rural African communities, radio generally remains popular. Radio's popularity was further confirmed by the recent survey conducted by SAARF in their latest research across South Africa's provinces (please refer to the appendices for a map of South Africa showing times spent listening to radio per province).

Having acknowledged the impact of low literacy levels, and returning to the notion of the subliminal 'we' feeling that ethnic radio creates while at the same time encouraging the observance of the concept of the 'public' in a public broadcaster, it was also observed that radio seems to be substituted the role of traditional community elders (Mano 2004) and this is confirmed by the research findings. As can be seen from the programmes (please see appendices), all the radio stations have programmes in which they discuss issues pertaining to different social groups and tastes; for example, for the girls among the Venda, Tsonga, !Xû and Khwe, their respective radio stations now play the role of being 'aunts', having to deal with socially delicate issues, ranging from stages of growth to marriage (Mano, 2004). It is, therefore, by being able to perform this function on the part of these ethnic minority radio stations that the 'we' feeling has been impressed.

Furthermore, these minority radio stations, as decentralised versions of the public broadcaster, have been able to enhance ethnic diversity and to allow members of the communities to act it. Although people still live in their ethnic conclaves, what Comaroff (1997) refers to as the different context from which ethnicity arose but now being perpetuated by different circumstances for different reasons. If suggestions by

various scholars, such as, Malešević (2004: 03) and Eriksen (1993: 10) are to be followed, especially through Frederik Barth's (1969) radical perspective, cited in Chapter Five that, in order to understand ethnicity 'the critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses', it can be further argued that these ethnic minority radio stations encourage people to celebrate their ethnic identities by acknowledging the existence of other ethnic groups around them. In this case, while ethnicity has the collective point of group identity, it describes both a set of relations and also acts as a mode of consciousness (Comaroff, 1997: 72). In confirming this position, it emerged from my research findings that proximity is one major factor in the celebration of ethnic identities; that is, the closer these ethnic groups are to each other the more likely they are to experience ethnic hatred and rivalry. This can be extended to suggest that the closer in terms of proximity these ethnic groups are, the more likely they are to compete for resources. This competition for resources plays the functionality of the awareness and celebration of one's ethnic identity and belonging. The case of *Lotus FM* confirms this assertion; from its listenership that has seen various groups being lumped together as people of Indian descent, ethnic groups that are originally from North India have clearly defined lines of differentiation and ethnic rivalry from those originally from the South. The major factor in this case is the political contest for ownership and control of *Lotus FM,* as a resource. As shown in Chapter Seven, even the celebration of festivals like *Diwali* has often sparked ethnic problems.

Furthermore, the discussion above can be understood through Martin Heidegger's lens (cited in Bhabha, 1994) that; '…a boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognised, the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing.' Through these ethnic minority radio stations, ethnic groups have not only celebrated their ethnic identities, but also their social boundaries of group consciousness and collective entitlements. This sense of animosity caused by the existence of these social boundaries and being in proximity, what Martin Heidegger refers to as the beginning of 'presencing', is also evident among the Venda, Tsonga and Pedi. Due to their radio stations being located in one building, a story was told of how it was finally agreed that the names of each radio station had to be removed from the outer parts of the building, as each group argued that they wanted the name of their radio station to be placed ahead of the others. While such a contest may be easy to brush aside as too weak, a deeper engagement with it tells a story of the contest for space, visibility and narration of self among ethnic groups.

The building that houses these ethnic radio stations, as a resource, is seen as symbolic of the nature of phanerons held by society about each ethnic group; that is, the pecking order of being respected as an ethnic group. So, in their view, this meant that an ethnic group whose radio station was listed below the others was also considered to be weak and insignificant. Due to the crisis of naming on the building, it was finally agreed that the building would simply be named 'SABC'; that is, a neutral name to which no ethnic group can lay claim. A similar problem of ethnic rivalry was witnessed at *X-K FM*. My respondents stated that they sometimes have ethnic clashes between the two ethnic groups. Even the location of each ethnic group is clearly defined, with the radio station and the school acting as boundaries (Mhlanga, 2006, 2009). The Khwe are on one side of the school, while the !Xû are on the other. *X-K FM*, as a radio station, therefore plays the role of being a unifier. At Lotus FM, further rivalry between those of Indian descent and Zulus was also witnessed. Due to my surname, I was mistaken for a local Zulu while doing research. This led gatekeepers at *Lotus FM* to refuse to allow me to interview them. One of my respondents even asked; …*what are you, Zulu or Swazi? Your surname, Mhlanga, shows you are one of them; we even have Mhlanga Rocks here. So you are one of them, are you?'* The challenge, as presented in Chapter Seven, was the issue of proximity and boundary creation, as ethnic groups compete for resources, and so, I had to explain that I was a foreigner in order to be accepted.

This issue of conjuring up the celebration of ethnic identities on one hand, and rivalry, on the other, presents an ambivalent situation in a state that boasts of ethnic diversity and of being a 'Rainbow Nation', as does South Africa. Charles Husband (2000: 200) further views this ambivalence as being based on 'instrumentalised citizenship'; that is, how these ethnic radio stations, in their quest to encourage national identity, as public entities enjoy the 'quasi-legal' status of being a para-statal and are able to engrave their influence on the histories of each one of these social groups in order to extract from them the inner-core which can be exploited. History, Charles Husband further argues 'carries within it deeply embedded notions of who are the 'real' members of the society', thus encouraging the creation of social boundaries, but radio, being the medium which captures people's imaginations, has the ability to exploit these histories and create the 'we' feeling. Research findings from the five ethnic minority radio stations also suggest that the concept of the 'Rainbow-Nation' is predicated on this notion.

However, it remains to be seen how this 'we' feeling finally translates, in view of the actual ownership and control of these radio stations. It is worth noting that

despite the creation of this 'we' feeling, these radio stations remain firmly under the control of SABC, which, in turn, is answerable to the government through parliament. The following section will attempt to interrogate the challenge of ownership and control in light of revenue generation.

8.3 SABC's Liberal Economic Challenges, Ownership and Revenue Control

An ambivalent situation exists in this discourse of ownership and control of SABC public radio stations, especially in situations where government ownership is not commensurate with the state's funding of the entire institution. In this case, SABC only receives 3% from the state for its entire budget.[122] This means that SABC is dependent on advertising, sponsored programmes and other ways of sourcing revenue. This challenge exposes smaller and weaker ethnic minority radio stations, as they may not be able to attract advertisers. To confirm this assertion, the station management and staff of *X-K FM* stated that they serve two very small ethnic communities of up to 4 500 !Xûntali and 2 000 Khwedam, as a result, the station cannot attract advertisers. This means that they are entirely dependent on SABC, which receives its 3% allocation through the state budget, thus further exposing the station to state caprices (Mhlanga, 2010). In comparison, with an ethnic radio station like *uKhozi FM* − a station for the Zulu people, for example, with a listenership of over 4 million (SAARF, 2010), it makes more economic logic for such a station to attract advertisers and sponsored programmes.

In a nutshell, this means that for public radio at SABC, major ethnic radio stations, for majority ethnic groups tend to contribute more to SABC's revenue base than others (Tleane & Duncan 2003). My interview with one General Manager at SABC revealed that stations generate more revenue from advertising, licence user-fees and sponsored programmes, they are then required to first pool it at the centre (SABC), before it is redistributed back to them. This creates an imbalanced curve for resource distribution, since some stations, like *X-K FM*, have to depend entirely on SABC. Further, this tends to reduce the stature for some ethnic radio stations as they are seen by others as not contributing to the public broadcaster's revenue base. This also explains why most radio stations have often endeavoured to expand their broadcast spectrum to Gauteng Province. The economic logic is that by broadcasting into Gauteng Province, which is one of South Africa's major economic hubs, they

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[122] Information obtained from research conducted in South African among SABC officials in 2008, at its Auckland Headquarters in Johannesburg.

may attract revenue through businesses and other companies wanting to advertise and to sponsor programmes.

However, for ethnic minority radio stations often the challenge is that numerically their listeners are few, for example, the Venda (*Phalaphala FM*), Tsonga (*Munghana Lonene FM*), !Xûntali and Khedam (*X-K FM*), constitute a minute cluster of South Africa's population; less than 9% of the country's 49million.[123] A station with more languages spoken and more listeners in that language thus implies that more revenue is generated. However, another trend can be observed with other ethnic minority radio stations, like *Lotus FM* and *RSG FM*. For *Lotus FM,* the station serves five ethnic groups among those of Indian descent (2.5% of the population): Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu. As stated in Chapters Two and Seven, the station has specific times allocated to each of the five languages; however, English is its major broadcast language since this unifies all the ethnic groups. The use of English as the major language of broadcasting has tended to attract more revenue to the station. This is because, by virtue of using English as its language of broadcasting, it gains the potential of having other listeners, who may not be of Indian descent. However, this also depends on the nature of their programming and music genre in some cases. Moreover, the fact that its broadcast spectrum is clustered across four regions of the country: KwaZulu-Natal as the main base, Eastern Cape (Port Elizabeth), Gauteng (Johannesburg) and the Western Cape, in particular Cape Town, continues to boost the station's potential to generate revenue. This clustering into these regions concentrates *Lotus FM's* broadcasting into major cities and regions of economic productivity in South Africa, thus boosting the station's revenue base.

For *RSG FM,* its broadcast spectrum covers the whole country (please see appendices for map of spectrum), thus following the old apartheid broadcasting footprints on which the station used to be the major broadcaster. In the current set-up, while it has been relegated to an ethnic minority radio station, it still enjoys the 'nation-wide' spectrum, from which it also attracts revenue. Following this development, *RSG FM* has been rated as the seventh most popular station by SAARF in their June, 2010, rating of the top ten radio stations in South Africa. Figure 26 shows the country's top ten most popular radio stations following SAARF's recent ratings.

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[123] This information was obtained from the CIA World Factbook:
https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sf.html
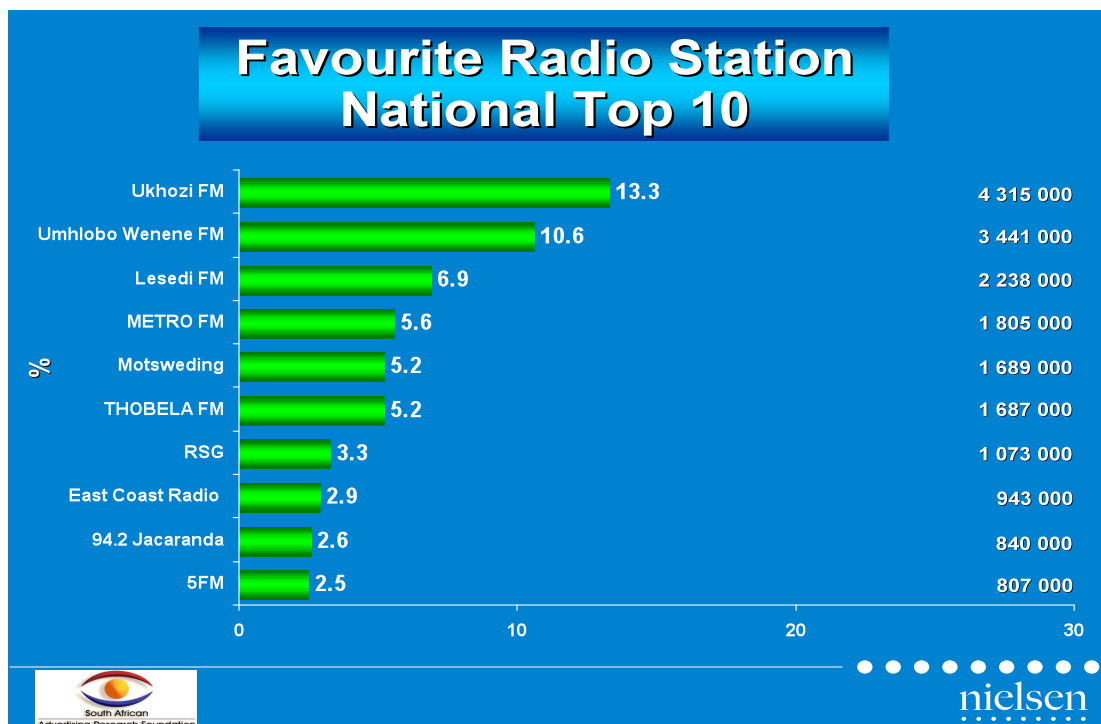
Figure 26: Shows the country's favourite Top 10 Radio stations (Source: SAARF 2010)

Following these statistics, it can be projected that for radio stations like *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM,* with high listenership, more revenue tends to be attracted through advertising and programme sponsorship. However, while some may dispute this as being mere conjecture, it is worth noting that these stations tend to command a marked share of input into the public radio ambit. As one SABC official stated, if one is in-charge of any of these big regional ethnic radio stations, they also tend to have some modicum of political clout, even in terms of decision making within the public radio section. It is on this note that the issue of media economics links with issues of political control and ownership (Doyle, 2002). At SABC, this has tended to be a major contributory factor in the management of radio stations.

What is more interesting, is to understand how the government still manages to retain control and sole ownership of these radio stations, despite its contribution of only 3% of its revenue. It is on this note that the politics of public broadcasting, its ambiguity and arcane nature comes into play. The following section will attempt to decipher the concept of public broadcasting, in particular the notion of the 'public realm', as the gate through which government enters radio broadcasting with a moralistic claim to protect a national resource from business interests (Tracey, 1998).

8.4 Reconceptualising the 'Public' Service Broadcaster in Ethnic Minority Radio

Following the discussion, above, on the challenge of government ownership and control of public ethnic radio stations in the face of its limited contribution of capital (revenue) this section will attempt to reconceptualise public service broadcasting (PSB) together with the notion of the 'public realm.' The intention here is to decipher how the state comes to provide the regulatory framework and control mechanisms and yet still contributes the limited capital needed for the running of the broadcaster.

This formed part of the impetus for my research on this ambivalent set-up, as a policy study which looks at issues from the side of policy makers (those at the helm of the public radio section at SABC; the executives (officials) and ICASA as the regulator) and radio station management and staff. More often, researchers have tended to discuss the impact of radio on listeners, as a reception study, without seeking to understand the visions of policy makers, their regulation and how they are translated into reality by the station management and presenters, as implementers (Kasoma 1992). This forms the uniqueness of this study.

However, in order to understand PSB as a conceptual framework, there is a need to further engage with the notion of the 'public' in a public broadcaster (Scannell, 1992; Curran & Seaton, 2003). In the case of South Africa's public radio broadcasting, the 'public' has two meanings. As will be discussed in detail below, with the help of various scholarly engagements with the concept and its theoretical genesis, the term has generally become conventionalised in use. Its conventional usage forms the first meaning; that is, used loosely, by every politician who wishes to claim 'people-centred' ownership merely by deploying it for political correctness. The second meaning has been a derivative of parliamentary politics with its conventions, whose usage denotes representation, thus implying that the legislators in parliament are representatives of the people and are mandated to act and behave on behalf of the ordinary citizens in the state (Curran & Seaton, 2003). These legislators gain their mandate through elections. Then, through the Legislature, each Member of Parliament (MP) is considered to represent the views of people from their constituencies. Using the parliamentary institution as a form of maintaining, control public broadcasting is therefore regulated through an act of parliament.[124]

The concept of the 'public', according to John Downing (1992) lies awkwardly next to the notion of collective signification. In this study, collective signification would entail ethnic consciousness and how it is raised with a view to

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[124] For more information on this, please refer to the Broadcast Act of 1999, which was further amended in 2002 and finally had the President's assent on 4th February, 2003.

serving as a catalyst for nation-building. Its fundamental sense entails openness, or something common, whose antonym is 'private', 'secret' or 'restricted' (Downing, 1992: 260). In the case of South Africa, as in developed democracies, the concept of the 'public' has gained the status of a 'one size-fits-all' approach (Downing, 1992, Scannell, 1992) given its loose use and often the deliberate vagueness disguised as a product of parliamentary representative democracy. John Downing aptly writes about it below, attempting to provide a classical engagement with the concept, taken from Jürgen Habermas that:

> The Basic laws guarantee: the spheres of public and private (the kernel of the latter being the sphere of intimate social relations); the institutions and instruments of the public on the one hand (press, parties) and the basis for private autonomy on the other (family and property); finally the functions of private people – political as citizens, economic as commodity-owners (Habermas, 1962: 96, cited in Downing 1992: 260)

In support of the above, Paddy Scannell (2007: 234) says the notion of the 'public' has been granted normative value through an act of parliament. More-so, this normative value goes with the expectations of a public broadcaster; for example that the SABC should be responsible and able to deliver to the citizens. SABC's current payoff line seems to spell it; *'Broadcasting for total citizen empowerment.'* In this case, the empowerment of citizens is further encouraged through decentralising the public broadcaster into ethnic regions; thereby embracing ethnic diversity as part of the post-apartheid nation-building ethos. However, as seen in Chapter Seven, while this normative value gains acceptance, citizens remain unable to influence programming, which is managed from SABC Headquarters. The latter was confirmed by a Regional Director who, in his comparison, further stated that during apartheid, while the state, through its various structures, had managed to maintain a stranglehold on SABC as a state broadcaster, powers had been devolved to the regions, thus granting regional administrators the power to make decisions and still liaise with the centre. This implies that during apartheid, regional ethnic radio stations, such as, *Radio Tsonga FM* (now *Munghana Lonene FM*) and *Radio Venda FM* (now *Phalaphala FM*) were answerable to their regional administrators. Further, it was the regional administrators who always had an obligation to communicate with the Headquarters in Johannesburg. The new era of social transformation has brought with it the policy of centralised command for all ethnic radio stations. This form of command, while hinged on the normative acceptance of the role of a government plays in the running of a public broadcaster, seems to thrive on the pragmatic side of control of the 'public' in that broadcaster. The notion of pragmatic rules here refers to

the state's usage of normative rules, obligation and morality in furtherance of a political agenda (Bailey, 2001: 04).

This pragmatic use of the 'public' element can be interpreted as an emphasis on the political nature of radio broadcasting as a major security area and a resource for control. In South Africa, the majority of citizens are found in their regions of ethnic belonging, so, radio broadcasting in different languages is always useful for the leaders when communicating with people in their ethnic regions. This assertion was further confirmed at *X-K FM,* with most of my respondents acknowledging that the station provides a means of communicating with the people on the ground (Mhlanga, 2010). Paddy Scannell (2007: 234) trenchantly puts it that; 'the rise of consumer capitalism and the mass-media combine with new forms of political management to suborn public life, which regresses to its earlier, pre-modern forms.' He further sees this shift as hinged on the notion of morality, in which the state claims legal (normative) grounds for controlling these ethnic radio stations, yet the ultimate end is a pragmatic one which fulfils political ends. In this case 'it is a morality tale of the rise and fall of rational public opinion' which is emphasised (Scannell 2007). Given this discussion, it can be understood that in the case of South Africa, the five ethnic minority radio stations, for example, project a democratic imprint of being people – centred. It is here that the elusive concept of the 'public' gains conventional usage. In reality, the notion of the 'public', in the conceptualisation of a PSB, is political and tends to serve pragmatic ends (Habermas, 1989: 08: Scannell, 2007).

However, so far, the PSB remains duty bound to assist the ongoing state formation process by providing control and management mechanisms. In so doing, ownership is also conjured up; this explains why, in South Africa, the government is the sole owner of the public broadcaster, even if it contributes only 3% of the public broadcaster's budget. Furthermore, the state has a duty to manage and harness ethnicity before it becomes instrumentalised, as it has been elsewhere in Africa. This essentialisation of ethnicity has led to the state's management of the nation-building crusade by being able to register each ethnic group's interest. As a result, these ethnic groups claim to have collective rights within the state, and their ethnic minority radio stations stand as their ethnic symbols. By using ethnic radio stations as subsidiaries of the public broadcaster, South Africa has been able to retribalise the state and to mobilise ethnicity as a major national resource and an ingredient of state-formation (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, Comaroff 1997). In such a retribalised state, ethnicity has become a major cultural resource for cultural tourism in furtherance of the state's neoliberal agenda. The five ethnic minority radio stations (*Munghana Lonene FM,*

Phalaphala FM, Lotus FM, *RSG FM* and *X-K FM)* now have a duty, as decentralised public broadcasters, to parade their cultural artefacts in the service of the nation-state. They also work as conduits through which the state's nativist form of nationalism can be communicated to its citizens. In view of such a development, Scannell (2007) says:

> …the state begins to appear as a permanent public authority that increasingly intrudes upon the lives of the majority. Linked to these historic processes is the emergency of society.

While, according to Habermas (1989), the public has manifested itself through the literary works of print media and its marketable value, in this case, radio forms of 'public' and 'publicness' find expression in societal acceptance and the languages of broadcasting, with their messages churned through these ethnic minority radio stations.

Furthermore, these ethnic radio stations, as relics of apartheid, were transformed to influence the new ideation process, while also acting as symbols of ethnic belonging. This approach has managed to create a sense of social trust in these ethnic radio stations, as the media through which hopes and aspirations are communicated. These radio stations demonstrate a special symbolic effect in the lives of the Tsonga, Venda, the Telegu, Tamil, Hindi, Gujarati, Urdu, the Afrikaners, !Xû and Khwe. Further, for these ethnic groups, radio stations now act as modernised systems that impart or herald messages, thus fulfilling their public utility role; for example, while, for the Venda, in the past important messages used to be communicated by blowing the horn, now, through the airwaves, *Phalaphala FM* performs a similar function. As a result, the station staff, management and presenters, consider themselves to be messengers, duty bound to blow the new modernised horn – the radio, for the Venda people. This has managed to create the feelings of group identity among the Venda people. Similar things can be said about the other four radio stations and their respective ethnic groups.

As the purveyor of social transformation and an instrument of state formation, these public radio stations have managed to instil a sense of duty and responsibility among citizens. In support of this view at *RSG FM,* the station staff said their radio station symbolised a new beginning. The name, *Radio Sonder Grense*, which means 'radio without boundaries,' to them stands as a synonym for social transformation in which everyone is embraced. The station has been able to act as a bridge between various Afrikaans dialects; brown and white.

8.5 Revisiting the Power of Babel: Ethnic Belonging and Language Broadcasting

From the foregoing, it can be gleaned that, in South Africa, the five ethnic minority radio stations were designed to use their different ethnic languages as subsidiaries to the public broadcaster and to serve the imaginary 'public' – the nation. The ambivalence in this conception of a nation being that it is a group of people, as citizens, who clearly identify themselves as different ethnic groups that remain loyal citizens to the state. In such a scenario, ethnic nationalism among black South Africans, as Ali and Alamin Mazrui (1998: 205) see it, became a manifest destiny. This has created an interesting reincarnation of the biblical story of the 'Tower of Babel', in which the story tells of a unified effort as people worked with one language as their medium of communication. Their sole purpose being to make a mark for themselves and to reach God. They erected a tower, which miraculously collapsed. Following its collapse, people suddenly discovered that they now spoke in different languages. From this abridged version of the story of Babel, this thesis finds a new concept through which to understand ethnicity, which shall be referred to as the 'Babelian motif.'

Using this 'Babelian motif', I contend that the creation of the structure of apartheid, which lasted more than four decades, had Afrikaans as its central language (the main language of communication), with English as the language of support, in particular, as the language of international business. However, its major form of negation gained impetus through the encouragement of ethnic identities, but that remained contained within the Bantustan homelands. This encouragement of ethnic identities led to self-actualisation and the creation of a collective consciousness, as discussed above. As detailed in Chapter Five, the creation of the Bantustans with Afrikaans as the major language, coupled with Bantu radio stations[125] (Lekgoathi 2009) was seen as a way by which the system entrenched itself. Contrary to this common position, it my suggestion that by creating these ethnic radio stations apartheid actually caused its own negation. This position may be understood as an oxymoron and as a departure from the perspective which views the retribalisation of the state as likely to lead to chaos. The latter strengthens the argument of the 'Babelian motif' by showing how the new leaders of independent South Africa, Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, were able to use these ethnic groups, in particular

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[125] This was the name given to ethnic radio stations during apartheid (for an historical engagement with Bantu Radio stations, their origins Babel and general ethos at the time, see Sekibakiba P. Lekgoathi (2009) 'You are listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation.': Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership, 1960 – 1994.' *Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 35, Number, 3: pp 575 – 594.*

their languages, to dismantle apartheid and to usher a new type of state formation, based on the ideology of African nationalism (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998). It is also imperative to emphasis that when the apartheid regime tribalised the state, their efforts were not meant to encourage conviviality among different ethnicities. Rather they sought to entrench policies of separate development that in reality translated in one group developing at the expense of others. But in the post-apartheid, the continuation of a tribalised arrangement, herein referred to as 'retribalisation', meant that the new leadership were acknowledging the view that ethnicity is a useful resource in the emancipatory project.

This shift informed nativism as a new form of nationalism, derived from Thabo Mbeki's famous 1996 speech, 'I am an African.' The speech provided a philosophical blue-print for the nation-state agenda of celebrating cultural pluralism; which is referred to as the 'Rainbow Nation.' This form of cultural pluralism became the major rallying point for neo-liberalism, which Mazrui & Mazrui refer to as 'ethnic nationalism.' However, in order for it to be communicated to the masses, the transformed SABC, as a public broadcaster, was given a new mandate in which the old apartheid structures of the Bantu radio stations were continued, this time in the service of a new nation-state. Social transformation and the 'Rainbow Nation' paradigm then employed the slogans; 'Simunye'[126] and 'proudly South African', as South Africa's proprietary badge in the neoliberal market economy.

Furthermore, Nelson Mandela, having gained the highest stature as the 'father figure', commonly known in Xhosa as 'uTata',[127] was able to usher the new nation-state towards becoming a pluralist Pan-African nationalist state in which every ethnic group would have a voice. This meant that ethnic radio stations, which had earlier been used by apartheid, had to be re-engaged, rebranded and given a new mandate, hence their current function as subsidiaries of the SABC, as a public broadcaster. The use of various ethnic languages in these radio stations continues to play a major role today. It can be implied that while these ethnic radio stations had a duty to assist in the dismantling of apartheid structures, they also assisted in ushering South Africa into the neo-liberalist ideology. Nelson Mandela then emerged as the 'emotional mosaic' leader, with Mbeki as the 'managerial leader' (Hadland & Rantao, 1999); both acting as stewards for a neo-liberal social transformation process. Herman Wasserman and Arnold de Beer (2009) project Thabo Mbeki as 'Mr Delivery', with the task of implementing new policies. This form of cultural pluralism, which became

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[126] This is the slogan that SABC uses on both radio and television. It means 'we are one.'
[127] This means father.

the economic product of social transformation, is hinged on the neo-liberal approach. These ethnic minority radio stations, as messengers of the nation-state, were tasked to continuously herald this neo-liberal agenda.

Following these ideological positions, the challenge of having to grapple with ethnic pluralism and, in particular, the five ethnic minority radio stations that broadcast in different languages, becomes problematic. However, it has emerged in this thesis that the concept of cultural pluralism, which had earlier been encouraged by apartheid through Bantustans, also provided the platform from which to deconstruct the apartheid system. Research on the use of different ethnic languages has been able to confirm the 'Babelian motif'; that is, the dismantling of a structure that had been created using Afrikaans as its main language, with English as its supporting language. However, the end of apartheid has seen the English language gaining in stature, in the face of global market trends, and also as the new South Africa has to use it as the language of business as they embark on trade in the global market (Moyo, 2010). Ali and Alamin Mazrui (1998: 205) further observe that 'although South Africa….declared eleven official languages, in reality the new policy demotes Afrikaans.' Given this development, Afrikaans has now become one of the nine African 'indigenous' languages. As result, *RSG FM* now falls within the ambit of ethnic minority radio, hence its inclusion in this study. However, it has been noted that its decline was caused by apartheid's continued encouragement of other languages, but at the same time the suppression of its speakers. Using the 'Babelian motif', it follows therefore that people, as rational agents, negotiated a form of change which encouraged them to play to apartheid's gallery, while tacitly negating it, thereby dismantling it.

Now I turn to the subject of ethnic minority radio and the resultant 'we' feeling.

8.6 Ethnic Minority Radio and the 'We' Feeling: A Tale of Multiple Nations
Following the discussion, above, of the 'Babelian motif', and the attempt to understand the emergent ethnic identities as both structural and a kind of consciousness it must be emphasised that the ambivalent position presented above, is not a common phenomenon in Africa, given the centralised systems of governance. However, in the case of South Africa, due to the residual policy models, the new nation-state embarked on devolution of power as a system of governance, in order to ensure the smooth functioning of the social transformation process. In addition, as presented in the research findings (Chapter Seven), the resultant off-shoots of this

liberalised policy arrangement showed that most research respondents, 78%, preferred to identify with their ethnic identities first, before considering themselves to be South Africans. This marks a huge point of peculiarity in the South African case.

By using local languages for broadcasting on ethnic radio stations, as subsidiaries to the public broadcaster, the process of state formation, an on-going process and its continued social construction of meaning, can be understood. As in the case of the biblical story of the 'Tower of Babel'; from which language and the power of expression derives its strength (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998), the visualised impression here is one of people, in a structural institutional arrangement, as ethnic groups who voluntarily participate in the gradual construction of the nation-state – as a larger whole. This presents a case of structural pluralism (Young, 1983; Husband, 2000), however, one that comes with the existentialist position of ethnic groups as responsible citizens who are not only answerable for their actions to themselves, but also to the nation-state. As seen in Chapter Seven, one of the issues that emerged was that, for the five ethnic minority radio stations, news and current affairs are allocated more time than any other programming. This fulfils the information churning function, which, according to Tleane & Duncan (2003: 107), constitutes the major function of a PSB.

This form of structural imposition allows 'ethnic identity' to ride on the shoulders of 'ethnicity as consciousness of kind' and 'ethnicity as 'structure' (Wallman, 1986, cited in Husband, 2000). The two, in a real sense, can be disconnected, but in the case of South Africa they stand connected, due to the history of apartheid and the demands of the social transformation process. Ethnicity, as consciousness of a kind, entails the psychological sense of identity (Husband 2000: 206), which in this case is embedded in radio, which not only broadcasts in the respective languages, but also stands as a the 'proprietary badge', given the symbolic nature of the way in which it is presented, including the names of each radio station as symbols of representation. This, then, creates the 'we' feeling within different ethnic communities. As a policy issue, this is connected to SABC's policies in being a public utility whose slogans are; 'Simunye' and 'Vuka Sizwe.' The rebranding of these radio stations, as narrated in Chapters Two and Seven, using names which have traditionally accepted meanings and symbols for these ethnic groups, clearly presents the case of a 'retribalised state', but one that also celebrates 'oneness.' Such a position, when closely assessed, presents the ambivalence of the privatised cultural pluralism ushered in by South Africa's new neo-liberalist agenda.

It follows, therefore, that the major influence that ethnic minority radio has on the different ethnic groups stems from the impact caused by the language of broadcasting, through which voices coming out of a gadget (a radio) speaking in a particular language, generates the power to capture people's imagination of themselves (the 'we' feeling); the enigmatic instance of radio. Through this scenario, two notions of ethnicity are created; ethnicity as consciousness of kind, and ethnicity as structure. In the case of the five ethnic minority radio stations, it can be further noted that these radio stations stand out as community proprietary badges on which ethnic identity finds expression. Furthermore, it is through this communicative action that Fardon and Furniss' (2000) statement finds meaning:

> Nothing so readily places a voice on the national sound stage as its language of address. That language may already connote a particular group or else an alliance of forces may coalesce to identify it as its proprietary badge. To broadcast in one language is to fail to broadcast in another and that is always taken as a message (2000: 03).

In support of Fardon and Furniss' position, Frantz Fanon (1967: 17) aptly puts that 'to speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means, above all to assume a culture, to support civilisation.' The five ethnic minority radio stations have been able to grasp the culture of their respective ethnic groups through the use of names as traditional symbols also. Further, while it may be acknowledged that Fanon's position was on the process of colonisation and alienation, which is not the subject of this thesis, his view on language applies here. The fact that radio transports messages, in a particular language, to a wide area, through a single broadcast from one source, using waves, has a culturally 'perplexing effect.' It is this 'perplexing effect' that has earned radio its recognition as a 'trusted' form of mass media in these rural homelands.

Furthermore, it is this enigmatic instance of radio which continues to grip the communities that form the focus of my research. This is also because radio seems to be a substitute for the role of traditional story-tellers, who used to disseminate vital information through their stories (Mano, 2004). In the same way that story-tellers were considered to belong to their respective ethnic communities, these radio stations have managed to nurture the 'we' feeling, and to gain acceptance as modernised forms of telling traditional stories. Research findings showed that people identified with these radio stations, not merely because they think they control the programming process, but also because of the languages used in broadcasting. Further, it was observed that, on that note, radio stations have managed to assist in the crystallisation of a collective consciousness among different ethnic groups and in conjuring up

feelings of patriotism. The two variables within the broader African nationalist lens are not connected; however, in the South African scenario, they are immutable, given the state's ethos of a 'retribalised nation-state.' The latter might not be openly acknowledged, however, it is worth noting that the continuation of apartheid's tribalised broadcasting structures, as a result of which each ethnic group had its own radio station, serves to show the state's policy towards a nativist nationalist arrangement, as discussed in Chapter Four. The use of SABC, a public broadcaster, to manage ethnic radio stations, presents a case of retribalisation of the nation-state. While for some it can be perceived as likely to dent nationalist ideas, as seen elsewhere in Africa where radio broadcasting has tended to be a preserve of the centralised government as argued by Tleane and Duncam (2003), South Africa's ethnic minority radio stations have managed to groom 'we' feelings among different ethnic groups.

However, despite the progressiveness of these ethnic minority radio stations, one has to further critically engage with the political location of station ownership and the ethos these stations seek to purvey. It is on this note that the following section discusses issues of community ownership and the creation of a new hegemonic scenario.

8.7 Ethnic Minority Radio: 'Community Ownership' or 'New Hegemony'?

The challenge of the five ethnic minority radio stations as extensions of the main public broadcaster in South Africa, generally, lies in the paradox of operating as 'community owned' with the possibility of creating a new hegemony. This challenge fuels the ambivalent scenario of 'public' ownership. Then the hermeneutical question that follows is; who is the public in a public broadcaster? From this question, it can be gleaned that understanding the notion of the 'public' is seen as offering a service to a perceived community, whose existence is further linked to a particularised past as the basis (an ethnie) giving it a sense of responsibility and 'ownership' (Smith, 1986).

Again, the fact of 'community ownership', as a product of ethnic language broadcasting, which is constantly translated to mean 'public' ownership, further muddies the water. In this case, a line can be drawn to show how these ethnic radio stations indirectly feed into the government ownership of SABC through the Minister of Communications, a political appointee, thereby serving the ruling party (ANC). However, this paradox of 'public ownership' has gained currency through inculcating the impression that when a radio station broadcasts in their language, and is located within the community, coupled with the use of its naming and symbols, it is therefore

a project owned by the people. In this case, the use of cultural symbols, as payoffs for these ethnic radio stations, and the use of language as a major cultural tool of communication, seem to buttress the view of these ethnic radio stations as being 'community owned.'[128] In a question to the station management and presenters on whether they considered their radio stations to be 'community radio stations', responses showed that 71% thought they were, while another 29% acknowledged ethnic community belonging, but still felt that the stations were answerable to government through SABC. However, the 71% also presented a correlation between the radio station's languages of broadcasting, use of certain cultural symbols, such as the stations' crests and the fact that they, as radio station staff, actually came from the communities. This was despite the fact that this view contradicted the outcome of another question that was further asked of them: whether there was any community involvement in programme production? 92% of respondents said there was no community involvement.

The SABC is governed through an act of parliament. The act clearly defines SABC's structural arrangement, thus further defining the powers of the government, its ownership and control. SABC, as a public broadcaster, is therefore a public entity, but it remains within the clutches of the political élite. To confirm this assertion it should be remembered that, in Chapter Six, as part of my research findings, I argued that the political tremors taking place at Luthuli House[129] tended to affect the general running of the SABC.

Further, it is noted that often those at the helm of SABC tend to be political appointees. Colin Sparks' (2009) assertion on élite continuity must be found room for consideration in this scenario. A case in point is the wrangle between Snuki Zikalala, the Group Executive, News and Current Affairs and Dali Mpofu, the Chief Executive Officer, which was discussed in Chapter Six. It emerged that the wrangle between the two most senior officers at SABC mirrored the political turmoil between the two camps that was then obtaining at Luthuli House.

The scenario presented in Chapter Six serves to show the extent of the élite contest for continuity and for control of the SABC, as the soul of the nation. It is worth emphasising that these intra-party struggles must not be merely understood as political fissures, rather, they have to be understood through the ideological lenses by which each of the competing camps sought to locate themselves on the national stage.

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[128] This view was captured as an answer to Question 16 in the Question Guidelines for Station Managers and Staff, please refer to the appendices.

[129] It will be remembered that Luthuli House is the building that houses the ruling African National Congress (ANC).

Mbeki's camp had asserted itself within the African Renaissance. The latter's avowal found expression through nativism, their new form of nationalism. On the economic front, they embraced the neo-liberal capitalist ideology, while, on the other hand, Jacob Zuma's camp played the populist card, by working closely with Labour (COSATU) and the South Africa Communist Party (SACP) to gain the support of the majority.

From the research, it emerged that these two major camps were competing to gain control of the SABC, which they would then use to propagate their ideas. SABC became the most fought-for resource. This was largely because these competing groups understood the power of broadcasting had as a major resource through which to access the citizens, who are considered to be easy to manipulate (Chomsky, 1989). The SABC, as a public broadcaster, found itself embroiled within the on-going élite struggles. Further, the public broadcaster was seen to provide the locus of power, as a major institution of social organisation. The SABC, and in particular radio, as a mass communication project, are often seen as likely to help those in power in terms of conjuring up public opinion; thus marking a process which, according to Habermas (1989), marks the refeudalisation of society or, as Downing (1992) suggests, the colonisation of life-world

It is here that the existence of a public realm in a representative parliamentary democracy is acknowledged. However, it is seen as carrying with it both covert and overt powers. By being able to attract support from a wider section of the population (the public) it acts as political capital. Further, this notion finds currency through continued reference to the ideals of PSB, whose definition remains 'elusive.' For example, the argument that SABC serves to provide the ordinary citizens with a voice, in particular, to act as a realm in which rational public discourse, debate and free discussion takes place remains questionable. However, as seen in the 92% who firmly stated that the public does not get involved in programme production, it is evident that political élites are able to use it in the formation of public opinion and the colonisation of life-worlds.

The questions that follow, then, are: If it is true that these five radio stations broadcast and the owners of the languages used for broadcasting are not able to influence the programme production, then how is it that these radio stations continue to find support from the respective ethnic groups? And how do they continue to be understood as public broadcasters? In a bid to answer these questions, it is worth highlighting that these radio stations, as inherited apartheid structures, were continued to serve the ethos of the social transformation process, so they were rebranded, this

time as residual models. However, as stated above, the thrust was to use them to create the 'we' feeling within their broadcasting communities, by allowing them to broadcast in different languages. These radio stations had to be embraced for the symbolic meaning that they created in the communities.

In view of the above, it could be argued that while there is some modicum of community service in these ethnic minority radio stations, which undoubtedly can be gleaned, the major thrust was to concretise the new hegemonic arrangement. Following this perspective, it can be observed that the function of these ethnic minority radio stations is to gradually lead to the attainment of symbolic meaning through continued social construction and the projection of South Africa's independence as a reality. This attainment of symbolic meaning also leads to the continued injection of ideas that are presented, on one hand, as being driven by the public, while; on the other hand, they represent the views of the élite. It is this primed acquiescence which was displayed by the presenters and station managers, who proudly stated that these ethnic minority radio stations were, in fact, symbols of their peoplehood. It is in view of this development that Slavoj Zizek's argument finds meaning. He writes that:

> Every belonging to a society involves a paradoxical point at which the subject is ordered to embrace freely, as the result of his choice, what is anyway imposed on him (**we must all love our country …**)[130]**.** This paradox of willing (choosing freely) what is in any case necessary, of pretending (maintaining the appearance) that there is a free choice although in fact there isn't, is strictly co-dependent with the notion of an empty symbolic gesture.. (Slavoj Zizek 2008: 36).

This approach causes cultural pluralism to work for the nation-state, but, above all, it feeds into the social transformation process as being élite driven, in the same way as it had during apartheid. From the research findings, one can glean that there is a dialectical relationship that exists between the various ethnic groups and the ruling élites, who communicate with them through ethnic radio stations as subsidiaries of the main public broadcaster, and the emergence of ethnicity in South Africa as the battlefield for managed cultural pluralism (Riggins, 1992). By rebranding these ethnic minority radio stations, a new form of societal renegotiation was engineered; thus aligning them with the ideology of African nationalism (nativism) (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009a) and neo-liberalism as the sod on which they travelled. This new ideology is alive to global economic trends and the need to enter the market with an 'exotic' agenda, this time hinged on the emergent cultural pluralism and the

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[130] My emphasis.

old ethnic identity, which is now being packaged as the end product of cultural tourism (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, Comaroff 1997).

By employing ethnic radio broadcasting, especially as broadcast into their target ethnic communities, caused a new hegemonic arrangement. In order to understand this development Denis McQuail's (1999) definition of hegemony becomes useful;

> Hegemony refers to a loosely interrelated set of ruling ideas permeating a society, but in such a way as to make the established order of power and values appear natural, taken-for-granted and commonsensical (1999: 99).

Furthermore, in following the ideological positioning of the five ethnic minority radio stations it can be argued that the process of social transformation is an ideology. Göran Therborn (1980: 02) adds that the process of ideology 'forms part of that aspect of human condition under which human beings live their lives as conscious actors in a world that makes sense, or is made to make sense to them in varying degrees.' Ideology therefore becomes the medium (in the case of the five ethnic minority radio stations) through which this consciousness and meaningfulness operates, also as part of the 'unconscious psychodynamic processes' (Therborn, 1980). The process of social transformation, with its nativist form of nationalism, has benefited from this 'psychodynamic' effect through various means by which memory is continuously reshaped, with stories being narrated and retold in the endless process of state-formation, hence the celebration of the 'proudly South African' moment and the elusive 'Rainbow Nation.' This consciousness of everyday life and general experiences informs my conception of ideology

In buttressing the above point, Antonio Gramsci (1971) cited in Daya Thussu (2006: 67), says the functions of the state are;

> ….to raise the great masses of the population to a particular cultural and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence the interests of the ruling classes. Schools and courts and a multitude of initiatives…form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling class.

According to Thussu, consent, thus manufactured, however, cannot simply be assumed or guaranteed, and must be constantly renewed, indicating that hegemony is more of a process that has to be continually reproduced, secured and lost – rather than being an achieved state of affairs. It is here that these ethnic minority radio stations find use, as conduits for cultural and moral production (Gramsci, 1971); that is, to continue with their educative function as decentralised public broadcasters, and also considering their acceptance within their ethnic communities as their radio stations.

Further, these radio stations, through the news and current affairs programmes that are managed from the centre (SABC Headquarters), continue in the narration of the past and assist different communities to relive the anti-apartheid struggle in a bid to non-coercively whip people into a patriotic mode. This anti-apartheid sentiment, coupled with the state's encouraged celebration of ethnic diversity within different provinces, has led to the rise of nativism.

8.8 Ethnic Minority Radio and the Emergence 'Nativist Nationalism'

In South Africa, ethnically-motivated radio stations that operate under the auspices of SABC present the beauty of ethnic identity and pluralism. Dissimilarly to other African countries, where radio broadcasting remains tightly centralised and has its functions clearly defined as those of state broadcasters, South Africa has remained within the old confines of a decentralised broadcasting system of Bantustan homelands. Possibly this is because of the crafty nature of apartheid, and in particular its media structures, which had gained acceptance within these regional communities, to the extent that any attempt to dismantle them would have derailed the course of social transformation.[131] Most citizens now view these radio stations as theirs.[132]

However, because this is a policy study, and not audience-based research, the most intriguing part entailed understanding worldviews through the lenses of radio station management and staff; and their replies as policy implementers about how these policies permeate their communities. One of the presenters at *X-K FM* even added: 'I belong to one of the ethnic groups, the Khwe, I stand as a role model, therefore, I should be the first to show pride in ethnic belonging and also that this is **'our'** radio station.' This statement, as will be shown later, serves to present the path followed by South Africa's new form of nationalism: nativism. Above all, it presents a boost to the ethos of a 'Rainbow Nation', as a form of cultural pluralism. Unlike the case presented in Chapter Five, where the founding fathers of Africa embarked on a process of criminalising ethnicity as a traditional and retrogressive phenomenon that

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[131] Information obtained from one of SABC's senior officers When asked why it was that, instead of dismantling the structures of apartheid completely, as they often claimed they would do when they gained independence, his response was that when they had gained independence they suddenly discovered that most ethnic groups in Bantustans had become used to these radio stations, to the extent that they even viewed them as symbols of their peoplehood. He added that when the new government of Nelson Mandela mooted the idea of changing the system of broadcasting for the new RSA, most ethnic community leaders protested. So, they were faced with no option but to devise ways of rebranding these ethnic radio stations. On the other hand, he added that, as the new leadership, they needed to communicate with the citizens in their different languages. These radio stations, therefore, provided a good opportunity; hence their rebranding and renaming to suit the discourse of social transformation.

[132] This was also confirmed by most of my respondents.

should be discarded, ethnicity, in the case of South Africa fuels the modernised notion of nationalism. Radio marks a point of connection where ethnicity as tradition converges with a new form of nationalism; thus finding currency within the neo-liberal discourse of a South Africa that belongs to everyone. This acts as a direct contradiction and rejection of the old African nationalist view that 'for the nation to live, the tribe must die'. A new dictum has been embedded in which the progressive slogan is that 'for the nation to live, everybody must be included.' However, this new form of nationalism was meant to serve economic ends, but was projected onto the political, cultural and technological developments, with radio being a major technological boost.

It should be remembered that in the discourse around nationalism, Benedict Anderson (1983) situated print-capitalism as the driving force behind the transformation of a historically solid community into the imagining of the nation. As in the case of South Africa's ethnic radio stations, Anderson perceived print capitalism as contributing to the vernacularisation of languages. Ellen Wesemüller (2005: 27) adds that in this view 'print languages created unified fields of communication, which enabled speakers of a diverse variety of languages to communicate with each other via print and paper.' In the case of South Africa, ethnic minority radio broadcasting in different languages caused the various ethnic groups to become aware of the existence of others who spoke a language like theirs. While, for some, this maybe perceived as the social construction of ethnic identity, in this case, it is clear that what ethnic radio is projected as doing is helping people to regroup along already existing ethnic lines.

Radio, is seen as encouraging various ethnic groups to celebrate their ethnic belonging; thereby causing 'fixity to language creating a sense of antiquity' (Wesemüller, 2005: 27). The latter was confirmed by all of the station managers, who emphasised that all languages for broadcasting in their programmes have to be strictly standardised by the Pan-South African Language Board (PASALB). This is a move aimed at insuring that all ethnic groups broadcast in their 'original' languages, hence the unwritten policy of not hiring members of other ethnic groups within their radio stations. Ultimately, this development seems to produce 'primordialised' ethnic groups through the celebration of culture, language and memory, thus producing exclusive identities.

8.9 Models of Ethnic Minority Media Revisited and the Neo-liberal Agenda

This section presents an epilogue to this discourse on ethnic minority media and its attendant ethnic consciousness. While it is not entirely the conclusion, it leads to the total summation of the arguments presented above. It shares some similarities with that on hegemony in particular by posting an argument that the attempt by the Mbeki administration to encourage a nativist form of nationalism was to encourage cultural tourism – a strategy of harnessing and giving economic to ethnic identities and their cultural symbols. However, as promised in Chapter One, it will use models of ethnic minority media, together with Comaroff's positions, to close this chapter on the five ethnic minority media that form my case study. In all the five selected ethnic minority radio stations, three models of ethnic minority media interlock, namely the integrationist, economic and the pre-emptive models. Using these models, it emerged that the new leadership embarked on a competitive mode, whereby policies are engineered in order to tacitly present an impression of a commitment towards raising the ethnic minority languages, while the major agenda is the economic front for the post-apartheid nationalist crusade and a policy of the containment of these ethnic groups using radio. *Lotus FM* presents an example, its listenership is clearly divided along north and south Indian ethnic groups, competing versions of histories and suppressed memories are tacitly encouraged. While all this is being done, the station is encouraged to broadcast in English as the main broadcasting language, with the five ethnic languages being given an hour each per day. Furthermore, the ambivalence caused by this contestation is punctuated by the continued reference to these ethnic groups as Indians. While this may be considered to be a diasporic point of reference, it causes further alienation, given the paradox of referring to a group of people who are citizens in a state with a label that implies that they belong to another state. This position was aptly captured by one of my respondents, a presenter with *Lotus FM,* who said:-

> …being considered as Indians is in fact a mistake, because that is calling us according to the name of another country when some of us do not have a clue what actually happens in India. Some of us have never been there but we are called Indians. Why can we not be called South Africans? If you wish you then can call us, South Africans of Indian Origins.

It can be further argued that, all the five ethnic minority radio stations can largely be seen as fulfilling the tacit policy of containment and assimilation within the broader state project. Through these radio stations, the state has been able to encourage cultural tourism to enhance economic benefits. However, this form of cultural diversity is controlled. This was confirmed by most of my respondents at *RSG FM,*

Lotus FM and *X-K FM*, who openly complained of being marginalised, especially in the latter, where they even cited being marginalised when it comes to taking national identity cards. Most of my respondents at *X-K FM* added that with these policies they still feel a close natal link to Namibia and Angola, from where they originally came. Another respondent from *Lotus FM* added, on the issue of the broadcasting language, that:-

> …while we celebrate being South Africans sometimes some of our people end up feeling left out,……as you can see, if we do not broadcast in our own languages what are we then?......A people without their own languages? Then what are we celebrating here as part of a broader diversity programme of the Rainbow Nation?

However, the establishment of these ethnic groups can be seen as a way to ease the threat to the *status quo* for as long as these stations remain under the control of the state. In this case, the state also tends to shift the rules of the game slightly to suit their interests. Even the channelling of resources by the state is usually tightly managed and closely guarded.

A closer analysis of *X-K FM,* for example, using the pre-emptive model, shows that when the station was first mooted it was focused on being a community radio station, aimed at being owned and managed by the locals (!Xû and Khwe) and even its board would be derived from the communities. From the research respondents, I came to understand that the government through the SABC came into the picture by way of offering to sponsor the radio station and ensure that it is licensed, under the ambit of the public broadcasting service and not as a fully fledged community radio station. Finally, all other stakeholders (the CPA, local traditional leaders and well-wishers) were outmanoeuvred by the SABC due to their limited resources, no capital and no expertise in establishing and managing a radio station.

For the five ethnic minority radio stations, when viewed from the perspective of the integrationist model, it can be argued that, by allowing the continuation of these radio stations even after apartheid, to the extent of establishing another one, in August, 2000, for the !Xû and Khwe ethnic groups, the state sought to embark on a new form of 'assimilationism' (Riggins, 1992: 09). As seen in Chapter Seven, when most respondents were asked what they saw as the objectives, purposes and reasons for the establishment of these radio stations during apartheid *(Munghana Lonene, Lotus FM, RSG FM and Phalaphala FM)*? 71% cited state propaganda as the main reason for the establishment of the ethnic minority radio stations. When asked what they thought were the reasons for the continuing of the radio station (Post-1994), responses from the station management and presenters showed that 63% believed

these radio stations were established to cause ethnic empowerment, with another 12.24% citing nation-building. While these responses may have been projecting people's understanding of these policies, as narrated by the leaders, Riggins cautions:

> Because allocating money, time, or broadcast space to minorities reduces the available resources, it should not be assumed that technological and economic transfer are spontaneous gestures of goodwill. Instead, they would appear to be decisions made according to state objectives, which may not be fully articulated in public or necessarily identical with the objectives of minorities themselves (1992: 08).

In view of the above suggestion, if one engages with the five models of ethnic minority media, it can be further suggested that while most responses cited ethnic empowerment and nation building, it should be considered that since these ethnic groups had become accustomed to having radio stations, which they considered to be theirs and which broadcast in their own languages, during apartheid, it follows that any attempt to dismantle them would have unsettled the process of social transformation. Furthermore, given this background and experience, these ethnic groups could have easily sourced external funding to establish their own ethnic radio stations had the post-apartheid leaders decided to abolish ethnic radio stations. In a bid to pre-empt such a possibility, the government decided to continue with them. An example here would be the case of *RSG FM*, which had been the main state broadcaster during apartheid. Closing the station could have tainted the state formation process, given South Africa's uneasy emergence from apartheid. Further, by dismantling *RSG FM,* they would have bolstered and confirmed assertions by some sections of the Afrikaner community, who feared a backlash in retribution. This therefore became a government policy of containment.

Following this pre-emptive engagement, an economic and integrationist approach seems to show also. An impression of a state which is superficially committed to multiculturalism emerges here. The notion of a 'Rainbow Nation' becomes one example of a new multi-culturalist discourse in a state that is characterized by a marked presence of poverty, coupled with digital divide. Riggins views such a policy as the 'new assimilationism', in which the state disguises its agenda as multi-culturalism. Arguments presented by some of my respondents, discussed in Chapter Six, expressed their lack of confidence in the Rainbow Nation, as in this example:

> …My Brother, this thing called Rainbow Nation is far from us, it belongs to those at the top and their white friends. Us and our languages in the villages and our regions are always left out there to feel happy and enjoy that our languages are on air, but that has no meaning for the broader picture of the Rainbow Nation. It is a Rainbow Nation for the elite having been started by Mandela and his comrades not us. After all, the rainbow does not have the colour black. Does it?

While there may be mixed feelings about others celebrating these ethnic minority radio stations, it also emerged from some respondents that they understood these policies to alienate them further. As confirmed by the statement above, some respondents perceived these policies to be ushering in an era of economic empowerment from which the élite benefit. Using Riggins' models, state policies in the case of South Africa can be seen as aimed at presenting the state as a benevolent institution. However, the state enjoys the latitude to monitor these ethnic minority groups and is able to use them to encourage every ethnic group to blend with the broader course of state formation in the transitional process.

8.9.1 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, it can be gleaned that ethnic minority radio stations can be used as part of the state's emancipatory project and also to enhance ethnic cohesion. It has also been noted that the social transformation process helped in creating a formula for the management of ethnicity in a state that was emerging from years of marked ethnic divisions, encouraged by the creation of homelands. However, the formula for managing these ethnic minority radio stations followed the residual policy model of ethnic radio stations inherited from apartheid. These radio stations were further transformed, this time to serve as public broadcasters. Furthermore, through these changes, ethnic minority radio stations provided people with greater impetus to become more conscious of who they are; in terms of their ethnic belonging and identities. This process also showed that all social formations that have tried to administer people tend to face the challenge of agency, which comes through subtle forms of negotiation. It also emerged from this study that people, as agents, tend to consciously negotiate their meanings in any given setting. Through using ethnic radio stations to cause social awareness, nationalists were able to cause apartheid's negation, as discussed above on the concept of the 'Babelian motif.'

Rebranding these inherited ethnic minority radio stations presented them as ethnic symbols, thereby causing them to be accepted in their regions. This also led to nativism, as an ideology in which ethnicity was embraced as a historical force with its structural and cultural arrangements (Comaroff, 1997). While the process of nativising these radio stations may not have been the major projection of the new nationalist leaders, as aptly captured in the ANC charter, it also became clear that the post-apartheid leaders could not ignore the impact of years of apartheid homelands that had encouraged ethnicity as a mode of consciousness. Following this observation,

the new leadership embarked on a process of transformation in which ethnicity moved to centre stage as cultural pluralism. This perpetuation of ethnic consciousness through the use of ethnic radio managed to shift it from the original causes of its emergence. As a result, ethnic minority radio stations have been able to engage in a duality of roles. Firstly, by assisting in the communicative agenda for a new transitional ethos, in which the new leaders sought to communicate their transformative agenda and to encourage the spirit of oneness among their people. Secondly, ethnic radio acts as a re-awakening apparatus, in which these ethnic groups have been able to gradually find new meaning in their identities through new forms of social negotiations (Comaroff, 1997).

Ethnic minority radio stations in South Africa's new era have encouraged different ethnic groups to celebrate ethnic nationalism and to show patriotism. Dissimilarly to other African countries, in a bid to manage this volatile situation, the new leaders undertook to embrace a neo-liberalist approach as part of the social transformation process. However, while the spirit espoused in this new omnibus arrangement presented an opportunity for the new nation-state's reconciliation process, it lacked a detailed engagement with what it actually entailed. As a result, Nelson Mandela is credited with having been able to oversee a potentially violent transitional process and to usher South Africa into becoming a globalist state with a booming economy. However, Mandela's task, given the conditions that were obtaining at the time, was to establish the necessary infrastructure for change, but was also largely to ensure a smooth process of separation from the past and, in some cases, continuity. The latter was in line with the compromise arrangement arrived at during CODESA negotiations. The currency on which the process rode thus became known as the 'Rainbow Nation.' This process led to the setting up of constitutional guarantees for ethnic minorities; thereby causing continuity on the part of ethnic radio stations that had previously been under the employ of apartheid.

The inherited ethnic minority radio stations now had a role in the spreading of the nationalist sentiment, while at the same time reconfiguring different ethnic identities to work in tandem with the new era. In line with this development, gradual shifts were witnessed in the emancipatory project during Thabo Mbeki's leadership. Nativist projections were encouraged as part of the ideology of the African Renaissance, thus leading to African nationalism. This form of nationalism was translated into a structure through the formation of the Native club in South Africa in 2006, which was to be a pillar of the democratic transformation agenda, with a specific focus on issues of national identity, knowledge production, and the revival of

African cultures (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 62). It found meaning, by tacitly encouraging ethnic radio stations to champion the celebration of ethnic identities. Further, through ethnic minority radio stations, ethnic identities were conjured up as a way of positioning the state's new policy and ideology within the neo-liberalised economic framework. Using Riggins' concept of a pre-emptive model, the state then embarked on a process of managing pro-ethnic sentiments in order to protect an already fragile state and its policies. The integrationist model was also employed in a bid to steer all ethnic groups towards the new nationalist ethos, with a view to integrating them into the emancipatory project. As a result, South Africa's case has become an acknowledgement of Comaroff's (1997: 74) position, by using ethnic nationalism in incorporating originally and structurally dissimilar ethnic groups into a single political economy – through the ideology of a 'Rainbow Nation.'

Furthermore, Gellner's (1983: 06) views find meaning in that nationalism, as a political principle, is developed to deal with the contingency and is obligated to encourage political legitimacy. Using ethnic minority radio, therefore, uniting images of history and culture were selectively transformed to allow each ethnic group to embed its own story and to contribute towards South Africa's nation-building process. These radio stations have also provided an economic locus, by managing the process of the vernacularisation of languages and by broadening listeners' worldviews. Consequently, the ideology of the Afro-nativist nationalist agenda has managed to positively instrumentalise ethnicity, like a natural resource, for the good of the economy, without having to 'criminalise' it as seen elsewhere in Africa. Since ethnic group rights, as solidarity rights, are enshrined in the state constitution, represented by the eleven languages, this vernacularisation process has been further transformed into a form of cultural tourism, in which each ethnic region has a history to share for their economic benefit (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). Cultural tourism has been able to give ethnic broadcasting its global neoliberal capitalistic agency, by encouraging fixity of language and through the creation of a sense of antiquity. However, in the process of the vernacularisation of language with its capitalist verbiage, English has benefitted by gaining the status of the *lingua franca* of business (Geddes, 2010).

While the continued revival of ethnicity through radio has its economic benefits, it also serves as a strategy rooted in the existentialist mode of using radio to cause various ethnic groups to be answerable for their actions to the state. These radio stations can also be seen as vehicles through which the government constantly parcels out its nationalist ideas as part of the 'public good' and as a PSB product. Slavoj

Zizek views these ethnic existentialist ideas as forms of pretence, usually projected through broadcasting as a plague of fantasies.

In addition, Francis Nyamnjoh (2009: 72) says the 'media reflect as well as shape African societies, which are themselves marked by continuities, interconnectedness, convivialities and creating marriages of difference.' It is on this note that one observes that when an ethnic radio station is designed to broadcast in a particular language, it defines a community and further concretises the 'we' feeling (Scannell, 1992; Mhlanga, 2010). It is that 'we' feeling which also translates into belonging, ownership and inclusion into the broader state processes. Furthermore, because the government is coming from the platform of being people-driven, this use of radio broadcasting to cause inclusion for ethnic minorities becomes the best insurance policy at their disposal.

In conclusion, while this study critically engages with the stages of progression of South Africa as a state, by encouraging ethnic diversity, it also challenges for research in the field of ethnic minority media in Africa. This study has observed a dearth of literature on ethnic minorities, let alone on African perspectives on ethnicity and how ethnicity can be harnessed as a natural resource. Its usefulness as a natural resource requires deep-seated academic engagement because, like electricity, while useful for many other facets of our lives, it can still electrocute. Likewise, ethnicity can be a cause of social upheaval, conflict and disintegration, while, on the other hand, it can also be a source of progress as people celebrate the plurality of ideas.

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APPENDICES

INTRODUCING & DESCRIBING THE APPENDICES USED

The following section is a point of reference on the research findings. It is provide evidence for the issues raised in the body of the thesis about the five ethnic minority radio stations. Further, it gives information; that is, diagrammatically, statistically and pictorial on information that was qualitatively described in the thesis. These appendices are grouped into various sections with a view to further illuminate, buttress and concretise on the different arguments and aspects of the research, its findings and emergent issues.

The section will be divided into two segments. The first section deals with the five ethnic minority radio stations; *Lotus FM, Munghana Lonene FM, Phalaphala FM, RSG FM* and *X-K FM*. In each radio station information provided includes; their broadcasting spectrum, licence conditions and programme schedules, translated into English for easy access. However, it would further be noted that as stated in Chapters Six and Seven about the challenges I faced when dealing with the station management at *Lotus FM*, they refused to provide a detailed programme schedule which could be attached here. As a result the programme schedule for Lotus FM is missing here; however, other information is provided which helps in presenting more information about the station.

The information provided in this section serves to buttress the positions proffered in this thesis in particular on issues of ethnic minority media. It should also be read in tandem with the various research outcomes as explicated on in the thesis.

APPENDICES FOR LOTUS FM

LOTUS FM COVERAGE - APRIL 2008
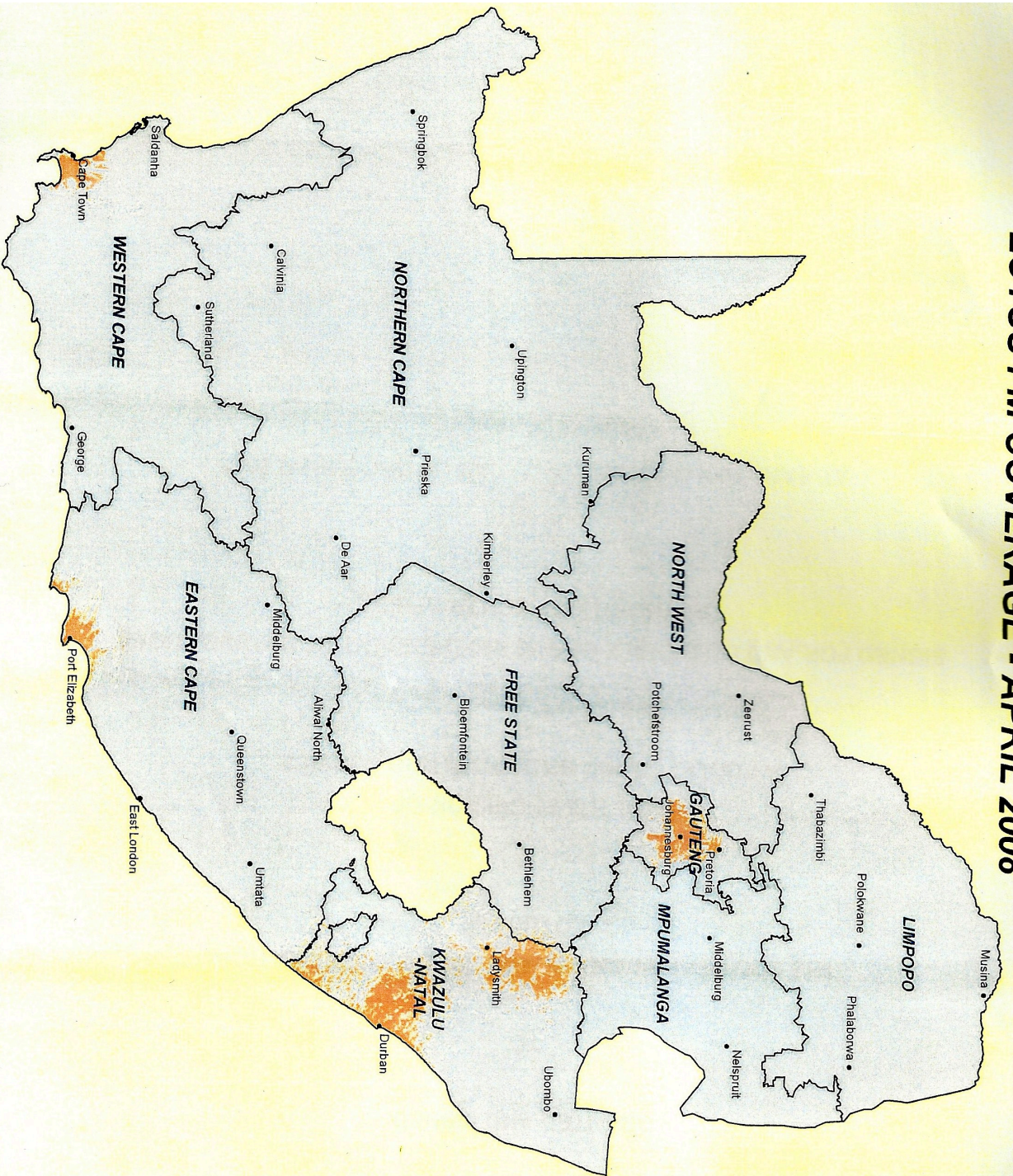
LEGEND

- CURRENT COVERAGE
- NO COVERAGE
- NO DATA
- PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES
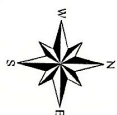
SENTECH
connecting You

WESTERN CAPE
- Cape Town
- Saldanha
- Calvinia
- Sutherland
- George

NORTHERN CAPE
- Springbok
- Upington
- Prieska
- De Aar
- Kimberley
- Kuruman

EASTERN CAPE
- Port Elizabeth
- Middelburg
- Aliwal North
- Queenstown
- East London
- Umtata

FREE STATE
- Bloemfontein
- Bethlehem

NORTH WEST
- Potchefstroom
- Zeerust

KWAZULU-NATAL
- Ladysmith
- Durban
- Ubombo

GAUTENG
- Johannesburg
- Pretoria

MPUMALANGA
- Middelburg
- Nelspruit

LIMPOPO
- Thabazimbi
- Polokwane
- Phalaborwa
- Musina

LOTUS fm

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While every care has been taken to ensure acceptable accuracy of the predictions, Sentech or any employee thereof, will not accept responsibility for any inconsistencies that may arise as a result of a real world, practical considerations or the like.

The predictions have been calculated in the context of field strength simulations, and do not include the effect of multipath or external interference.

ICASA

INDIVIDUAL BROADCASTING SERVICE LICENCE
No. 016/PBS/R/SEPT/08

GRANTED AND ISSUED

TO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
LOTUS FM

FOR THE PROVISION OF
A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS
AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

AT SANDTON ON THIS...18.....DAY OF DECEMBER 2008

Paris Mashile
Chairperson

1 LICENSEE

The Licence is issued to:

1.1 Name of Company/Entity: The South African Broadcasting Corporation

1.2 Shareholders: The State: 100%

1.3 Ownership held by persons from historically disadvantaged groups: N/A

2 CONTACT DETAILS

2.1 The contact person for the Licensee shall be:

2.1.1	Name:	Philly Moilwa
2.1.2	Tel:	(011) 714 3708
2.1.3	Fax:	(011) 714 4816
2.1.4	Cell:	082 903 2544
2.1.5	Email:	pmoilwa@sabc.co.za

2.2 Should the Licensee propose to replace the person so designated, the Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing within seven (7) days after appointing the new designated person.

3 NOTICES AND ADDRESSES

The Licensee chooses the following addresses as its principal addresses:

3.1	Postal Address:	Private Bag x1
		Auckland Park
		2006
3.2	Physical Address:	Radio Park
		Henley Road
		Auckland Park
		2006

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SCHEDULE

1. **Name of Station**

    Lotus FM

2. **Geographic Coverage Area**

    The geographic coverage area is as defined in the map attached to the radio frequency spectrum licence.

3. **Language(s)**

    Principal Language: English with specialist programmes in Hindi, Tamil, Urdu, Gujurati and Telegu.

4. **Format**

    4.1   The service authorised by this licence forms part of the public service division of the Licensee.

    4.2   The licensed service shall provide a full-spectrum service.

5. **Local Content Obligations**

    In each licence year, the Licensee shall, within thirty (30) days of end of the quarter, submit to the Authority written records indicating the extent of:

    5.1   the different genres; and

    5.2   the South African music content,

    in programme material broadcast on the licensed service during that quarter, in each instance, distinguishing between genres, providing the relevant details in relation to prime time and the period between 05h00 and 23h00 daily ("the South African broadcast period"), and expressing the relevant details both as an aggregate in minutes and as a percentage of the total of all such programming material.

6. **General Programming Obligations**

    6.1   <u>General</u>

            6.1.1   The Licensee shall ensure that its programming adequately reflects the diversity of South Africa's religions.

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6.1.2 The Licensee shall take reasonable steps to provide programming that reflects the cultural and traditional needs of its audience.

6.1.3 The Licensee shall, during the South African performance period, provide programme material that caters and has due regard for the interests of all sectors of South African society and shall provide programming on health related issues, gender issues relevant to all age groups.

6.2 News and Current Affairs

6.2.1 The Licensee shall broadcast at least sixty (60) minutes of news programming each day during the South African performance period.

6.2.2 The Licensee shall broadcast at least sixty (60) minutes of current affairs programming each day during the South African performance period.

6.2.3 The Licensee shall in the production of its news and current affairs programming:

(i) exercise full editorial control in respect of the contents of such programming;

(ii) include matters of international, national, regional and where appropriate, local significance;

(iii) meet the highest standards of journalistic professionalism;

(iv) provide fair, unbiased, impartial and balanced coverage independent from governmental, commercial or other interference; and

(v) provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to receive a variety of points of view on matters of public concern.

6.3 Programming targeted at Children

6.3.1 The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least one (1) hour of programming targeted at children (as contemplated in section 10(1)(g) of the Broadcasting Act) per week during the South African performance period.

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6.3.2 In the production and presentation of its children's programming, the Licensee shall ensure that such children's programming is:

(i) broadcast at times of the day when children are available to listen;

(ii) target at and appropriate for children between the ages of nought (0) to six (6) years and seven (7) years respectively; and

(iii) educational and is made from children's point of view.

6.4 Educational Programming

The Licensee shall broadcast at least five (5) hours of educational programming (as contemplated in section 10(1)(e) of the Broadcasting Act) per week within the South African performance period.

6.5 Drama

The Licensee shall broadcast at least two and a half (2 ½) hours of drama per week within the South African performance period.

6.6 Informal Knowledge-Building Programmes

The Licensee shall broadcast at least three (3) hours of informal knowledge-building programming per week within the South African performance period.

7. **Training and Skills Development Obligations**

7.1 The Licensee must adopt and implement equal opportunity employment practices.

7.2 The Licensee must ensure that its management and staff are representative of South African society and that its human resource policies take into account the development of managerial, production, technical and other skills and expertise, particularly with regard to the historically disadvantaged persons.

7.3 The Licensee shall endeavour to achieve fair and reasonable participation by historically disadvantaged persons with respect to:

(a) its management and control structures;

(b) skills development;

(c) enterprise development; and

(d) procurement.

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7.4   The Licensee must, within thirty (30) days of the end of each financial year, provide the Authority with written information regarding its compliance with the above requirements.

8.   **Provision of audited financial statements to the Authority:**

The Licensee shall provide the Authority with the audited annual financial statements of the licensed service within four (4) months of the end of the Licensee's financial year, provided that the Licensee may on good cause apply to the Authority for an extension.

6

ICASA

RADIO FREQUENCY SPECTRUM LICENCE

No. 016/PBS/RF/SEPT/08

GRANTED AND ISSUED

TO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

LOTUS FM

FOR THE PROVISION OF

A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS

AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

AT SANDTON ON THIS...18th.......DAY OF DECEMBER 2008

Paris Mashile

Chairperson

1. **LICENSEE**

   The Licence is issued to:

   1.1 **Name of Company/Entity**: The South African Broadcasting Corporation

   1.2 **Shareholders**: The State shall hold one hundred (100%) percent of the shares of the Corporation

   1.3 **Ownership held by persons from historically disadvantaged groups**: N/A

2 **CONTACT DETAILS**

   2.1 The contact person for the Licensee shall be:

2.1.1	Name:	Philly Moilwa
2.1.2	Tel:	(011) 714 3708
2.1.3	Fax:	(011) 714 4816
2.1.4	Cell:	082 903 2544
2.1.5	Email:	pmoilwa@sabc.co.za

   2.2 Should the Licensee propose to replace the person so designated, the Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing within seven (7) days after appointing the new designated person.

3 **NOTICES AND ADDRESSES**

   The Licensee chooses the following addresses as its principal addresses:

   3.1 Postal Address: Private Bag x1

   Auckland Park

   2006

   3.2 Physical Address: Radio Park

   Henley Road

   Auckland Park

   2006

Page **2** of **3**

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1. **Name of Station**

   Lotus FM

2. **Geographic Coverage Area**

   Gauteng, Kwazulu-Natal and Cape Town

3. **General Conditions**

   The Licensee must at all times observe the provisions of international telecommunications conventions, such as those governing the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and as they apply to the Republic of South Africa.

PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING LICENCE

TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

LOTUS FM

TRANSMITTER NAME	GEOGRAPHIC COORDINATES LONGITUDE	LATITUDE	FREQUENCY MHz	HEIGHTS/m MID-ANTENNA (a.g.l)	SITE (a.s.l)	DESIGNATION OF EMISSION	FREQUENCY STABILITY	SPURIOUS EMISSION	MAX. DEVIATION	MAX. ERP/KW	ANTENNA AZM	POL.	SIGNAL DISTRIBUTOR
DURBAN	030E43 00	29S46 11	87.7	198	841	250KF8EHF	2000 Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	25	Omni-directional	M	SENTECH
DURBAN NORTH	031E02 24	29S45 52	89.4	50	149	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	6	Directional	V	SENTECH
GLENCOE	029E56 51	28S09 04	90	102	1711	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	10	Omni-directional	V	SENTECH
JOHANNESBURG	028E00 26	26S11 31	106.8	210.25	1777	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	2.4	Omni-directional	V	SENTECH
LADYSMITH	029E47 19	28S35 23	87.9	63	1125	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	0.1	Directional	V	SENTECH
PIETERMARITZBURG	030E19 49	29S34 47	88.3	80	1059	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	0.302	Directional	V	SENTECH
PORT ELIZABETH	025E26 29	33S56 10	98.3	158	201	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	16	Directional	V	SENTECH
PORT SHEPSTONE	030E17 17	30S44 07	88.2	158	494	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	10	Omni-directional	V	SENTECH
SUNNYSIDE	028E12 24	25S45 53	100.1	172	1440	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	0.1	Directional	V	SENTECH
THE BLUFF	031E00 45	29S54 40	88.9	33.5	76	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	0.1	Directional	V	SENTECH
TYGERBERG	018E35 46	33S52 29	97.8	60	398	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	1.3	Omni-directional	V	SENTECH

lotus
877 - 106.8 fm
share the experience

Programme Schedule

WEEKDAYS – Monday to Friday

TIME	DJ	PROGRAMME	PROGRAMME CONTENT
06h00 – 07h00	Various	Newsbreak	Current Affairs Programme
07h00 – 10h00	O' Neil Nair Lois Moodley (Producer)	O' Neil in the Morning	Up tempo morning drive show with music, trivia, games, humour, sport, traffic and Current Affairs slots
10h00 – 12h00	Zakia Ahmed	It's Your Call	Listener-driven music show
12h00 – 15h00	Varshan Sookhun Pauline Sangham (Producer)	Lunch with Varshan	Lunch time show with the latest music, news, views, interviews, trivia
13h00 – 13h30	Various	Newsbreak	Current Affairs programme
15h00 – 16h00	CJ Benjamin	Lotus FM Youth Crossfire	Topics that are youth based
16h00 – 19h00	Rakesh Ramdhin Pravina Maharaj (Producer)	On Da Road with Rakesh	Relaxed afternoon drive show with music, sport and humour
18h15 – 18h30	Althaf Suleman Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday	Inside Sport	All aspects of local and International sport featured
19h00 – 20h00	Monday: Veena Lutchman	Geetanjali	Hindi Language Programme
	Tuesday: Vijayluxmi Balakisten	Sungeetha Nilayamu	Telugu Language Programme
	Wednesday: Safee Siddiqi	Guldasta	Urdu Language Programme
	Thursday: Ashit Desai	Geetmala	Gujerati Language Programme
	Friday: Mala Lutchmanan	In Isai Mazhai	Tamil Language Programme
20h00 – 21h00	CJ Benjamin Monday to Thursday	Off the record Talk	Talk Show
20h00 – 21h00	Ravi Govender Fridays	Off The Shelf	Book Reviews Theatre
21h00 – 24h00	Fahim Jamadar	Kazzbah	Listener-driven music show with dedications, Golden Oldies
00h00 – 03h00	Lloyd Paul Monday, Thursday and Friday	Late Nite Jamz	Music programme
00h00 - 03h00	Jared Dukkhi	Late Nite Jamz	Music Programme

06h00 – 07h00	Various	Newsbreak	Current Affairs
07h00 – 10h00	Vikash Mathura Ray Maharaj	The Weekend Touch Down	Breakfast show with comedy, sport and listener interaction
10h00 – 13h00	Jared Dukkhi	The Weekend Vibe	Listener driven music show
12h00 – 12h30	Various	Newsbreak	Current Affairs Programme
13h00 – 16h00	Mala Lutchmanan	Kodambakkam Beat	South Indian Top 20 and Movie News
16h00 –18h00	Veena Lutchman	Bhakti Sangeet	Hindu religious programme
18h00 – 19h00	Pauline Sangham	Gospel Hour	Christian music programme
19h00 - 20h00	Safee Siddiqi	Qwali Hour	Muslim Programme
20h00 - 21h00	Zakia Ahmed	Deenyaat	Muslim Programme
21h00 - 22h00	Patrick Ngcobo	Classical Corner	Indian Classical Music
22h00 – 24h00	Suresh Harilall	Classic Gold	Playing of golden oldies songs

News

07h00, 08h00, 09h00, 10h00, 11h00,12H00, 13h00,14H00, 15h00,16h00, 17h00, 18h00, 19h00, 20h00

APPENDICES FOR MUNGHANA LONENE FM

MUNGHANA LONENE FM COVERAGE AND PROPOSED EXPANSION - APRIL 2008

WESTERN CAPE

NORTHERN CAPE

EASTERN CAPE

FREE STATE

NORTH WEST

GAUTENG

MPUMALANGA

KWAZULU -NATAL

LIMPOPO

Cape Town
Saldanha
Springbok
Calvinia
Sutherland
Upington
George
Prieska
De Aar
Kimberley
Kuruman
Middelburg
Aliwal North
Bloemfontein
Port Elizabeth
Queenstown
Umtata
East London
Bethlehem
Ladysmith
Durban
Ubombo
Potchefstroom
Zeerust
Johannesburg
Pretoria
Thabazimbi
Polokwane
Phalaborwa
Middelburg
Nelspruit
Musina

LEGEND

- CURRENT COVERAGE
- PROPOSED EXPANSION
- NO COVERAGE
- NO DATA
- PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES

SENTECH Connecting You

Department: Broadcast Planning
Requested By: SABC
Map Production: W Schreiber
Date: 09/04/2008

REF:041505MaltiCoverageMapofMuhnnenurd0901_Expansion_T107

Ndzalama Ya Rixaka

ML fm 889 - 103.2

INDIVIDUAL BROADCASTING SERVICE LICENCE

No. 002/PBS/R/SEPT/08

GRANTED AND ISSUED

TO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

MUNGHANA LONENE

FOR THE PROVISION OF

A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS
AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

AT SANDTON ON THIS ...18th... DAY OF DECEMBER 2008

Paris Mashile
Chairperson

RADIO FREQUENCY SPECTRUM LICENCE

No. 002/PBS/RF/SEPT/08

GRANTED AND ISSUED

TO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
MUNGHANA LONENE

FOR THE PROVISION OF
A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS
AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

AT SANDTON ON THIS....18th......DAY OF DECEMBER 2008

Paris Mashile
Chairperson

1 LICENSEE

The Licence is issued to:

1.1 Name of Company/Entity: The South African Broadcasting Corporation

1.2 Shareholders: The State: 100%

1.3 Ownership held by persons from historically disadvantaged groups: N/A

2 CONTACT DETAILS

2.1 The contact person for the Licensee shall be:

2.1.1	Name:	Philly Moilwa
2.1.2	Tel:	(011) 714 3708
2.1.3	Fax:	(011) 714 4816
2.1.4	Cell:	082 903 2544
2.1.5	Email:	pmoilwa@sabc.co.za

2.2 Should the Licensee propose to replace the person so designated, the Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing within seven (7) days after appointing the new designated person.

3 NOTICES AND ADDRESSES

The Licensee chooses the following addresses as its principal addresses:

3.1	Postal Address:	Private Bag x1
		Auckland Park
		2006
3.2	Physical Address:	Radio Park
		Henley Road
		Auckland Park
		2006

1.   **Name of Station**

Munghana Lonene FM

2.   **Geographic Coverage Area**

The geographic coverage area is as defined in the map attached to the radio frequency spectrum licence.

3.   **Language(s)**

Principal Language: XiTsonga

4.   **Format**

4.1   The service authorised by this licence forms part of the public service division of the Licensee.

4.2   The licensed service shall be a full-spectrum service.

5.   **Local Content Obligations**

In each licence year, the Licensee shall, within thirty (30) days of end of the quarter, submit to the Authority written records indicating the extent of:

5.1   the different genres; and

5.2   the South African music content,

in programme material broadcast on the licensed service during that quarter, in each instance, distinguishing between genres, providing the relevant details in relation to prime time and the period between 05h00 and 23h00 daily ("the South African broadcast period"), and expressing the relevant details both as an aggregate in minutes and as a percentage of the total of all such programming material.

6.   **General Programming Obligations**

6.1   General

6.1.1   The Licensee shall ensure that its programming adequately reflects the diversity of South Africa's religions.

6.1.2   The Licensee shall take reasonable steps to provide programming that reflects the cultural and traditional needs of its audience.

6.1.3   The Licensee shall, during the South African performance period, provide programme material that caters and has due regard for the interests of all sectors of South African society and shall provide programming on health related issues, gender issues relevant to all age groups.

6.2   **News and Current Affairs**

6.2.1   The Licensee shall broadcast at least sixty (60) minutes of news programming each day during the South African performance period.

6.2.2   The Licensee shall broadcast at least sixty (60) minutes of current affairs programming each day during the South African performance period.

6.2.3   The Licensee shall in the production of its news and current affairs programming:

(i)   exercise full editorial control in respect of the contents of such programming;

(ii)   include matters of international, national, regional and where appropriate, local significance;

(iii)   meet the highest standards of journalistic professionalism;

(iv)   provide fair, unbiased, impartial and balanced coverage independent from governmental, commercial or other interference; and

(v)   provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to receive a variety of points of view on matters of public concern.

6.3   **Programming targeted at Children**

6.3.1   The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least one (1) hour of programming targeted at children (as

contemplated in section 10(1)(g) of the Broadcasting Act) per week during the South African performance period.

6.3.2 In the production and presentation of its children's programming, the Licensee shall ensure that such children's programming is:

(i) broadcast at times of the day when children are available to listen;

(ii) target at and appropriate for children between the ages of nought (0) to six (6) years and seven (7) years respectively; and

(iii) educational and is made from children's point of view.

6.4 <u>Educational Programming</u>

The Licensee shall broadcast at least five (5) hours of educational programming (as contemplated in section 10(1)(e) of the Broadcasting Act) per week within the South African performance period.

6.5 <u>Drama</u>

The Licensee shall broadcast at least two and a half (2 ½) hours of drama per week within the South African performance period.

6.6 <u>Informal Knowledge-Building Programmes</u>

The Licensee shall broadcast at least three (3) hours of informal knowledge-building programming per week within the South African performance period.

7. **Training and Skills Development Obligations**

7.1 The Licensee must adopt and implement equal opportunity employment practices.

7.2 The Licensee must ensure that its management and staff are representative of South African society and that its human resource policies take into account the development of managerial, production, technical and other skills and expertise, particularly with regard to the historically disadvantaged persons.

7.3 The Licensee shall endeavour to achieve fair and reasonable participation by historically disadvantaged persons with respect to:

(a) its management and control structures;

(b) skills development;

(c) enterprise development; and

(d) procurement.

7.4   The Licensee must, within thirty (30) days of the end of each financial year, provide the Authority with written information regarding its compliance with the above requirements.

8.   **Provision of audited financial statements to the Authority:**

The Licensee shall provide the Authority with the audited annual financial statements of the licensed service within four (4) months of the end of the Licensee's financial year, provided that the Licensee may on good cause apply to the Authority for an extension.

1. **LICENSEE**

The Licence is issued to:

1.1 **Name of Company/Entity**: The South African Broadcasting Corporation

1.2 **Shareholders**: The State shall hold one hundred (100%) percent of the shares of the Corporation

1.3 **Ownership held by persons from historically disadvantaged groups**: N/A

2 **CONTACT DETAILS**

2.1 The contact person for the Licensee shall be:

2.1.1	Name:	Philly Moilwa
2.1.2	Tel:	(011) 714 3708
2.1.3	Fax:	(011) 714 4816
2.1.4	Cell:	082 903 2544
2.1.5	Email:	pmoilwa@sabc.co.za

2.2 Should the Licensee propose to replace the person so designated, the Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing within seven (7) days after appointing the new designated person.

3 **NOTICES AND ADDRESSES**

The Licensee chooses the following addresses as its principal addresses:

3.1 Postal Address: Private Bag x1
Auckland Park
2006

3.2 Physical Address: Radio Park
Henley Road
Auckland Park
2006

Page **2** of **3**

SCHEDULE

1. **Name of Station**

   Munghana Lonene

2. **Geographic Coverage Area**

   Gauteng, Mpumalanga and Limpopo

3. **General Conditions**

   The Licensee must at all times observe the provisions of international telecommunications conventions, such as those governing the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and as they apply to the Republic of South Africa.

PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING LICENCE

TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

MUNGHANA LONENE FM

TRANSMITTER NAME	GEOGRAPHIC COORDINATES		FREQUENCY	HEIGHTS/m		DESIGNATION OF	FREQUENCY	SPURIOUS	MAX.	MAX.	ANTENNA		SIGNAL
	LONGITUDE	LATTITUDE	MHz	MID-ANTENNA (a.g.l)	SITE (a.s.l)	EMISSION	STABILITY	EMISSION	DEVIATION	ERP/KW	AZM	POL.	DISTRIBUTOR
HOEDSPRUIT	030E52 08	24S32 30	92	128	1925	250KF8EHF	2000 Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	18	Directional	V	SENTECH
JOHANNESBURG	028E00 26	26S11 31	103.2	210.25	1777	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	2.4	Omni-directional	V	SENTECH
LOUIS TRICHARDT	029E45 26	23S00 02	90	80	1620	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	3	Directional	V	SENTECH
NELSPRUIT	030E46 35	25S30 55	89.4	102	1661	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	12	Omni-directional	V	SENTECH
POTGIETERSRUS	029E14 10	24S09 24	99.6	80	1896	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	4	Omni-directional	V	SENTECH
PRETORIA	027E59 03	25S41 20	95.6	66	1655	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	11	Omni-directional	V	SENTECH
PUNDA MARIA	030E59 19	22S43 28	91	118	637	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	4	Directional	V	SENTECH
TZANEEN	030E00 17	23S47 06	92.6	66	1832	250KF8EHF	2000Hz	60 dB/1 mW	75 kHz	12	Omni-directional	V	SENTECH

MUNGHANA LONENE

PROGRAMMING SCHEDULE 2009/10

Monday to Friday

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
06h00 – 06h05	News Bulletins / Mahungu	News	Lillian Hlabangwane, Hlulani Magayisa & Freddy Rikhotso
06h05 – 07h00	Current Affairs / Tiko a xi etleri	Breaking news, News headlines, News bulletins, Weather, Mozambique news update, Financial indicators, Actuality & Sport update	Akani Nkuzana, Edith Nkuna, Bejani Mashaba & Nyiko Shibambu
07h00-07h05	News Bulletins / Mahungu	News	Lillian Hlabangwane, Hlulani Magayisa & Freddy Rikhotso
07h05 – 09h00	Morning Drive Show / Phaphama	Sport update, weather, newspaper headlines, news headlines, entertainment stories, spot the lyrics, listeners' choice ,golden oldies feature, African songs feature, traffic updates	Sydney Baloyi , Brian Rikhotso & Gift Shikwambana
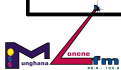
Monday to Friday

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
09h05 – 09h20	Mina hi mina	Farm Life Style Soapy that encompass the SMME Development that depicts a better life for all people of South Africa	Ali Maluleke
09h20 -10h00	Early Childhood Development	Takalane Sesame & Olset	Winnie Vukea
10h00 – 12h00	Women's Magazine show / Gingirikani	Lifestyle talk, Cooking recipes, News headlines, Interviews, Women's prayer, Health matters, Disability issues, family matters, fashion ,decoration, motivation ,financial issues and fatherhood	Ruth Maphophe
12h00 – 13h00	Lunch Hour Zone / Dzumba na mina	Soul & Ballads Music	Quinton Baloyi
13h05 – 13h20	Drama	Daily Serial	Million Mabunda

Monday to Friday

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
13h20 – 14h30	MLFM Talk show / Afrika wa vulavula	Topical issues: socio economic, political, business, developmental, municipality & Government service delivery	Morgan Shibambu
14h30 -15h00	Children's programmes	Numeric Skills, Life skills, Literature, Environmental knowledge, Face to face with children, etc	Prisca Mhlongo & Ntshunxeko Baloyi
15h00 – 18h00	Afternoon Drive show / Vaxumi	Weather, traffic reports, brain teaser, news headlines, sport updates, scrambled mixes, voicemail challenge, spot the fake, now & then, word challenge, twisted ad, let's get funny, sports quizzes, Live studio mixes	Ike Ngobeni & Gift Shikwambana
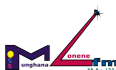
Monday to Friday

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
18h00 – 19h00	Current Affairs / Tiko a xi etleli	Breaking news, News headlines, News bulletins, Weather, Mozambique news update, Financial indicators, Actuality & Sport update	Akani Nkuzana, Edith Nkuna, Bejani Mashaba & Nyiko Shibambu
19h00 – 19h45	Sport Hour	Sport Interviews: Different sporting codes e.g. Soccer, Cricket, Rugby, Boxing and etc.	Rhandzu Mthombeni
19h45 – 20h00	Mina hi mina (Repeat)	Farm Life Style Soapy that encompass the SMME Development that depicts a better life for all people of South Africa	Ali Maluleke
20h00 – 20h30	Music	Music	Bellah Nyathi & Patrick Mathebula
20h30 – 21h00	Ta mafu	Funeral Notices	Abbie Baloyi & Beka Ntsan'wisi

Monday to Friday

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
21h00 – 22h00	Educational Programmes	Health, Civic matters, Commerce & Finance, Learner Support, Educator development, Science & Technology	Bellah Nyathi & Patrick Mathebula
22h00 – 23h55	**Mon-Fri** **Monday** -African Religion / Ripfumelo ra ndzhavuko **Tuesday** – Xitsonga Top 10 **Wednesday** – Mantshwani / Ririmi **Thursday** – Hi na n'wina We reap what we sow	Community diaries, PSAs, etc Issues of spirituality discussed from Islam, traditional & Christian point of view Xitsonga Charts Language development & promotion of local upcoming artists. Books and Literature Gospel music An inspirational motivational talk for men to promote trust and self confidence – thus generating relaxation and stillness instead of stress	 Mon – Beka Ntsan'wisi Tue – Pat Mathebula Wed – Thembi Thobela Thu – Beka Ntsanwisi
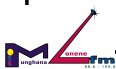
Monday to Friday

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
23h55 – 00h00	Epilogues	Pre-recorded prayer	Nelly Zitha
00h00 -03h00	Social Issues Talk show / Ngula ya vutomi	Topical: Relationships, Family issues, Social issues, Religion, cultural issues and etc	Eric Makelana
03h00 – 06h00	Xitimela xa na mixo 326	Music, News Reviews, Police Reports, Train Schedule reports, Weather, Financial reports, quotes, health tips, surprise birthday call, celebrity birthdays & this day in history	Russel Kwinika
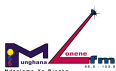
Fridays

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
19h00 – 19h45	Sport Hour	Sport Interviews: Different sporting codes e.g. Soccer, Cricket, Rugby, Boxing and etc.	Nyiko Sithole
19h45 - 20h00	Mina hi mina (Repeat)	Lifestyle Soapie	Ali Maluleke
20h00 – 21h00	Educational Programmes	Learner Support	Patrick Mathebula
21h00 – 21h30	Ta mafu & Epilogues	Funeral Notices & Pre-recorded prayer	Abbie Baloyi & Beka Ntsan'wisi
22h00 – 23h00	Friday – Sports	Boxing – News, interviews & Live commentary	Fri – Nyiko Sithole
23h00 -03h00	Ta Mporoma	House Music, Gig-guide, Live DJs studio mix	Junior Zitha
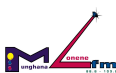
Saturdays

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
03h00 -06h00	Ta Mporoma	Party time Music	Morris Sibuyi
06h00 – 07h00	Tiko a xietleli / Current Affairs	Breaking news, News headlines, News bulletins, Weather, Mozambique news update, Financial indicators, Actuality & Sport update	Akani Nkuzana, Edith Nkuna, Bejani Mashaba & Nyiko Shibambu
07h00 – 08h00	State your mind/ Van'wamutuku / Childrens' Programmes	Interaction with children	Rooitjie Maringa & Ntshuxeko Baloyi
08h00 – 10h00	Local Top 20	Music Charts	Thembi Thobela
10h00 – 11h00	Love life/Vantshwa va hleva (Youth Talk)	Discussion of topics that are related to youth	Patrick Mathebula
11h00 – 13h00	African Music / Mindzhumba ya Afrika	Music from Africa and Profile of African Countries	Patrick Mathebula
13h00 – 14h00	Teen Zone	An educational teen magazine series aimed at influencing positive life-styles for teenagers	Prisca Mhlongo
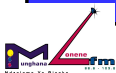
Saturdays

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
14h00 – 18h00	Sport/Etimbaleni ta mintlangu	Game preview and Reviews, Interviews with Sport Personalities, Live Coverage of Sport	Nyiko Sithole Eric Mabasa/Phineas Malatjie
18h00-22h00	The Fun Zone	Reggae hour, pump it or dump it, hip hop session, track battles, album reviews & entertainment reports	Junior Zitha
22h00 – 23h00	Xiseveseve	Xitsonga music	Thembi Thobela
23h00 – 02h00	Ta mporoma	House Music, Gig-guide, Live DJs studio mix	Thembi Thobela

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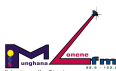
Sundays

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
02h00 - 06h00	Ta mporoma	Slow Jams/ Hip hop / Soul music / RNB	Patrick Mathebula
06h00 - 06h30	Church service / Kereke	Pre recorded sermon	Nelly Zitha
06h30 - 07h00	Sunday School / Xikolo xa Sonto	Religious lessons for children	Sunday School Teachers
07h00 - 08h00	Childrens programmes / Va N'wamutuku	Childrens Programmes	Ntshuxeko Baloyi
08h00 - 09h00	Gospel Music Straight to the point	Gospel Music by Tsonga Artists An inspirational youth sermon aimed at promoting important religious and moral tenets and worldly matters	Beka Ntsanwisi
09h00 - 10h00	Holani / International & Local Gospel Music	Motivational talk for the ill & Contemporary gospel music	Beka Ntsanwisi
10h00 - 12h00	International Top 30	Music Charts	Mchangani
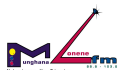
Sundays

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
12h00 – 13h00	Jazz	Jazz Music	Morris Sibuyi
13h00 – 14h00	Jazz	Jazz Music	Morris Sibuyi
14h00 – 15h00	Sport Hour	Game preview, Interviews with sport personality	Nyiko Sithole
15h00 – 18h00	Sport/Etimbaleni ta mintlangu	Live game commentary	Eric Mabasa/Phineas Malatjie
18h00 – 19h00	Youth Development / Tidyondzo Ke Moja – I'm fine without drugs(once per month)	Talk show, phone in and interaction with studio guest The feature focuses on encouraging youth to live a responsible and drug free life	Patrick Mathebula
19h00 – 20h00	Current Affairs	Weekly News round up	Akani Nkuzana, Edith Nkuna, Bejani Mashaba & Nyiko Shibambu

Sundays

TIME CHANNEL	NAME OF PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION	ALLOCATED PRESENTER
20h00 – 21h00	Tikhwayere / Choral Music	Choral Music	Ruth Maphophe
21h05 – 22h00	Bibele yi ri yini Minkondzo ya tinghwazi	Various topics discussed from biblical point of view Profiling religious legends	Pastor Strike
22h05 – 00h00	Ta mbilu ya nga	Listeners requested songs	Thembi Thobela
00h00 – 01h00	Music variety	Variety of music genres	Thembi Thobela
01h00 – 02h00	Cool Music	Cool music	Thembi Thobela
02h00 – 03h00	Music Variety	Soulful Cool Music/ fusion	Russel Kwinika
03h00-06h00	Xitimela xa ni mixo	Music, crime prevention, programmes preview, commuters news, teasing workers/learners, etc	Russel Kwinika
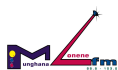
Notes to the Schedule

1. News Bulletins comes every hour on top of the Hour on the schedule on weekdays from 06h00 to 22h00(The total bulletins per day is 17 bulletins of five minutes duration)

2. The schedule is above ICASA Regulation and Requirements (1 hour per day) performing at 1 hour 25 minute per day. Excluding 17 headline news at half an hour per day.

3. The News Schedule is the same Monday to Sunday at 17 bulletins per day.

4. International Top 30 moved from Saturday (20h00-22h00) slot to Sunday 10h00-12h00 Slot

5. 12h00-14h30 Slot split into two. i.e. 12h00-13h00 and 13h00-14h30 to be hosted by two different presenters.

6. Funeral notices to be moved from 22h05 to 20h30 weekdays

7. Choral Music Show moved to Sunday evening between 20h00 and 21h00

8. Golden Oldies show has been done away with

9. Minkondzo ya tingwazi will feature once per month and Bibele yi ri yini takes up the other three weeks within 21h00 – 22h00 slot on Sundays
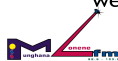
Regulatory Issues

Genre	Current Performance per day	Current Performance per week	ICASA regulations
News	1hr25m (week days) 1hr15m weekends	9hr50m	1hr/day
Current Affairs	1hr50m	11hrs	1hr/day
Education	55m	6hr42m	5hrs/week
Children	65m per day 1hr25m Sundays 55m Saturdays	3hr25m	1hr/day
Drama	45m per day	4hr35m	2.5hrs/week
IKB	5hr30m	27hr20m	3hrs/week

APPENDICES FOR

IC A SA

Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
Pinmill Farm, 164 Katherine Street, Sandton
Private Bag X10002, Sandton, 2146

INDIVIDUAL BROADCASTING SERVICE LICENCE

No. 011/PBS/R/SEPT/08

GRANTED AND ISSUED

TO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

PHALAPALA FM

FOR THE PROVISION OF

A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

AT SANDTON ON THIS 18TH DAY OF DECEMBER 2008

Paris Mashile
Chairperson

1 LICENSEE

The Licence is issued to:

1.1 Name of Company/Entity: The South African Broadcasting Corporation

1.2 Shareholders: The State: 100%

1.3 Ownership held by persons from historically disadvantaged groups: N/A

2 CONTACT DETAILS

2.1 The contact person for the Licensee shall be:

2.1.1	Name:	Philly Moilwa
2.1.2	Tel:	(011) 714 3708
2.1.3	Fax:	(011) 714 4816
2.1.4	Cell:	082 903 2544
2.1.5	Email:	pmoilwa@sabc.co.za

2.2 Should the Licensee propose to replace the person so designated, the Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing within seven (7) days after appointing the new designated person.

3 NOTICES AND ADDRESSES

The Licensee chooses the following addresses as its principal addresses:

3.1	Postal Address:	Private Bag x1
		Auckland Park
		2006
3.2	Physical Address:	Radio Park
		Henley Road
		Auckland Park
		2006

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SCHEDULE

1. **Name of Station**

   Phalapala FM

2. **Geographic Coverage Area**

   The geographic coverage area is as defined in the map attached to the radio frequency spectrum licence.

3. **Language(s)**

   Principal Language: tshiVenda

4. **Format**

   4.1 The service authorised by this licence forms part of the public service division of the Licensee.

   4.2 The licensed service shall be a full-spectrum service.

5. **Local Content Obligations**

   In each licence year, the Licensee shall, within thirty (30) days of end of the quarter, submit to the Authority written records indicating the extent of:

   5.1 the different genres; and

   5.2 the South African music content,

   in programme material broadcast on the licensed service during that quarter, in each instance, distinguishing between genres, providing the relevant details in relation to prime time and the period between 05h00 and 23h00 daily ("the South African broadcast period"), and expressing the relevant details both as an aggregate in minutes and as a percentage of the total of all such programming material.

6. General Programming Obligations

6.1 General

6.1.1 The Licensee shall ensure that its programming adequately reflects the diversity of South Africa's religions.

6.1.2 The Licensee shall take reasonable steps to provide programming that reflects the cultural and traditional needs of its audience.

6.1.3 The Licensee shall, during the South African performance period, provide programme material that caters and has due regard for the interests of all sectors of South African society and shall provide programming on health related issues, gender issues relevant to all age groups.

6.2 News and Current Affairs

6.2.1 The Licensee shall broadcast at least sixty (60) minutes of news programming each day during the South African performance period.

6.2.2 The Licensee shall broadcast at least sixty (60) minutes of current affairs programming each day during the South African performance period.

6.2.3 The Licensee shall in the production of its news and current affairs programming:

(i) exercise full editorial control in respect of the contents of such programming;

(ii) include matters of international, national, regional and where appropriate, local significance;

(iii) meet the highest standards of journalistic professionalism;

(iv) provide fair, unbiased, impartial and balanced coverage independent from governmental, commercial or other interference; and

(v) provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to receive a variety of points of view on matters of public concern.

6.3 Programming targeted at Children

6.3.1 The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least one (1) hour of programming targeted at children (as contemplated in section 10(1)(g) of the Broadcasting Act) per week during the South African performance period.

6.3.2 In the production and presentation of its children's programming, the Licensee shall ensure that such children's programming is:

(i) broadcast at times of the day when children are available to listen;

(ii) targeted at and appropriate for children between the ages of nought (0) to six (6) years and seven (7) to twelve (12) years respectively; and

(iii) educational and is made from children's point of view.

6.4 Educational Programming

The Licensee shall broadcast at least five (5) hours of educational programming (as contemplated in section 10(1)(e) of the Broadcasting Act) per week within the South African performance period.

6.5 Drama

The Licensee shall broadcast at least two and a half (2 ½) hours of drama per week within the South African performance period.

6.6 Informal Knowledge-Building Programmes

The Licensee shall broadcast at least three (3) hours of informal knowledge-building programming per week within the South African performance period.

7. **Training and Skills Development Obligations**

7.1 The Licensee must adopt and implement equal opportunity employment practices.

7.2 The Licensee must ensure that its management and staff are representative of South African society and that its human resource policies take into account the development of managerial, production, technical and other skills and expertise, particularly with regard to the historically disadvantaged persons.

7.3 The Licensee shall endeavour to achieve fair and reasonable participation by historically disadvantaged persons with respect to:

    (a) its management and control structures;

    (b) skills development;

    (c) enterprise development; and

    (d) procurement.

7.4   The Licensee must, within thirty (30) days of the end of each financial year, provide the Authority with written information regarding its compliance with the above requirements.

8. Provision of audited financial statements to the Authority:

The Licensee shall provide the Authority with the audited annual financial statements of the licensed service within four (4) months of the end of the Licensee's financial year, provided that the Licensee may on good cause apply to the Authority for an extension.

IC(A·SA

Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
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PHALAPHALA FM PROGRMMING SCHEDULE

2009/10

1

MONDAY

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
00h00-03h00	Khoroni	Lutendo Mphephu	Thanyani Ramawa
03h00-06h00	Mulakhulu u a Fhinduwa	Given Mulaudzi	Thanyani Ramawa
06h00-07h00	**Ndevhe Tsini**	**News & Current Affairs Team**	
07h00-09h00	Vha Ndilani	Jones Netshipise	Rendani Sikhwivhilu
09h00-12h00	Nne Na Vhone	Martha Makhela	Paula Mathonsi
12h00-14h00	Tshiko	Tico Liphadzi	Sharon Ravele
14h00-15h00	Denzhe	Jennifer Mushaathoni	Jennifer Mushaathoni
15h00-18h00	Vha Ndilani	Jimmy Netshilulu	Tshianeo Phathela

1

MONDAY (Cont.)

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
18h00-19h00	Ndevhe Tsini	News & Current Affairs Team	News & Current Affairs Team
19h00-20h00	Sports	Thilivhali Muavha	Tshililo Nelufule
20h00-21h00 20h05-20h20 20h20-21h00	Drama Death Notices	Shandukani Lukhwareni	Sharon Ravele
21h00-22h00 21h00 -21h30 21h30 – 22h00	Educator Development Dial-A-Lawyer	Studio: Rofhiwa Nethengwe Tshililo Khanari Pat Nephawe	Seth Netsharotha Thanyani Ramawa
22h00-00h00	Ri A Dzedza	Rofhiwa Nethengwe	Sharon Ravele

1

TUESDAY

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
00h00-03h00	Khoroni	Lutendo Mphephu	Thanyani Ramawa
03h00-06h00	Mulakhulu u a Fhinduwa	Given Mulaudzi	Thanyani Ramawa
06h00-07h00	Ndevhe Tsini	News & Current Affairs Team	
07h00-09h00	Vha Ndilani	Jones Netshipise	Rendani Sikhwivhilu
09h00-12h00	Nne Na Vhone	Martha Makhela	Paula Mathonsi
12h00-14h00	Tshiko	Tico Liphadzi	Sharon Ravele
14h00-15h00	Denzhe	Jennifer Mushaathoni	Jennifer Mushaathoni
15h00-18h00	Vha Ndilani	Jimmy Netshilulu	Tshianeo Phathela

1

TUESDAY (Cont.)

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
18h00-19h00	Ndevhe Tsini	News & Current Affairs Team	News & Current Affairs Team
19h00-20h00	Sports	Thilivhali Muavha	Tshililo Nelufule
20h00-21h00 20h05-20h20 20h20-21h00	Drama Death Notices	Hulisani Muloiwa	Sharon Ravele
21h00-22h00 21h00 -21h30 21h30 – 22h00	Education: Learner Support Health & Environment	Studio: Rofhiwa Nethengwe Tshililo Khanari Wonder Juniper	Seth Netsharotha Thanyani Ramawa
22h00-00h00	Ri A Dzedza	Rofhiwa Nethengwe	Sharon Ravele
			1

WEDNESDAY

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
00h00-03h00	Khoroni	Lutendo Mphephu	Thanyani Ramawa
03h00-06h00	Mulakhulu u a Fhinduwa	Given Mulaudzi	Thanyani Ramawa
06h00-07h00	Ndevhe Tsini	News & Current Affairs Team	
07h00-09h00	Vha Ndilani	Jones Netshipise	Rendani Sikhwivhilu
09h00-12h00	Nne Na Vhone (TVEP)	Martha Makhela	Paula Mathonsi
12h00-14h00	Tshiko	Tico Liphadzi	Sharon Ravele
14h00-15h00	Denzhe	Jennifer Mushaathoni	Jennifer Mushaathoni
15h00-18h00	Vha Ndilani	Jimmy Netshilulu	Tshianeo Phathela
			1

WEDNESDAY (Cont.)

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
18h00-19h00	Ndevhe Tsini	News & Current Affairs Team	News & Current Affairs Team
19h00-20h00	Sports	Thilivhali Muavha	Tshililo Nelufule
20h00-21h00 20h05-20h20 20h20-21h00	Drama Death Notices	Hulisani Muloiwa	Sharon Ravele
21h00-22h00 21h00 -21h30 21h30 – 22h00	Education: Commerce & Finance Dial-Doctor (Dokotela Uri mini)	Studio: Rofhiwa Nethengwe Mulalo Ramarumo Pat Nephawe	Mulalo Ramarumo Thanyani Ramawa
22h00-00h00	Ri A Dzedza	Rofhiwa Nethengwe	Sharon Ravele
			1

THURSDAY

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
00h00-03h00	Khoroni	Pfarelo Maduguma	Thanyani Ramawa
03h00-06h00	Mulakhulu u a Fhinduwa	Given Mulaudzi	Thanyani Ramawa
06h00-07h00	Ndevhe Tsini	News & Current Affairs Team	
07h00-09h00	Vha Ndilani	Jones Netshipise	Rendani Sikhwivhilu
09h00-12h00	Nne Na Vhone	Martha Makhela	Paula Mathonsi
12h00-14h00	Tshiko	Tico Liphadzi	Sharon Ravele
14h00-15h00	Denzhe	Jennifer Mushaathoni	Jennifer Mushaathoni
15h00-18h00	Vha Ndilani	Jimmy Netshilulu	Tshianeo Phathela

1

THURSDAY (Cont.)

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
18h00-19h00	Ndevhe Tsini	News & Current Affairs Team	News & Current Affairs Team
19h00-20h00	Sports	Thilivhali Muavha	Tshililo Nelufule
20h00-21h00 20h05-20h20 20h20-21h00	Drama Death Notices	Hulisani Muloiwa	Sharon Ravele
21h00-22h00 21h00 -21h30 21h30 – 22h00	Science & Technology Education: Learner Support	Studio: Rofhiwa Nethengwe Mulalo Ramarumo Tshililo Khanari	Mulalo Ramarumo Seth Netsharotha
22h00-00h00	Ri A Dzedza	Rofhiwa Nethengwe	Sharon Ravele 1

FRIDAY

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
00h00-03h00	Khoroni	Pfarelo Maduguma	Thanyani Ramawa
03h00-06h00	Mulakhulu u a Fhinduwa	Given Mulaudzi	Thanyani Ramawa
06h00-07h00	Ndevhe Tsini	News & Current Affairs Team	
07h00-09h00	Vha Ndilani	Jones Netshipise	Rendani Sikhwivhilu
09h00-12h00	Nne Na Vhone	Martha Makhela	Paula Mathonsi
12h00-14h00	Tshiko	Tico Liphadzi	Sharon Ravele
14h00-15h00	Denzhe	Jennifer Mushaathoni	Jennifer Mushaathoni
15h00-18h00	Vha Ndilani	Jimmy Netshilulu	Tshianeo Phathela

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FRIDAY (Cont.)

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
18h00-19h00	Ndevhe Tsini	News & Current Affairs Team	News & Current Affairs Team
19h00-20h00	Sports	Thilivhali Muavha	Tshililo Nelufule
20h00-21h00 20h05-20h20 20h30-21h00	 Education: Civic Education	 Hulisani Muloiwa Wonder Juniper	 Sharon Ravele Wonder Juniper
21h00-00h00 21h00 -21h30 21h30 – 00h00	 Music/ Airtime Sales Feature Party Time	 Shandukani Lukhwareni	 Sharon Ravele

SATURDAY

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
00h00-03h00 03h00-06h00	Party Time Party Time	Stephen Mbedzi Rotenda Maiwashe	Sharon Ravele
06h00-10h00 06h00-07h00 07h00-09h00 09h00-10h00	 Current Affairs Vha Ndilani/ National Top 20 Nambi Ya Dzi Nambi	Sharon Ravele Current Affairs Team Lutendo Mphephu Matome Manabela	Sharon Ravele
10h00-14h00 10h00-11h00 11h00-12h00 12h00-13h00 13h00-14h00 14h00-14h30	 Reggae Music Show Teen Zone /Youth Development Vhulombe Denzhe Music/ Airtime Sales Feature	*Studio: Shandukani Lukhwareni* Albert Mathivha (Pre-recorded) Mulalo Ramarumo Andries Mueda Fulufhelo Maimela	Paula Mathonsi Jennifer Mushaathoni
14h30-19h00	Sports	Lucky Tshilimandila	Tshililo Nelufule
19h00-00h00 19h00-21h00	 Devhula Ha Vhembe	*Studio: Shandukani Lukhwareni* Mpho Nefale	Mpho Nefale
21h00-00h00	Party Time	Shandukani Lukhwareni	Mpho Nefale

SUNDAY

Time Channel	Program	Presenter 2009/10	Producer 2009/10
00h00-03h00 03h00-06h00	Party Time Tshidimela Tsha Lufuno	Stephen Mbedzi Rotenda Maiwashe	Sharon Ravele
06h00-10h00	Morning Breakfast Show	Rofhiwa Nethengwe	Mpho Nefale/Andries Mueda
10h00-12h00	International Top 20	Hulisani Muloiwa	Tshianeo Phathela
12h00-14h00 12h00-13h00 13h05-13h30 13h30-14h30	 Denzhe Drama Outreach Jazz	*Studio: Hulisani Muloiwa* Fulufhelo Maimela Hulisani Muloiwa	Thanyani Ramawa Jennifer Mushaathoni
14h30-18h00	Sports	Lucky Tshilimandila	Tshililo Nelufule
18h00-00h00 19h00-20h00	 Lutendo/Kha Ri Konane	*Studio: Shandukani Lukhwareni* Thanyani Ramawa/ P. Munandi/ Pat Nephawe	Thanyani Ramawa/ Mpho Nefale
20h00-21h00	Vhurereli ha hashu	Pat Nephawe	Thanyani Ramawa
21h00-00h00 21h00 - 22h00 22h00 – 23h00 23h00 - 00h00	 Choral Music/ AR Documentary on last week of every month Africa Gospel Music – National Top 10	 Martha Makhela Pfarelo Maduguma	Tshianeo Phathela

Conclusion

Successful Radio is "show business". We shall look after both the show and the business to win.

HU BVUMA YONE FHEDZI!

APPENDICES FOR
RSG FM

RADIO SONDER GRENSE FM COVERAGE

APRIL 2008

WESTERN CAPE

NORTHERN CAPE

EASTERN CAPE

FREE STATE

NORTH WEST

GAUTENG

MPUMALANGA

LIMPOPO

KWAZULU-NATAL

Springbok
Calvinia
Saldanha
Cape Town
Sutherland
George
Port Elizabeth
East London
Upington
Prieska
De Aar
Middelburg
Allwal North
Queenstown
Umtata
Durban
Ubombo
Kuruman
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
Bethlehem
Ladysmith
Potchefstroom
Zeerust
Johannesburg
Pretoria
Middelburg
Nelspruit
Thabazimbi
Polokwane
Phalaborwa
Musina

LEGEND

- CURRENT COVERAGE
- NO COVERAGE
- NO DATA
- PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES

RSG 100 -104 fm
DIS DIE EEN

Department: Broadcast Planning
Requested By: SABC
Map Production: W Schreiber
Date: 09/04/2008
REF:C:\GIS\Data\Coverage\MaasFM\fmcgrnd0801

SENTECH connecting You

41P0UBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING LICENCE

LICENCE NUMBER   :   PBSR 2/2004

LICENSEE   :   SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION LIMITED

DIVISION   :   PUBLIC SERVICE DIVISION

NAME OF SERVICE   :   RSG

FREQUENCY BAND   :   SEE SCHEDULE B2

LICENCE AREA   :   REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENCEMENT DATE OF LICENCE   :   23 MARCH 2004

EXPIRY DATE OF LICENCE   :   22 MARCH 2010

THIS LICENCE AUTHORISES THE LICENSEE TO PROVIDE A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE CONDITIONAL UPON COMPLIANCE WITH THE TERMS, CONDITIONS AND OBLIGATIONS SET OUT IN THE ATTACHED SCHEDULES, AND WITH EFFECT FROM 23 MARCH 2006 REPLACES THE LICENCE ISSUED TO THE LICENSEE ON 23 MARCH 2004.

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA AT SANDTON ON THIS __ DAY OF _____ 2005

_____   _____
CHAIRPERSON   CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

SCHEDULE A

GENERAL CONDITIONS

1. INTERPRETATION

In this licence, any word, term or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the IBA Act or the Broadcasting Act or in any regulations promulgated under those Acts shall have that meaning unless stated otherwise or inconsistent with the context, and the following words, terms and expressions shall have the meanings assigned to them below:

1.1 "Authority" means the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa, established by section 3 of the ICASA Act;

1.2 "Broadcasting Act" means the Broadcasting Act, Act 4 of 1999;

1.3 "broadcast period" means the 24-hour period from 00h00 until 24h00 every day;

1.4 "commercial broadcasting service" means any broadcasting service provided by the Licensee and falling within its commercial service division;

1.5 "consent" means approval in writing given by the Chairperson of Council, any member of Council, the Chief Executive Officer or any official of the Authority duly authorised by Council to act for and on behalf of the Authority in relation to the act in question;

1.6 "control" includes any instance of control as contemplated in section 1(2) of the IBA Act as read with Schedule 2 to the IBA Act;

1.7 "Council" means the Council of the Authority, as contemplated in sections 3(2) and 5 of the ICASA Act;

1.8 "effective date" means the date from and upon which the licence conditions set out in this licence become effective, being 23 March 2006;

1.9 "financial year" means the financial year of the Licensee;

1.10 "historically disadvantaged persons" means South African citizens who are black people, women or people with disabilities and the term "black people" shall include Africans, Indians and Coloureds;

1.11 "IBA Act" means the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, Act 153 of 1993;

1.12 "ICASA Act" means the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa Act, Act 13 of 2000;

1.13 "licence" means the licence granted to the Licensee by the Authority, authorising it to provide a public sound broadcasting service under the name and style of "RSG", to which this Schedule A is attached, and includes this Schedule A and the other schedules attached to the licence;

1.14 "licence period" means the period of validity of the licence, as described in clause 4 of this Schedule A;

1.15 "licence year" means each successive year of the licence period, commencing initially on the effective date and thereafter on 23 March annually;

1.16 "licensed service" means the service which the Licensee is authorised to provide in terms of the licence, as described in clause 2 of this Schedule A;

1.17 "Licensee" means the South African Broadcasting Corporation Limited;

1.18 "Music Content Regulations" means the ICASA South African Television Content Regulations, 2002, published in *Government Gazette* No 25378 of 22 August 2003, as amended from time to time, or such other regulations as may be promulgated from time to time in terms of section 53 of the IBA Act.

1.19 "prime time" means the period between 06h00 and 09h00 and between 16h00 and 18h00 daily;

1.20 "Republic" means the Republic of South Africa, governed by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996;

1.21 "shared services divisions" means those divisions of the Licensee which provide administrative and support services (including, but not limited to financial, legal, human resources, technological, news programming, library, archive, marketing, sales and audience services) to the Licensee and the broadcasting services in its public and commercial services divisions;

1.22 "South African performance period" means the period between 05h00 and 23h00 daily; and

1.23 "station identification" means the station identification as set out in clause 5 of this Schedule A.

2. AUTHORISATION

2.1 This licence authorises the Licensee to provide a public sound broadcasting service:

2.1.1 in accordance with the terms and conditions of this licence, which shall take effect on the effective date;

2.1.2 in compliance with the provisions of the IBA Act, the Broadcasting Act, the applicable regulations promulgated under those Acts, and the applicable codes of conduct;

2.1.3 on the frequencies set out in Schedule B to this licence or on such other frequencies as the Authority may determine from time to time.

2.2 The licensed service shall form part of the Licensee's public service division and shall be a full-spectrum sound broadcasting service

providing a programming mix of informative, educational and entertaining material in the languages set out in Schedule C.

3. LICENCE AREA

The Licensee shall provide the licensed service in the licence area specified in Schedule B to the licence.

4. LICENCE PERIOD

The licence shall remain valid for a period of 6 years, commencing on 23 March 2004 and expiring on 22 March 2010.

5. STATION IDENTIFICATION

5.1 The station identification of the licensed service is "RSG".

5.2 The Licensee may not change its station identification without having obtained the Authority's prior consent.

5.3 The Licensee must clearly identify itself, by means of its station identification, at intervals of not more than 60 minutes throughout the broadcast period.

6. HOURS OF BROADCAST

For the duration of the licence period, the Licensee shall provide the licensed service continuously throughout the broadcast period, without any interruption, unless:

6.1 such interruption is due to circumstances beyond the Licensee's control, in which case the Licensee shall:

6.1.1 take all reasonable steps to ensure the resumption of the licensed service without undue delay;

6.1.2 notify the Authority in writing of the reasons for such interruption and the steps taken by the Licensee to ensure the expeditious resumption of the licensed service;

6.2 the Licensee will have obtained the Authority's prior consent for such interruption.

7. PROGRAMMING

Without derogating from the specific obligations set out in Schedule C, the Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service:

7.1 comply with the programming obligations imposed upon it by the applicable provisions of the Music Content Regulations;

7.2 take reasonable steps to make a substantive contribution to the achievement of the applicable requirements of sections 2, 3(4), 3(5), 3(6) and 3(7) of the Broadcasting Act and section 2 of the IBA Act.

8. RELIGION

The Licensee must ensure that its programming adequately reflects the diversity of South Africa's religions.

9. CROSS-SUBSIDISATION

The revenue generated for the Licensee by the licensed service, being part of the Licensee's public service division, shall not be used to subsidise any commercial broadcasting service, whether through the Licensee's shared services divisions or otherwise.

10. PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS

10.1   Whenever requested by the national or a provincial commissioner of the South African Police Service to do so, the Licensee shall:

10.1.1 broadcast on the licensed service, without charge and in such manner and at such time as may reasonably be requested by that commissioner, any information or other matter concerning a disaster or immediate grave danger;

10.1.2 inform the Authority of the receipt of such request.

10.2   The Licensee shall require that any request made to it in terms of clause 10.1 be confirmed in writing within 24 hours of its first having been made, and shall forward a copy of such written request to the Authority within 48 hours of receiving it.

10.3   The Licensee shall, whenever requested to do so by the Authority, broadcast without charge such particulars at such intervals as the Authority may reasonably request for the purpose of publicising any applications, enquiries or hearings concerning the Licensee.

11. FEES

The Licensee shall be required to:

11.1   pay such annual licence fees, if any, as the Authority may determine from time to time; and

11.2   pay such administrative fees, if any, in respect of applications for the renewal or amendment of this licence as the Authority may prescribe from time to time.

12. INFORMATION TO BE FURNISHED TO THE AUTHORITY

Control and Management

12.1   The Licensee must inform the Authority of the name, nationality and physical residential and business addresses, or any changes thereto, of:

12.1.1 any person appointed as a member of the Licensee's board, and of any member of the board who resigns or who is removed from office;

12.1.2 any person in a position to exercise direct or indirect control over a significant proportion of the operations of the Licensee in providing the licensed service;

12.1.3 any person in a position to veto any action taken by the Licensee's board; and

12.1.4 any person who is in a position to give or exercise directly or indirectly any restraint or direction in any manner over any substantial issue affecting the management or affairs of the Licensee.

12.2   The Licensee must provide the Authority with certified copies of the following documents:

12.2.1 the Licensee's memorandum and articles of association;

12.2.2 any management agreement relating to the Licensee, including any service agreement relating to the overall operations or affairs of the Licensee or a significant proportion thereof;

12.2.3 any other agreement which is likely to affect the control, management, programming or operation of the licensed service, including (but not limited to) the Licensee's shareholder compact.

12.3   The Licensee must provide the Authority with the information and documents specified in clauses 12.1 and 12.2 within 30 days of the effective date and thereafter within 14 days of any change in such information or the conclusion or finalisation of such documents, as the case may be.

12.4   The Licensee must inform the Authority, in writing, within 14 days of any judgment awarded in a court of law against it.

Programming

12.5   In each licence year, the Licensee shall, within 30 days of the end of each quarter, submit to the Authority written records indicating the extent of:

12.5.1 the different genres; and

12.5.2 the South African music content

in programme material broadcast on the licensed service during that quarter, in each instance distinguishing between genres, providing the relevant details in relation to prime time and the South African performance period, and expressing the relevant details both as an aggregate in minutes and as a percentage of the total of all such programme material.

12.6   The Licensee shall retain, for a period of 30 days, a recording of every programme broadcast by it in the course of the provision of the licensed service in a format acceptable to and compatible with the equipment used by the Authority, as required by section 55 of the IBA Act.

Financial

12.7   The Licensee shall provide the Authority with the annual financial statements of the licensed service within four months of the end of the financial year.

12.8   The Authority may require the Licensee to provide it with any other related financial information that may be reasonably necessary to monitor the Licensee's compliance with clause 9 above.

Human Resources, Training and Employment Equity

12.9   The Licensee shall, within 30 days of the end of each financial year, provide the Authority with written information on its compliance with clause 14 below.

13. STANDARDS AND INTERFERENCE

13.1   The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, comply with international technical standards.

13.2   The Licensee shall:

13.2.1 operate the licensed service with such apparatus and in such a manner as not to cause harmful interference with the efficient and convenient working, maintenance or use of any licensed broadcasting or telecommunication service;

13.2.2 co-operate in every way possible with the Authority with a view to preventing such interference.

14. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AND HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

14.1   The Licensee must adopt and implement equal opportunity employment practices.

14.2   The Licensee must ensure that its management and staff are representative of South African society and that its human resource policies, particularly with regard to historically disadvantaged persons, take into account the development of managerial, production, technical and other skills and expertise.

14.3   The Licensee shall endeavour to achieve fair and reasonable participation by historically disadvantaged persons with respect to:

14.3.1 its management and control structures;

14.3.2 skills development;

14.3.3 enterprise development; and

14.3.4 procurement.

15 COMPLAINTS

15.1 The Licensee's Group Chief Executive or Chief Operations Officer, or any other person designated by him or her and in the Licensee's full-time employ, shall respond to complaints made to it regarding any aspect of the licensed service and shall take appropriate steps in respect of such complaints.

15.2 The Licensee shall notify the Authority of the name, telephone and telefax numbers and e-mail address of the person designated in terms of clause **Error! Reference source not found.** within 10 days of the effective date and thereafter within 10 days of any change in the identity, telephone or telefax number or e-mail address of the designated person.

15.3 The Licensee shall regularly broadcast on the licensed service information about the manner in which members of the public may lodge complaints in respect of any aspect of the licensed service.

15.4 The Licensee shall:

15.4.1 adopt procedures acceptable to the Authority for receiving, hearing and addressing complaints received from any member of the public in respect of any aspect of the licensed service;

15.4.2 submit a copy of the document setting out such procedures to the Authority within 10 days of the effective date.

15.5 The Licensee shall, within one month of the end of each licence year, submit to the Authority a written report on complaints received by it with respect to the licensed service during that licence year, which report shall include information on the manner in which the Licensee addressed each complaint.

16 DISPUTES

16.1 In the event of any dispute arising regarding the interpretation of any provision of the licence, the Authority shall be entitled to make a ruling regarding the interpretation of that provision, provided that the Licensee shall be afforded an opportunity to make submissions to the Authority before any such ruling is made.

16.2 Any ruling which the Authority may make on the interpretation of any provision of the licence shall be final and binding on the Licensee, subject to the possibility of judicial review by a court of competent jurisdiction.

17 GENERAL

17.1 The licence or any rights conferred in terms of it may not be ceded, transferred, assigned, pledged or otherwise disposed of by the Licensee, save in terms of section 74 of the IBA Act.

17.2 Should any provision of the licence be invalid or unenforceable for any reason, the remaining provisions shall nevertheless remain of full force and effect.

17.3 To the extent that the licence may be inconsistent with any statute or regulations, such statute or regulations shall take precedence.

17.4 The Licensee shall be bound by all statements, undertakings, promises and representations made by it or on its behalf in or in connection with any application made by it for the issue, amendment or renewal of the licence.

18   NOTICES AND ADDRESSES

18.1 Any notice or other communication to be given by the Authority or the Licensee in connection with the licence shall be valid and effective only if it is given in writing, provided that any notice given by telefax or transmitted by e-mail shall be regarded for this purpose as having been given in writing, and that, unless the contrary is proved:

18.1.1 if posted by pre-paid registered post from an address within the Republic, the communication shall be deemed to have been received on the seventh day after the date of posting;

18.1.2 if sent by telefax, the communication shall be deemed to have been received after 4 normal hours of business of the receiving party have elapsed from the time of sending;

18.1.3 if transmitted by e-mail, the communication shall be deemed to have been received after one normal business hour of the receiving party has elapsed from the time of sending;

18.1.4 if delivered by hand to the physical address of the intended recipient, the communication shall be deemed to have been received on the day of delivery, provided it was delivered to a responsible person during ordinary business hours; and

18.1.5 a written notice or other communication actually received by any party shall be adequate written notice or communication to it notwithstanding that the notice was not sent to or delivered at its chosen address.

18.2 Any communication from the Licensee to the Authority shall be marked for the attention of such official as the Authority may designate from time to time in regard to the matter or type of matter in question, or, failing such notification, the Chairperson of Council or the Chief Executive Officer of the Authority.

18.3 The Licensee shall, within 10 days of the effective date, provide the Authority with an address at which it will accept formal service of letters, documents and legal process, and with a telephone and telefax number and e-mail address through which it can be contacted. The Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing of any change in such address, telephone number or telefax number and e-mail address, and this notification shall become effective 10 days after the day of receipt of the notice.

SCHEDULE B1

TECHNICAL CONDITIONS

1. This schedule of technical conditions is an integral part of the licence and must be read in conjunction with it.

2. The Licensee's head office shall be situated at Henley Road, Auckland Park, Johannesburg.

3. The signal distribution service is to be conducted by a licensed broadcasting signal distributor which in this case is Sentech Ltd.

4. The Licensee must operate the broadcasting service and must ensure that its signal distributor operates the studio-to-transmitter links (STL), strictly in accordance with the technical specifications contained in Schedule B2 to this licence.

5. The technical apparatus used by the Licensee must satisfy the requirements of the Authority at all times. The Licensee must ensure that such apparatus is maintained in a technically sound condition and that it does not cause harmful interference with the efficient or convenient working, maintenance or use of any other lawful telecommunications services. If the equipment of the Licensee or its signal distributor is causing interference with any other licensed service, the Authority will have the right to switch off such transmitting service.

6. The transmitting station of the Licensee must be operated and maintained by competent persons at all times.

7. The Authority has the right to conduct such tests as may be necessary on any of the Licensee's technical equipment used by or on behalf of the Licensee. This may include requiring the Licensee to switch off certain equipment and cease broadcasting for such reasonable period as the Authority may need to conduct the test in question.

SCHEDULE C

SPECIAL CONDITIONS

1. OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

1.1 The State shall be the sole shareholder of the Licensee.

1.2 The Licensee shall be governed and controlled in accordance with the provisions of Part 3 of Chapter IV of the Broadcasting Act.

2. FORMAT

The licensed service shall be a full-spectrum service.

3. BROADCAST LANGUAGE

The Licensee shall broadcast predominantly in Afrikaans.

4. PROGRAMMING

4.1 General

Without derogating from the specific obligations set out below, the Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, take reasonable steps to provide programming that reflects both the cultural and traditional needs of its audience.

4.2 News and current affairs

4.2.1 The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least one hour of news programming each day during the South African performance period.

4.2.2 The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service broadcast at least one hour of current affairs programming each day during the South African performance period.

4.2.3 The Licensee shall, in the production and presentation of its news and current affairs programming:

4.2.3.1 exercise full editorial control in respect of the contents of such programming;
4.2.3.2 include matters of international, national, regional and, where appropriate, local significance;
4.2.3.3 meet the highest standards of journalistic professionalism;
4.2.3.4 provide fair, unbiased, impartial and balanced coverage independent from governmental, commercial or other interference; and
4.2.3.5 provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to receive a variety of points of view on matters of public concern.

4.3 Programming targeted at children

4.3.1 The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast in each financial year set out below, and with effect from the commencement of the relevant financial year, at least the following hours of programming targeted at children (as contemplated in section 10(1)(g) of the Broadcasting Act) per week during the South African performance period:

	FY 06/07	FY 07/08	FY 08/09	FY 09/10
Hours of children's programming per week	1h	4h	5h	7h

4.3.2   In the production and presentation of its children's programming, the Licensee shall ensure that such children's programming is:

4.3.2.1   broadcast at times of the day when children are available to listen;

4.3.2.2   targeted at and appropriate for children between the ages of 0 to 6 years and 7 to 12 years respectively;

4.3.2.3   educational and is made from children's point of view.

4.4 Educational programming

The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least five hours of educational programming (as contemplated in section 10(1)(e) of the Broadcasting Act) per week within the South African performance period.

4.5 Drama

The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least two and a half hours of drama per week, during the South African performance period, to be distributed reasonably evenly throughout the week.

4.6 Informal Knowledge-Building Programmes

The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least three hours of informal knowledge-building programming (as contemplated in section 10(1)(e) of the Broadcasting Act) per week within the South African performance period.

4.7 Programming for people with disabilities

The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, ensure that people with disabilities regularly feature and participate in its programme material in accordance with the Integrated National Disability Strategy.

4.8 Other requirements

The Licensee shall, during the South African performance period, provide programme material that caters and has due regard for the interests of all sectors of South African society and shall provide programming on and relevant to the following:

4.8.1   people living with disabilities;
4.8.2   health-related issues;
4.8.3   gender issues; and
4.8.4   all age groups.

APPENDICES FOR

SCHEDULE B3 (COVERAGE AREA)

X-K FM

ICASA

Tshifularo 02/08/2008

ICASA

Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
Pinmill Farm, 164 Katherine Street, Sandton
Private Bag X10002, Sandton, 2146

INDIVIDUAL BROADCASTING SERVICE LICENCE
No. 018/PBS/R/SEPT/08

GRANTED AND ISSUED

TO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
XK FM

FOR THE PROVISION OF
A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS
AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

AT SANDTON ON THIS......18th......DAY OF DECEMBER 2008

Paris Mashile
Chairperson

1 LICENSEE

The Licence is issued to:

1.1 Name of Company/Entity: The South African Broadcasting Corporation

1.2 Shareholders: The State: 100%

1.3 Ownership held by persons from historically disadvantaged groups: N/A

2 CONTACT DETAILS

2.1 The contact person for the Licensee shall be:

2.1.1	Name:	Philly Moilwa
2.1.2	Tel:	(011) 714 3708
2.1.3	Fax:	(011) 714 4816
2.1.4	Cell:	082 903 2544
2.1.5	Email:	pmoilwa@sabc.co.za

2.2 Should the Licensee propose to replace the person so designated, the Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing within seven (7) days after appointing the new designated person.

3 NOTICES AND ADDRESSES

The Licensee chooses the following addresses as its principal addresses:

3.1	Postal Address:	Private Bag x1
		Auckland Park
		2006
3.2	Physical Address:	Radio Park
		Henley Road
		Auckland Park
		2006

1. **Name of Station**

   XK FM

2. **Geographic Coverage Area**

   The geographic coverage area is as defined in the map attached to the radio frequency spectrum licence.

3. **Language(s)**

   Principal Language: iXun and Khwe

4. **Format**

   4.1 The service authorised by this licence forms part of the public service division of the Licensee.

   4.2 The licensed service shall be a full-spectrum service.

5. **Local Content Obligations**

   In each licence year, the Licensee shall, within thirty (30) days of end of the quarter, submit to the Authority written records indicating the extent of:

   5.1 the different genres; and

   5.2 the South African music content,

   in programme material broadcast on the licensed service during that quarter, in each instance, distinguishing between genres, providing the relevant details in relation to prime time and the period between 05h00 and 23h00 daily ("the South African broadcast period"), and expressing the relevant details both as an aggregate in minutes and as a percentage of the total of all such programming material.

6. **General Programming Obligations**

   6.1 General

6.1.1   The Licensee shall ensure that its programming adequately reflects the diversity of South Africa's religions.

6.1.2   The Licensee shall take reasonable steps to provide programming that reflects the cultural and traditional needs of its audience.

6.1.3   The Licensee shall, during the South African performance period, provide programme material that caters and has due regard for the interests of all sectors of South African society and shall provide programming on health related issues, gender issues relevant to all age groups.

6.2   **News and Current Affairs**

6.2.1   The Licensee shall broadcast at least sixty (60) minutes of news programming each day during the South African performance period.

6.2.2   The Licensee shall broadcast at least sixty (60) minutes of current affairs programming each day during the South African performance period.

6.2.3   The Licensee shall in the production of its news and current affairs programming:

(i)   exercise full editorial control in respect of the contents of such programming;

(ii)   include matters of international, national, regional and where appropriate, local significance;

(iii)   meet the highest standards of journalistic professionalism;

(iv)   provide fair, unbiased, impartial and balanced coverage independent from governmental, commercial or other interference; and

(v)   provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to receive a variety of points of view on matters of public concern.

6.3   **Programming targeted at Children**

6.3.1   The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least one (1) hour of programming targeted at children (as

contemplated in section 10(1)(g) of the Broadcasting Act) per week during the South African performance period.

6.3.2 In the production and presentation of its children's programming, the Licensee shall ensure that such children's programming is:

(i) broadcast at times of the day when children are available to listen;

(ii) target at and appropriate for children between the ages of nought (0) to six (6) years and seven (7) years respectively; and

(iii) educational and is made from children's point of view.

6.4 Educational Programming

The Licensee shall broadcast at least five (5) hours of educational programming (as contemplated in section 10(1)(e) of the Broadcasting Act) per week within the South African performance period.

6.5 Drama

The Licensee shall broadcast at least two and a half (2 ½) hours of drama per week within the South African performance period.

6.6 Informal Knowledge-Building Programmes

The Licensee shall broadcast at least three (3) hours of informal knowledge-building programming per week within the South African performance period.

7. **Training and Skills Development Obligations**

7.1 The Licensee must adopt and implement equal opportunity employment practices.

7.2 The Licensee must ensure that its management and staff are representative of South African society and that its human resource policies take into account the development of managerial , production, technical and other skills and expertise, particularly with regard to the historically disadvantaged persons.

7.3 The Licensee shall endeavour to achieve fair and reasonable participation by historically disadvantaged persons with respect to:

(a) its management and control structures;

(b) skills development;

(c) enterprise development; and

(d) procurement.

7.4 The Licensee must, within thirty (30) days of the end of each financial year, provide the Authority with written information regarding its compliance with the above requirements.

8. **Provision of audited financial statements to the Authority:**

The Licensee shall provide the Authority with the audited annual financial statements of the licensed service within four (4) months of the end of the Licensee's financial year, provided that the Licensee may on good cause apply to the Authority for an extension.

RADIO FREQUENCY SPECTRUM LICENCE

No. 018/PBS/RF/SEPT/08

GRANTED AND ISSUED

TO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
XKFM

FOR THE PROVISION OF
A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS
AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

AT SANDTON ON THIS....18th....DAY OF DECEMBER 2008

Paris Mashile
Chairperson

1. **LICENSEE**

    The Licence is issued to:

    1.1 **Name of Company/Entity**: The South African Broadcasting Corporation

    1.2 **Shareholders**: The State shall hold one hundred (100%) percent of the shares of the Corporation

    1.3 **Ownership held by persons from historically disadvantaged groups:** N/A

2 **CONTACT DETAILS**

    2.1 The contact person for the Licensee shall be:

2.1.1	Name:	Philly Moilwa
2.1.2	Tel:	(011) 714 3708
2.1.3	Fax:	(011) 714 4816
2.1.4	Cell:	082 903 2544
2.1.5	Email:	pmoilwa@sabc.co.za

    2.2 Should the Licensee propose to replace the person so designated, the Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing within seven (7) days after appointing the new designated person.

3 **NOTICES AND ADDRESSES**

    The Licensee chooses the following addresses as its principal addresses:

    3.1 Postal Address: Private Bag x1
    Auckland Park
    2006

    3.2 Physical Address: Radio Park
    Henley Road
    Auckland Park
    2006

SCHEDULE

1. **Name of Station**

   XK FM

2. **Geographic Coverage Area**

   Kimberley

3. **General Conditions**

   The Licensee must at all times observe the provisions of international telecommunications conventions, such as those governing the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and as they apply to the Republic of South Africa.

ICASA

COMMERCIAL SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE LICENCE TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS		
LICENSEE	X-K FM	
TRANSMITTER SITE	PLATORAND	
SIGNAL DISTRIBUTOR	SENTECH	
ASSIGNED FREQUENCY	107.9	MHz
GEOGRAPHIC CO-ORDINATES	24E39 18	28S42 26
PHYSICAL ADDRESS	PLATFONTEIN, SENTECH	
SITE HEIGHT	1116	m above sea level
MID-ANTENNA HEIGHT	20	m above site
MAXIMUM EFFECTIVE ANTENNA HEIGHT	1131	m above ave. terrain
DESIGNATION OF EMISSION	250KF8EHF	
FREQUENCY STABILITY	2 kHz	
SPURIOUS EMISSION LEVEL	60 dB / 1 mW	
MAXIMUM DEVIATION	75 kHz	
MAXIMUM EFFECTIVE RADIATED POWER (ERP)	0.2	kW
ANTENNA HORIZONTAL RADIATED PATTERN	DIRECTIONAL	
ANTENNA POLARISATION	VERTICAL	
PROGRAMME SOURCE	STL	
RDS SERVICE	YES	
SST SERVICE	NONE	

Time	Program	Dur	Content/Description
	06:00 – 09:00 û Kxam I'am (Breakfast show)		
0	Station identification	5"00	Morning service(prayer) in Afrikaans,!Xun and Khwedam
-7:00	û Kxam I'am (Breakfast show)		Wakes learners and workers up
)0	Khung Borrie /News headlines	08"00	News headlines in !Xun and Khwedam
3	Weather in !Xun en Khwe(sport update)		International,national and local Sports results/Sportsnews
)0-8:10	Borrie/Xhúm (Newsbulliten) Khwe & !Xun	8"00	
0-09:00	So onthou ons		In the past (what we can remember)
-10:00	Better lifestyle(hashakara kxuin) (IKB)	45'00	Teach the community how to improve their lifestyle
	10:00-12:00 LATE DRIVE SHOW		
0-10:10	Borrie / Xhum ma'tuo(News bulliten	8"00	News in !Xun and Khwedam
0-11:00	Gxakhwe/dame journal (Women program)	1hour	Touch issues around Women empowerment,catering,washing and child care
	Monday		Dept. of Health\ H,I.V and AIDS
	Tuesday		CPA and leaders
	Wednesday		Decade speaks
	Thursday		Upliftment of the San people
	Friday		Alcohol, women and child abuse
0-12:00	Information's program (IKB)	1hour	Information about eletrisity,alcohol,women and child abuse
	12:00 + News Bulletin.		
	12:00 – 13:00 Ã java I'am (What the San must know)		
0-13:00	Akaku /'am (what the community must knov	1hour	Meetings,workshop,shure bori
0-13:04	News in !Xuntali	4"00	News jingle
4-13:08	Current affairs		
8-13:10	Morosani(current affairs)	2'00	Morosani jingle and Intro
0-13:30	Morosani(current affairs)		Morosani in !Xun & Khwedam(Afrikaans)
0-13:35	Borrie (News in Khwedam)	4'00	Khwedam news
5-14:00	Morosani (Current Affairs)		Morosani in !Xun & Khwedam(Afrikaans)
	14:00-15:00 Ngewo I'am (Youth program)		
0-15:00	Ngewo I'am (Youthprograme) (Education)	1hour	Intertain,educate,inform the youth
0-16:00	Gxaraka I'am (reguests program)	1hour	Didications
	Wednesdays - "Be financial Smart"	30 min	Drama,interviews with bank expert,competitions
	16:00-18:00 (Storytime for the children)		
0-16:10	Bori (news bulliten in khwe \!xun)	8'00	
0-18:00	Storytime for the kids (Education)		Play pre-recorded story, (Educational , Traditional)
0-19:00	Informations program		Reminding listeners of meetings,workshops that is going to take place
0-20:00	Disability hope(Information) IKB	1hour	Touches issues around empowering people with disabilities
)0-21:00	Health information (IKB)	1hour	Focus on health issues in general

Saturday

06:00-09:00 MORNING SHOW

Time	Program	Dur	Content/Description
)0 - 08:00	≠am Kuri xodje I'am (In the past)		Station identification and Oral history

)0 - 8:10	Borrie/Xhúm (Newsbulliten)	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
30 - 9:00	Nhuuhe ncille(Current affairs)	30'00	

9:00-13:00 IT'S WEEKEND

)0:9:10	Borrie/Xhúm (News bulliten)	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
0-11:00	Let's learn (education)	45'00	Education for youngerstars
0-11:10	Borrie\Newsbulliten	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
)-13:00	modern life		Talk to young people about the new lifestyle, about H.I.V and AIDS

13:00-16:00 MiD DAE SLOT

)0-13:10	Borrie\Newsbulliten	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
0-16:00	sport programe		

16:00-21:00 LATE SLOT

)0-17:00	Education	1hour	Educate the youth and Edults. (ABET)
)0-18:00	Journalprograme(joernaalprogram) IKB	1hour	Repeat informations
)0-21:00	Parapara /'am(Preparation time)	1hour	

X-K
F M

Sunday

06:00-08:00 GOOD MORNING

)0	Open with prayer		Station identification
)0 - 08:00	Gospel tuis	2hours	Local. national, gospel songs
) - 08:10	Borrie/Xhúm (Newsbulliten)	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam

08:00-09:00 EREDIENS

10 - 09:00	Erediens (Worships)	45'00	!Xun&Khwedam and Afrikaans

09:00-21:00 LATE SLOT

)0-9:10	Borrie\News headlines	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
)-11:00	Gemeenskapsnuus(community news		Provides listeners with local community news and events
0-11:10	Borrie/Xhúm (Newsbulliten)	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
)0-13:00	sporti I'am(sport programe)		
)0-13:10	Borrie/Xhúm (Newsbulliten)	1hour	News in !Xun&Khwedam
0-13:30	Nhuuhe nci I'e(Current affaire	30'00	
)0-15:10	Borrie/Xhúm (Newsbulliten)	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
0-17:00	Vundila I'am		Aftrenoon service with Pastors, Church leaders
)0-17:10	Borrie/Xhúm (Newsbulliten)	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
0-18:00	Education	45'00	Educate listeners in general
)0-20:00	Sopelela (lets talk)		Talk about anything in the community
)0-21:00	Avashika I'am (preparation time)		Help listeners prepare for the week.

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednsday	Thursday	Frida
06:00	Religion	Religion	Religion	Religion	Religio
06:30	u Kxam /'am	u Kxam /'am	u Kxam /'am	u Kxam /'am	u Kxar
07:00					
07:30	Sport	Sport	Sport	Sport	Sport
08:00					
08:30	So onthou Ons	So onthou Ons	So onthou Ons	So onthou Ons	So ont
09:00	Takalani Sesame	Takalani Sesame	Takalani Sesame	Takalani Sesame	Takala
09:30	Late drive show	Late drive show	Late drive show	Late drive show	Late d
10:00	Heartlines	Heartlines	Heartlines	Heartlines	Heartl
10:30	Woman Program	Woman Program	Woman Program	Woman Program	Woma
11:00	*Dept. of Health*	*CPA and*	*Deccede Speaka*	*Uplift of the San*	*Alcoho*
11:30		*leaders*	*HIV & AIDS*	*Woman.*	*abouse*
12:00	A Java /'am	A Java /'am	A Java /'am	A Java /'am	A Java
12:30					
13:00	Morosani	Morosani	Morosani	Morosani	Moros
13:30	Currant affairs	Currant affairs	Currant affairs	Currant affairs	Currar
14:00	Ngeo /'am	Ngeo /'am	Ngeo /'am	Ngeo /'am	Ngeo /
14:30	*Edudrama*	*Edudrama*	*Edudrama*	*Edudrama*	*Edudr*
15:00	Music dedication	Music dedication	Music dedication	Music dedication	State
15:30	Gxaraka /'am	Gxaraka /'am	Gxaraka /'am	Gxaraka /'am	Gxara
16:00	Story time for kids	Story time for kids	Story time for kids	Story time for kids	Story
16:30	*Traditional Drama*	*Traditional Drama*	*Traditional Drama*	*Traditional Drama*	*Tradit*
17:00	Boriku Curant affairs	Boriku Curant affairs	Boriku Curant affairs	Boriku Curant affairs	Borikt affairs
17:30					
18:00	Information Platf.	Information Platf.	Information Platf.	Information Platf.	Inform
18:30					
19:00	Music dedication	Music dedication	Music dedication	Music dedication	Music
19:30	Disability hope(IKB)	Disability hope(IKB)	Disability hope(IKB)	Disability hope(IKB)	Disabi
20:00					
20:30	Health Programme	Health Programme	Health Programme	Health Programme	Health
21:00	Religion	Religion	Religion	Religion	Religio

The following section will provide a detailed explication of the data obtained from field. In order to further understand this data, there is a need to first provide the reader with detailed information on the question guidelines that were used as my research tools in the field. These research question guidelines are attached. Using the cluster sampling method they were grouped as follows:

a) Question Guidelines for Station Managers and Staff,

b) Question Guidelines for SABC Officials,

c) Question Guidelines for Regulators (ICASA).

Furthermore, these research guidelines were as stated in Chapters Six and Seven, in particular, pages 213, on data analysis, information obtained from the field had to be cleaned first by way of transforming it into variables. All the other data from SABC and the four ICASA officials could not be decoded into statistical variables, the reason being that the data obtained was too small to be converted into any meaningful statistical representation. As a result data obtained through the 49 respondents from the five ethnic minority radio stations was analysed. Using the 45 questions as shown in the Question Guideline for the Station Managers and Staff, first, the data was cleaned to weed out some form of redundancy since it is a qualitative study. Then variables were created on the question guideline for use in the Microsoft Office Excel 2007 spreadsheet.

The data was then input into the spreadsheet. In order to do the inputting, 45 questions were each given a variable and then coded as shown in the bold abbreviated variables of each question in the attached Question Guideline for Station Managers and Staff. Following this, all the responses were then analysed as variables on Microsoft Office Excel 2007. Information obtained following the inputting of responses in the Microsoft Office Excel document is also attached as word document following the question guideline. This is then followed by the statistical information which was decoded as part of the analysed data from the Excel document. The resultant information is provided as tables showing frequency in percentages.

However, the information can still be read in line with the qualitative engagement as it merely provides a statistical representation of the data obtained, with a view to pictorially and diagrammatically present the information data from the field.

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Question Guidelines for Radio Station Managers and Staff

Introduction

This is a question guideline meant for the study of radio broadcasting policy in South Africa. The questions listed below are meant to enable my deep-seated understanding of South Africa's radio broadcasting policies, particularly for a selected array of radio stations. This study is being conducted at PhD level. Answers to these questions will be considered confidential and will only be used for academic purposes. Names of respondents will only be stated by consent.

Please kindly answer the questions below:

1) Title/Position: …………………… …………………… *post*

   a) Education level (please tick where appropriate)   *educ*

     i) Metric

     ii) Tertiary (College/Technikon/University)

   b) Language(s) spoken (Please state your mother language): ……………broken down into two variables (***mtongue*** and ***olang***)…………………........

2) Sex: a) Female   ***gender***

       b) Male

3) Age: ………...............***age***... (Please note that this is not compulsory)

4) How long have you worked for this radio station? ....***tenure***………..................

5) When was it established? ………………….*yrestab*…………………..

6) What do you see as the purpose, objectives and reasons for establishment of this radio station?

…………………………………….*aimaft94*……………………………………………..

7) If the radio station was established before Majority rule in 1994, what do you think were the reasons for its establishment?………………………….*aimbf94*……….

8) In your view, what then are the reasons for continuing now (Post 1994)?

………………………………….*whycont*…………………………………………………….

9) Which other stakeholders/ key players/persons were involved in the formation of this radio Station (please list their names) and why? ……… broken down into two variables **(*sholder*** (state the names here (and ***wsholde****r* (state the reason why the stakeholders are involved)………………………………………………………………..

10) Which of the players listed above are still influential and in what way are they still influential?……………………………………………………………………...........………broken down into two variables **(f*sholder*** (state the names here (and ***fsholder*** (state how the stakeholders are still influential)……………………………………………….

11) In what way is your radio station related to the SABC? ……………*relsabc*………………………………….

12) How is your radio station related with Government? ………………………….. ***relgovt***…………………….

13) Are you by any chance answerable to any government related structures? ………here you have to state yes or no (the variable for this is ***ansgovt)***…………………….

   a) Explain your answer: ………………………….*hansgovt*……………………………….

14) What is your relationship with ICASA? ……………………………………*relicasa*………..

15) In your view who owns this radio station? …………***own***……..……………

   a) Please explain your answer: ……..…. ***whyown*** …………….………….

16) Do you consider your station to be a Community radio station?………………………. ***comstat*** ……..

   a) Please explain your answer: …………………*hcomstat*……………………………….

17) Does this radio station have a Board made up of members of the local communities? …...here yes or no are stated as responses (the variable for this is ***comboard)***…………………………………………..

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a) If yes please explain how the board is constituted:………….. ***hboar***.................

18) How long is their term of Office? ....***offterm***…………………………

19) Please give a brief description of the organisational structure of your radio station: ....……………………………… ***orgstruc*** ………………………………………

20) Are you required by law to apply for a broadcasting licence? ……..YES or NO are stated as responses (the variable for this is ***licence)*.........................

a) If yes, what are the application procedures for community radio station licenses? ....***licproc*...

21) How long is the lease or expiry of your license? ....***licexp*............................

22) What are some of the restrictions/regulations governing your license?…………………………………………………..***licrules*……..

23) How is the staffing like at your radio station (Permanent staff/Volunteers)? ....
 ....………………………………***staff*………………………………………………

24) Who employs the staff in your station? ……………***staffemp*………....................

25) What is the radius or broadcast spectrum of your radio station? ....***radius*...........................

Broadcasting Language (s) and Ethnic Issues

26) What language(s) do you broadcast in? ....…………….***castlan*………

27) What are the reasons for your choice of language(s)? ....***wcastlan*........................

28) Does your station serve any distinct ethnic group (s)? ………indicate YES or NO in the variable ***ethngp*………

a) If yes, please list them: .... ***nethngp*** ………………………

29) Within your radio station do you have different ethnic groups (Please list them)? ....………..YES or NO used to express the variable ***dethngp*** and then list the different ethnic groups in the variable ***ndethngp*...

a) Within your Radio station do you have different dialects (Please list them)? .... Here YES or NO used in the variable ***dialect*** and **n*dialect*** and then list the different dialects in the variable...

30) How do you manage general ethnic differences within your radio station, if any? ....***methdiff*..

31) Do you sometimes have intergroup ethnic conflicts? ....*ethconf*................

a) If Yes, what policies do you have for managing these intergroup politics? …........................*methconf*...

32) How do you manage conflict within language groups/dialects in your radio station, if there is   any? ……….. *methdial*.............

33) Do you have a quota system or affirmative action as a policy for managing these ethnic differences? ………*quota* (YES or NO)……………………………………

34) Given the above how do you as an ethnic group claim political rights to the state (South Africa)   as a group?...........................*ethright*..

35) Does the radio station encourage feelings of belonging to the state or ethnic group? ....indicate yes or no in the variable *rstateth*..

a) Please explain your answer: .... *hstateth*..

b) Following your answer above, in view of your ethnic identity and belonging; which one comes   first to you; your ethnic group or being South African? ………………………..… *ostateth*……………………………..

36) In your view has the radio station managed to create patriotism and ethnic belonging among   your listeners communities? …… indicate YES or NO in the variable *mstateth* ……………..

a) Please explain your answer: ..…………………… *hmstatet* ………………

Programmes and Sponsorship

37) Do you receive any government grants/funding for your programmes? …………..........*gvtfund*

a) Explain your answer: ………………………… *hgvtfund* ………………..

38) What other sources of funding do you have for other programmes? …………………………………………*ofund*……………………………….

39) How much time is allocated for your programmes? (Please provide a programme schedule and   indicate whether the programme is sponsored or not): ....

These can be disaggregated into three variables: the name of the programme (list in the variable *prog*)................the time allocated to the programme (list in the variable *progtime*)…………and whether the programme is funded or not (indicate yes or no in the variable *progfund*)…………...

40) How do you ensure ethnic fairness and equity in programming and broadcasting of these   programmes?..*equicast*...........................

41) How do you ensure ethnic representation in terms of programme presentation? ....*equirep*..

42) Is there clearly laid down staffing policy that takes into consideration language or ethnic   representation in your radio station? ....*staffrep*

43) In what level and way does the community become involved in programme production?.........................*comprod*..

44) How has the general community response to your programmes been? …………*comresp*…..

45) Please give brief comments regarding your radio station, with particular emphasis to ethnic identity, belonging, the nature of programmes and community participation: ……………*comments*…………………………………………….........

*Thank You for your time and effort in attending to these questions

Number of languages, other than the mother tongue, spoken by the respondent

nolang	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	20	40.82	40.82
2	12	24.49	65.31
3	6	12.24	77.55
4	9	18.37	95.92
6	2	4.08	100.00
Total	49	100.00	

Number of languages spoken by respondents
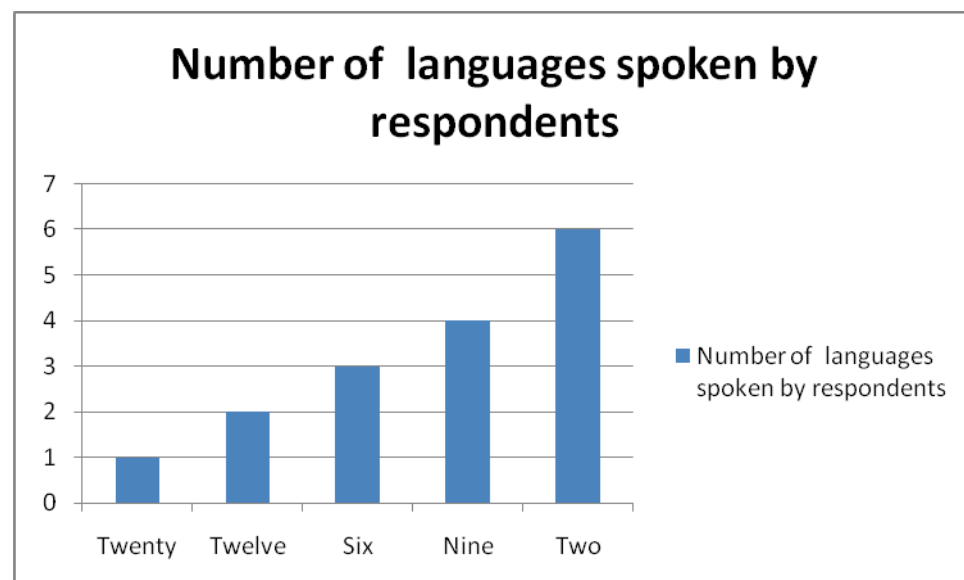
Number of years the respondent has worked for the radio station

tenure	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	2	4.17	4.17
2	7	14.58	18.75
3	6	12.50	31.25
4	1	2.08	33.33
5	4	8.33	41.67
6	4	8.33	50.00
7	2	4.17	54.17
8	5	10.42	64.58
9	2	4.17	68.75
11	3	6.25	75.00
12	2	4.17	79.17
13	4	8.33	87.50
20	1	2.08	89.58
25	1	2.08	91.67
26	2	4.17	95.83
27	1	2.08	97.92
32	1	2.08	100.00
Total	48	100.00	

Year the radio station was established

yrestab	Freq.	Percent	Cum.

```
------------+----------------------------------
     1937 |         10        20.41        20.41
     1965 |         20        40.82        61.22
     1983 |          8        16.33        77.55
     2000 |         11        22.45       100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |         49       100.00
```

Number of years since the establishment of the radio station

```
    radyr |       Freq.      Percent         Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
        9 |         11        22.45        22.45
       26 |          8        16.33        38.78
       44 |         20        40.82        79.59
       72 |         10        20.41       100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |         49       100.00
```

What do you see as the purpose, objectives and reasons for establishment of this station?

Trilogy: 1 if one of these are mentioned: inform, educate and entertain

```
   trilogy |       Freq.      Percent         Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
        0 |         38        77.55        77.55
        1 |         11        22.45       100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |         49       100.00
```

Continuity: 1 if reasons are related to continuity of government mandate

```
continuity |       Freq.      Percent         Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
        0 |         45        91.84        91.84
        1 |          4         8.16       100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |         49       100.00
```

Soctrans: 1 if reasons are related to the need for nation building and social transformation

```
  soctrans |       Freq.      Percent         Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
        0 |         43        87.76        87.76
        1 |          6        12.24       100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |         49       100.00
```

Ethpwr: 1 if the reason is to empower a specific ethnic group

```
    ethpwr |       Freq.      Percent         Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
        0 |         18        36.73        36.73
        1 |         31        63.27       100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |         49       100.00
```

If the radio station was established before majority rule in 1994, what do u think were the reasons

Propag: 1 if a tool for propaganda and control

```
  propag |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
        0 |        11        28.95        28.95
        1 |        27        71.05       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
    Total |        38       100.00
```

Ethpwr2: 1 if it was meant to empower a specific ethnic group

```
 ethpwr2 |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
        0 |        24        63.16        63.16
        1 |        14        36.84       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
    Total |        38       100.00
```

In your view, what then are the reasons for continuing now (post 1994)?

Soctransc: 1 if nation building and social transformation are mention as one of the reasons

```
 soctransc |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
        0 |        22        47.83        47.83
        1 |        24        52.17       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
    Total |        46       100.00
```

Ethpwrc: 1 if to empower a specific ethnic group

```
 ethpwrc |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
        0 |        21        45.65        45.65
        1 |        25        54.35       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
    Total |        46       100.00
```

Which other stakeholders/ key players/persons were involved in the formation of the station

Sholgvt: Govt, (Consists of: ICASA, IBA, Language Board SA, Parliament, regulator, ANC

```
  sholgvt |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
        0 |         8        16.33        16.33
        1 |        41        83.67       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
    Total |        49       100.00
```

SABC

```
 sholsabc |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
        0 |        23        46.94        46.94
        1 |        26        53.06       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
    Total |        49       100.00
```

```
Business community
    sholbus |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
          0 |        42        85.71        85.71
          1 |         7        14.29       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
      Total |        49       100.00
```
Sholpp: Community (Consists of: people, chiefs, traditional leaders, religious groups, etc)
```
     sholpp |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
          0 |        22        44.90        44.90
          1 |        27        55.10       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
      Total |        49       100.00
```
Which of the players listed above are still influential?

Gvt (Consists of: Language Board)
```
     fholgvt |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
          0 |        15        31.25        31.25
          1 |        33        68.75       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
      Total |        48       100.00
```

Business Community
```
     fholbus |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
          0 |        39        81.25        81.25
          1 |         9        18.75       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
      Total |        48       100.00
```

Community (Consists of: Community Leaders, Traditional Leaders, NGOs, Chiefs)
```
     fholpp |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
          0 |        22        45.83        45.83
          1 |        26        54.17       100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
      Total |        48       100.00
```

In what way is your radio station related to the SABC?
```
     relsabc |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
--------------+-----------------------------------
owned by SABC |        49       100.00       100.00
--------------+-----------------------------------
        Total |        49       100.00
```
How is your radio station related with Government?
```
                 relgovt |      Freq.      Percent        Cum.
-----------------------+-----------------------------------
Commercial relationship |         1         2.13         2.13
        Controlled by Gvt |        44        93.62        95.74
             Do not know |         1         2.13        97.87
               Partnership |         1         2.13       100.00
```
379

```
-----------------------+--------------------------------
                Total |       47      100.00
```

Are you by any chance answerable to any government related structures?
```
  ansgovt |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
       No |       13       26.53      26.53
      Yes |       36       73.47     100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |       49      100.00
```

What is your relationship with ICASA?
```
  relicasa |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
 Regulator |       49      100.00     100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |       49      100.00
```

In your view who owns this radio station?
```
      own |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
 Community |        6       12.24      12.24
Government |        8       16.33      28.57
     SABC |       35       71.43     100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |       49      100.00
```

Do you consider your station to be a Community radio station?
```
  comstat |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
       No |       14       28.57      28.57
      Yes |       35       71.43     100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |       49      100.00
```

How is the staffing like at your radio station (Permanent staff/Volunteers)?
```
                            staff |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
----------------------------------+----------------------------------
                      Dont know |        1        2.04       2.04
              Fixed term contract |       12       24.49      26.53
                        Freelance |        3        6.12      32.65
 Permanent & fixed terms contractors |    1        2.04      34.69
            Permanent & free lancers |   16       32.65      67.35
 Permanent, fixed term & free lancers |  16       32.65     100.00
----------------------------------+----------------------------------
                            Total |       49      100.00
```

Who employs the staff in your station?
```
                  staffemp |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
--------------------------+----------------------------------
 Management Team with SABC HR |   38       77.55      77.55
                      SABC |       11       22.45     100.00
--------------------------+----------------------------------
                     Total |       49      100.00
```

What language(s) do you broadcast in?
```
                    castlan |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
```

```
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------
         !Xuntali, Khwedam, Afrikaans |       11      22.45       22.45
                       Afrikaans only |       10      20.41       42.86
English, Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, |        8      16.33       59.18
                          Venda only |       10      20.41       79.59
                        xiTsonga only |       10      20.41      100.00
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------
                              Total |       49     100.00
```

What are the reasons for your choice of broadcasting language(s)?

```
                 wcastlan |     Freq.    Percent      Cum.
--------------------------+----------------------------------
             Inclusivity |       43      87.76       87.76
 Licence conditions by ICASA |        6      12.24      100.00
--------------------------+----------------------------------
                    Total |       49     100.00
```

Does your station serve any distinct ethnic group(s)?

```
   ethngp |     Freq.    Percent      Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
      No |        2       4.08        4.08
     Yes |       47      95.92      100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |       49     100.00
```

What ethnic groups served by the station?

```
                      nethngp |     Freq.    Percent      Cum.
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------
                    !Xû & Khwe |       11      22.45       22.45
   Afrikaans people (White & Coloured) |        8      16.33       38.78
   Tamil, Telegu, Gujarati, Urdu, Hindi |        8      16.33       55.10
                    Tsonga only |        7      14.29       69.39
                     Venda only |       10      20.41       89.80
 We do not have any ethnic group really, |        2       4.08       93.88
               vaTsonga/vaShangani |        3       6.12      100.00
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------
                          Total |       49     100.00
```

Within your radio station do you have different ethnic groups?

```
  dethngp |     Freq.    Percent      Cum.
------------+----------------------------------
      No |       26      54.17       54.17
     Yes |       22      45.83      100.00
------------+----------------------------------
    Total |       48     100.00
```

List of different ethnic groups in the station

```
                    ndethngp |     Freq.    Percent      Cum.
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------
             Between !Xû & Khwe |       11      22.45       22.45
                         N/A |       22      44.90       67.35
   Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Telegu |        8      16.33       83.67
 We have coloureds & white Afrikaans wit |        7      14.29       97.96
```

```
              We serve people of different colours |        1       2.04      100.00
----------------------------------------+-----------------------------------
                                  Total |       49     100.00
```

Within your radio station do you have different dialects?

```
    dialect |      Freq.     Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
         No |       19       38.78       38.78
        Yes |       30       61.22      100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
      Total |       49      100.00
```

How do you manage general ethnic differences within your radio station, if any?

```
          methdiff |      Freq.      Percent       Cum.
------------------+-----------------------------------
Balancing language |       21       42.86       42.86
               N/A |       28       57.14      100.00
------------------+-----------------------------------
             Total |       49      100.00
```

Do you sometimes have intergroup ethnic conflicts?

```
    ethconf |      Freq.     Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
         No |       20       40.82       40.82
        Yes |       29       59.18      100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
      Total |       49      100.00
```

What policies do you have for managing these intergroup politics?

```
                    methconf |      Freq.      Percent       Cum.
-----------------------------+-----------------------------------
        Combined broadcasting |       12       24.49       24.49
Encourage oneness & tolerance |       16       32.65       57.14
                         N/A |       20       40.82       97.96
                    Not sure |        1        2.04      100.00
-----------------------------+-----------------------------------
                      Total |       49      100.00
```

How do you manage conflict within language groups/dialects in your radio station?

```
          methdial |      Freq.      Percent       Cum.
---------------------+-----------------------------------
           Inclusive |        6       12.24       12.24
                 N/A |        2        4.08       16.33
         No dialects |       19       38.78       55.10
Standardised language |       22       44.90      100.00
---------------------+-----------------------------------
              Total |       49      100.00
```

Do you have a quota system or affirmative action as a policy for managing these?

```
      quota |      Freq.     Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
        N/A |        5       10.20       10.20
         No |        8       16.33       26.53
   Not sure |        5       10.20       36.73
        Yes |       31       63.27      100.00
```

```
-----------+-------------------------------
     Total |        49     100.00
```

Given the above do you as an ethnic group claim political rights to the state?

```
ethright |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
-----------+-------------------------------
      No |        11       22.45      22.45
     Yes |        38       77.55     100.00
-----------+-------------------------------
   Total |        49     100.00
```

Does the radio station encourage feelings of belonging to the state or ethnic group?

```
 rstateth |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
-----------+-------------------------------
     Yes |        49      100.00     100.00
-----------+-------------------------------
   Total |        49     100.00
```

Explanation on whether radio station encourage feelings of belonging to the state

```
                          hstateth |   Freq.     Percent      Cum.
--------------------------------------+--------------------------------
By encouraging our listeners to partici |      8       16.33      16.33
Through our broadcasting programmes & I |     41       83.67     100.00
--------------------------------------+---------------
                            Total |     49      100.00
```

In view of your ethnic identity and belonging; which one comes first to you; your ethnic group or being South African?

```
        ostateth |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
-------------------+-------------------------------
       !Xû first |        5       10.20      10.20
 Afrikaaner first |        4        8.16      18.37
     Indian first |        4        8.16      26.53
      Khwe First |        6       12.24      38.78
South African first |     11       22.45      61.22
    Tsonga first |       10       20.41      81.63
     Venda first |        9       18.37     100.00
-------------------+-------------------------------
          Total |        49     100.00
```

```
   ethid |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
-----------+-------------------------------
      0 |        11       22.45      22.45
      1 |        38       77.55     100.00
-----------+-------------------------------
   Total |        49     100.00
```

In your view has the radio station managed to create patriotism and ethnic belonging?

```
mstateth |     Freq.     Percent      Cum.
-----------+-------------------------------
      No |         1        2.04       2.04
     Yes |        48       97.96     100.00
-----------+-------------------------------
   Total |        49     100.00
```

Explanation on how the radio station managed to create patriotism and ethnic belonging

```
                      hmstatet |   Freq.    Percent      Cum.
--------------------------------+-----------------------------------
By encouraging our listeners to partici |     2       4.08       4.08
By encouraging them to be proud of thei |    24      48.98      53.06
Encourage nation-building, social trans |    23      46.94     100.00
--------------------------------+-----------------------------------
                         Total |    49     100.00
```

What other sources of funding do you have for other programme?

```
                        ofund |   Freq.    Percent      Cum.
--------------------------------+-----------------------------------
      Adversiting & Sponsored programmes |    17      35.42      35.42
                    Advertising |     5      10.42      45.83
          Advertising & Licence Fees |     9      18.75      64.58
Advertising, sponsored programmes & lic |     2       4.17      68.75
                   Licence Fees |     2       4.17      72.92
       No other sources of funding |     9      18.75      91.67
                       Not sure |     2       4.17      95.83
             Sponsored Programmes |     2       4.17     100.00
--------------------------------+-----------------------------------
                         Total |    48     100.00
```

<mark>**How do you ensure ethnic fairness and equity in programming and broadcasting?**</mark>

```
                     equicast |   Freq.    Percent      Cum.
--------------------------------+-----------------------------------
       50/50 policy mandated by ICASA |    18      36.73      36.73
                            N/A |     1       2.04      38.78
No Equity we only broadcast in one Lang |    24      48.98      87.76
Through our programmes such as phone-in |     6      12.24     100.00
--------------------------------+-----------------------------------
                         Total |    49     100.00
```

How do you ensure ethnic representation in terms of programme presentation?

```
                      equirep |   Freq.    Percent      Cum.
--------------------------------+-----------------------------------
            No representation |    37      75.51      75.51
Struggling to balance at present |     1       2.04      77.55
            Through 50/50 policy |    11      22.45     100.00
--------------------------------+-----------------------------------
```

Is there clearly laid down staffing policy that takes into consideration language or ethnic representation in your radio station?

```
staffrep |   Freq.    Percent      Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
      No |     1       2.04       2.04
Not sure |     5      10.20      12.24
     Yes |    43      87.76     100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
   Total |    49     100.00
```

In what level and way does the community become involved in programme production?

```
                     comprod |   Freq.    Percent      Cum.
--------------------------------+-----------------------------------
```

```
No contribution during prog production |        44       89.80       89.80
              They do not get involved |         1        2.04       91.84
Through phone-in, specialist programmes |         4        8.16      100.00
----------------------------------------+-----------------------------------
                                  Total |        49      100.00
```

Are you required by law to apply for a broadcasting licence?

```
   licence |      Freq.     Percent        Cum.
------------+-----------------------------------
Do not know |          2        4.17        4.17
         No |          1        2.08        6.25
        Yes |         45       93.75      100.00
------------+-----------------------------------
      Total |         48      100.00
```

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Question Guidelines for SABC Officials

Introduction

These are question guidelines meant for the study of radio broadcasting policy in South Africa. The questions listed below are meant to enable my deep-seated understanding of South Africa's public radio broadcasting policies, particularly for a selected array of radio stations *(Munghana Lonene, Lotus FM, Phalaphala FM and XK FM)*. This study is being conducted at PhD level. Answers to these questions will be considered confidential and will only be used for academic purposes. Names of respondents will only be stated by consent.

Please kindly answer the questions below:

1) Title/Position at SABC: …………………………………………… *post*

  a) Education level (please tick where appropriate)

     educ

    i) Metric

    ii) Tertiary (College/Technikon/University)

  b) Language(s) spoken (Please state your mother language): …………………
broken down into two variables (***mtongue*** and ***olang***)…………………..........

2) Sex: a) Female   *gender*
          b) Male

3) Age: ………................ *age*.. (Please note that this is not compulsory)

4) How long have you worked in this capacity? ....*tenure*..

Questions on selected Radio Stations

5) What do you see as the purpose, objectives and reasons for establishment of these radio stations   *(Munghana Lonene, Lotus FM, Phalaphala FM and XK FM)*?

.... *aimaft94*..

6) If the radio station was established before Majority rule in 1994, what do you think were the reasons for their establishment? ....

aimbf94..

7) In your view, what then are the reasons for continuing to date (Post 1994)?

.... *hycont*..

8) Which other stakeholders/ key players/persons were involved in the formation of this radio Station (please list their names)…………… broken down into two variables (*sholder* (state the names here) and *wsholder* (state the reason why the stakeholders are involved)...……………………………………………………………............

9) Which of the players listed above are still influential and in what way are they still influential? ……………………………. broken down into two variables **(f*sholder* (state the names here) and *fsholder* (state how the stakeholders are still influential)**....................

10) What is the relationship between these radio stations and SABC? .... *relradio*..

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11) In what way do you as SABC relate with Government? ....*relgovt*...

12) Are you by any chance answerable to any government related structures? .... **here you have to state yes or no (the variable for this is *ansgovt)*……

a) Explain your answer: ....*hansgovt*...

13) What is your relationship with ICASA?................................. *relicasa*...

Community Involvement and Regulations

14) Do you consider these radio stations to be community radio stations? ....

..............................indicate yes or no in the variable *comstat*.......................

15) In your view do you consider these radio stations to be community owned and managed? .....in my view this is the same as question 14... *comstat*..

a) Please explain your answer:……... *hcomstat*……..…………..........

16) What in your view compounds the notion of community within these community radio stations? .... *comdef*........................

17) Do these radio stations have Boards made up of members derived from the communities? ……….….... Here you list yes or no **(the variable for this is *comboard).*** ....

a) Please explain your answer above and how these boards are constituted:

..…....………. *hboard*...

18) How long is their term of office? ....…………………… *offterm* ………

Please give a brief description of the organisational structure of these radio stations:

....*orgstruc*...

20) Are they required by law to apply for broadcasting licences? .... here the tabulation has to state yes or no **(the variable for this is *licence)***...................

    a) If yes, what are the application procedures and who applies for these radio licenses?..............................***licproc***..

21) Do you sometimes apply for them? ....here u have to state yes or no in ***licapp***...............

    a) Please explain: .... ***hlicapp***...

22) How long is the lease each of license? .... ***licexp***......................

23) What are some of the restrictions/regulations governing these licenses? ....

    ....…………………………… ***licrules*** ……………………………………………….

24) How is the staffing like in these radio stations (Permanent staff/Volunteers)?

    ....……………***staff*** …………………………………………………….

25) Who employs the staff in your station? ……… ***staffemp*** ……………………...

    a) Please explain your answer:.................. ***hstafemp***...

26) What is the radius or broadcast spectrum of each of these radio stations:

    Munghana Lonene: .... ***radiusML***..

    Lotus FM:....................... ***radiusLM***..

    Phalaphala FM: ....***radiusPM***..

    XK FM :...................... ***radiusXK***..

Broadcasting Language (s) and Ethnic Issues

27) Do these radio stations serve distinct language groups? .... ***castla.*** …………

28) What are the reasons for this approach? ....***wcastlan***..............................

29) Why did you choose to establish a radio station for the !Xu and Khwe (XK FM – given that   these two distinct ethnic groups only migrated to South Africa in the

90s) instead of the ≠Khomani, Khoisan, Basters and other San communities that were have a history in SA dating back to the apartheid? ....*whyXU*....................

30) Do you sometimes receive reports about inter-ethnic group conflicts? ....**yes or no in** *ethconf*...............

31) Given the case of distinct ethnic groups such as the !Xu and Khwe, why did you establish only one radio station for them, instead of two separate stations as you have always done with other ethnic groups such as the Venda, Tsonga/Shangani etc? ....*xukhwe*...

32) How do you manage conflict within language groups/dialects in these radio stations, if there is any? .... *methdial*.................................

33) Do you have a quota system or affirmative action as a policy for managing these ethnic differences?…....................…… *quota* **(yes or no)** …………………

34) Given the above do you think these ethnic groups have a claim to both political rights and solidarity rights to the state (South Africa) as distinct groups? ....*ethright*...

35) What measures are put in place for these radio stations to encourage ethnic identity and belonging to the state? .... *hstateth*.................................

36) In your view, would you say these radio stations have managed to create patriotism and ethnic belonging within these targeted communities? …………………. **indicate yes or no in the variable** *mstateth*........................

a) Please explain your answer: .... *hmstatet*..........................

37) Some of these radio stations were created by the apartheid regime, although with different names; Munghana Lonene, Phalaphala FM, Radio Sonder Grense and Lotus FM, what is the Reason for the continuation of these apartheid policies that some people have argued were bent Dividing South Africans on ethnic lines?..*contapar*.....

38) These radio stations serve as a examples of retribalisation of the state, what is your view of this   position? ....*retribe*..............................

39) a) Is this creation of separate radio stations in itself not an impediment to the cause of   nationalism given that the trend across Africa has always favoured centralised radio   broadcasting management systems and policies? ……*natradio*

b) Following your answer above, where do you place yourself in terms of ethnic identity and   national belonging; which one comes first to you, ethnic consciousness or being South African?…… *ostateth* ……………………………….

40) How useful has this policy of continuing with separate ethnic motivated radio stations been to your organisation (SABC) and how does it blend with South Africa's quest for 'rainbow nation'? …...........*rainbow*...........................

41) Where do you see the future of SA's ethnic groups 20 years from today, given these   retribalised radio broadcasting policies? ....*future*.................

Programming

42) Do you receive any government grants/funding for programmes in these radio stations? ....**yes or no**.............................. *gvtfund*…..

a) Explain your answer: ……………… *hgvtfund* ……………….......……………

43) What other sources of funding do you have for other programmes?

……………………………..…………*ofund*……………….........……………….

44) Are these radio stations encouraged to follow any local content specifications? ……**yes or no**..........*local*........

a) If yes please specify the contents specifications: ………………*hlocal*………

45) How do you ensure ethnic fairness and equity in programming and   roadcasting of programmes in those radio stations given the local content   pecifications, n the case of XK   FM, for example? ....*equicast*……………………………

46) How do you ensure ethnic representation in terms of programme presentation? *equirep*...

47) Is there clearly laid down staffing policy that takes into consideration language or ethnic representation in these radio station? ....*staffrep*...........

48) In what level and way does the community become involved in programme production, is there any laid down policy? ....*comprod*..

49) How has the general community response to these radio stations been programmes been and   what have you done to determine community responses? ………………broken into two parts: *comresp* for community response and *hcomresp* for what SABC has done to determine the responses……………………..

50) Please give brief comments regarding these radio stations, with particular emphasis to ethnic   identity, belonging, the nature of programmes and community participation: ………… *comments* …………………………………….........

*Thank You for your time and effort in attending to these questions
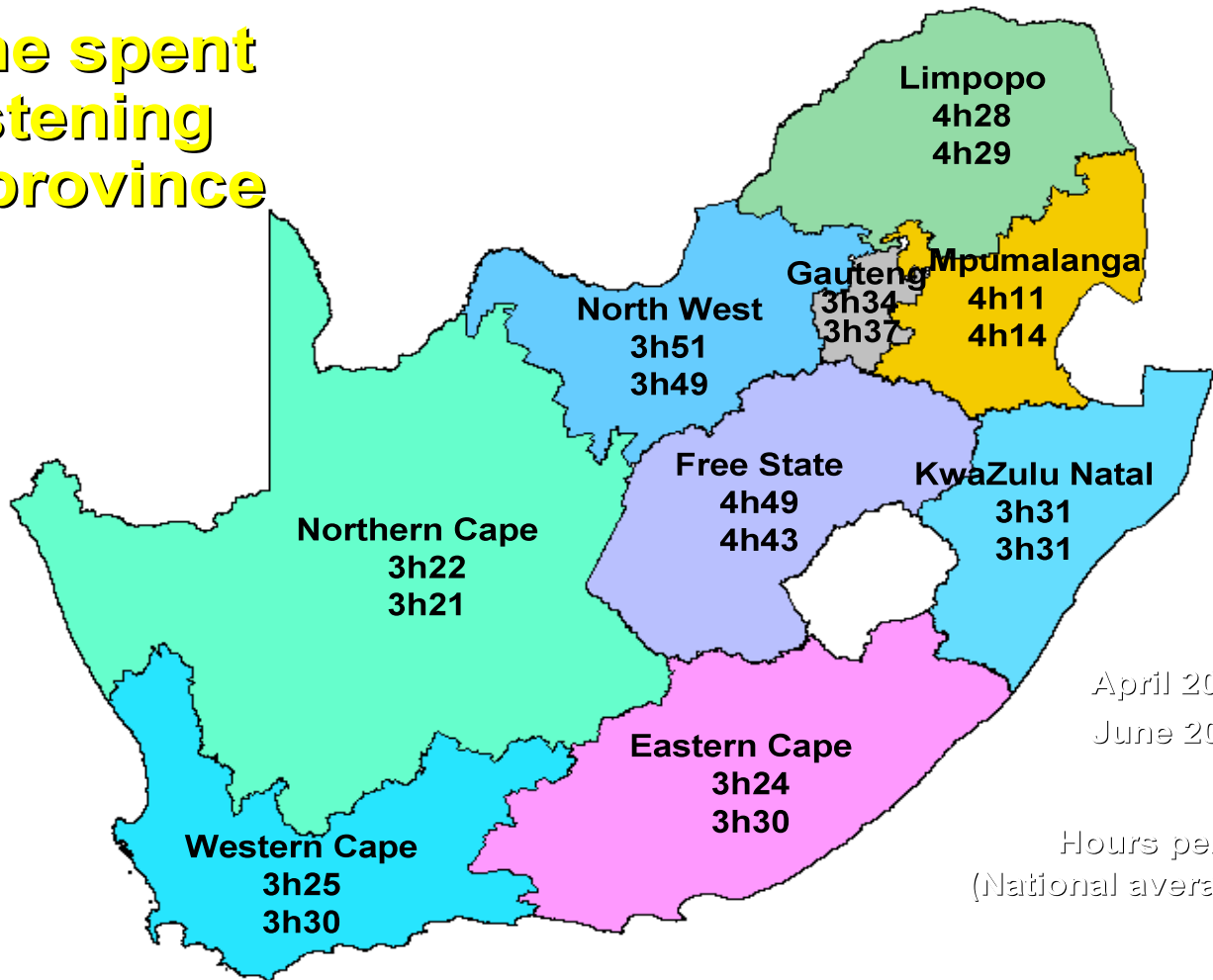
Map of South Africa showing times (hours per day) spent listening to radio per province.
(Source: SAARF 2010).