Perpetuating Tribalism in Community Radio Coverage: The Case of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM in Limpopo Province, South Africa

by

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Media Studies

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work, and it has not been previously submitted for a degree or diploma at any other university. Where other people's works have been used, this has been fully acknowledged. This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

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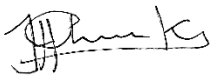

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.

Abstract

In post-apartheid South Africa, community radio was established to promote distinct marginalized ethnic cultures and identities. Language played an integral role in this endeavour (Mashau 2019). Community radio aimed to unite cohabiting disparate ethnic groups within previously racially homogenized spaces by promoting multilingualism and social cohesion (Lewis 2015). This study examined the role of community radio in the interethnic communities of Collins Chabane Municipality in Limpopo Province, South Africa, using Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM as case studies. It interrogates how language functions ideologically in community radio broadcasting to privilege dominant ethnic groups and perpetuate tribalism. The study used qualitative research methods anchored on in-depth interviews, document analysis, and content analysis. The study drew insights from social responsibility theory, democratic and social cohesion, media responsibility, inter-ethnic communication theory, media and ethnic conflict studies theory, and political economy theory. The findings reveal use of majoritarianism in the programming languages of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM, where the languages of dominant ethnic groups enjoy broadcasting rights while minority languages are marginalised. The study also found that tribalism in community radio programming results from the legislated language quota system in the current Community Radio Broadcasting License Conditions which promote linguistic hegemony and isolation of minority tribes. This leads to the perpetuation of tribalism and ethnic divisions within the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani. The thesis recommends the realignment of community broadcasting language policy to foster social cohesion, reflecting a multilingual and inclusive South African society by ensuring equal representation of tribes instead of majoritarianism in programming.

Keywords: Community radio; Language policy; Interethnic communities; Language hegemony; Social cohesion; Tribalism; Majoritarianism; Multilingualism.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....11

1.1 Introduction 11
1.2 Context of this study 15
1.3 Research problem.....17
1.4 Gaps in Media Studies Scholarship and Rationale of this study 18
1.5 Research objectives.....19
1.6 Research questions 19
1.7 Theoretical and Conceptual frameworks underpinning the research study 19
1.8 Research Methodology 20
1.9 Data Analysis 21
1.10 Chapter Outline 22

CHAPTER 2: COMMUNITY RADIO BROADCASTING IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW.....26

2.1 Introduction 26
2.2 The Concept of Community Radio in Post-colonial Africa 26
2.3 History of Community Radio in South Africa 30
2.4 Post-apartheid Radio and its challenges in South Africa 34
2.5 Radio Broadcasting Reforms in the Post-apartheid South Africa.....36
2.6 Repositioning of Radio Broadcasting in the Post-apartheid South Africa 38
2.7 Conceptualization of Community Radio in Post-apartheid South Africa 39
2.8 The advent of community radio in the Post-apartheid South Africa 40
2.9 Challenges faced by Community Radio stations in Post-apartheid South Africa 43
2.10 Community Radio's Ethnic Identity in Post-apartheid South Africa.....46
2.11 Conclusion.....49

CHAPTER 3: COMMUNITY RADIO BROADCASTING AND ETHNIC CONFLICT 51

3.1 Introduction 51
3.2 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of 2007 Kenya Elections.....53
3.3 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of the Nigerian indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB) 54
3.4 Media and the genocide in Rwanda 55
3.5 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of Multi-ethnic Ethiopian nation 56
3.6 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of Kurdish-Turkish conflicts.....57
3.7 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of the Belgian linguistic conflict 57
3.8 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of the Balkan conflict.....60
3.9 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of Israel-Palestine conflict.....63
3.10 Conclusion.....65

CHAPTER 4: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 67

4.1 Introduction 67
4.2 Theoretical frameworks underpinning this study 68
4.2.1 Social cohesion and Democracy 68
4.2.2 The Social Responsibility Media Theory 71
4.2.3 Interethnic Communication Theory 78
4.2.4 Theory of Ethnic conflicts and Media 80
4.2.4.1 Primordialism approach 81
4.2.4.2 Instrumentalism approach 81
4.2.4.3 The constructionist approach 82
4.2.4.4 Theorising the media's role in ethnic conflicts 82
4.2.5 Critical Political Economy of Media: A Theoretical Framework 83
4.3 Conclusion 96

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 98

5.1 INTRODUCTION 98

5.2 SAMPLING TECHNIQUES 99

5.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS 100

5.3.1 Qualitative Document Analysis 100
5.3.1.1 Sampling of the documents 101
5.3.2 Qualitative Content Analysis of Radio Programming 108
5.3.3 Qualitative Interviews 109
5.3.4 Data Analysis 112
5.3.5 Ethical considerations 112
5.4 Conclusion 117

CHAPTER 6: COMMUNITY RADIO: FOSTERING SOCIAL COHESION OR A CATALYST FOR TRIBALISM? 118

6.1 Introduction 118
6.2 The historical link between ideologies and policies formulation 120
6.3 Findings from Analysis of Documents 123
6.4 Linguistic policies of community radio in the Post-apartheid South Africa 125
6.4.1 National language policies' ideological framework 126
6.4.2 National policies conundrum 130
6.5 Broadcasting policy framework: Analysis and findings 138
6.5.1 The Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999's ideological language policy 139
6.5.2 ICASA Community Broadcasting Service Regulations: Language distribution and broadcasting ownership 146
6.5.3 ICASA Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM 151
6.6 Conclusion 155

CHAPTER 7: COMMUNITY RADIO PROGRAMMING IN ETHNIC CONFLICT SITUATIONS 157

7.1 Introduction 157
7.2 Coverage of demarcation protests on Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM 158
7.3.1 Malamulele FM Coverage of the demarcation protests 160
7.4.1 Coverage of Demarcation Protests on Vuwani FM 179
7.5 Conclusions 202

CHAPTER 8: THE ROLE OF RADIO PROFESSIONALS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION: MALAMULELE FM AND VUWANI FM PERSPECTIVES 204

8.1 Introduction 204
8.2 Data Analysis Process 208
8.3 Questioning the Role of during the Protests at Malamulele FM 209
8.4 The Role of Staff Members during protests at Vuwani FM 220
8.5 Conclusion 227

CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 231

9.1 Introduction 231
9.2 Context of the study 231
9.3 Research objectives of this study 232
9.4 Research questions: 232
9.5 Theoretical and Conceptual frameworks underpinning the research study 233
9.6 Research Methodology 233
9.7 Analysing of Data 234
9.8 Major findings and arguments 234
9.8.1 Summary of major findings and arguments: Qualitative document analysis 234
9.8.2 Summary of findings: Qualitative content analysis of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM programming 236
9.8.3 Summary of findings: Qualitative interviews with Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM's presenters and reporters 238
9.9 Relevance of the study 240
9.9.1 Limitations of the study 240
9.9.2 Contribution of the Study 241
9.9.3 Recommendations 242
9.9.4 Suggestions for further research 243
9.10 Conclusion 243

REFERENCES 245

ADDENDUM 256

List of Tables:

- Table 1: Dominant languages by provinces (Census 2022)
- Table 2: Dominant languages nationally
- Table 3: Number of songs played during the broadcasting of Malamulele's 10 selected shows of 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program
- Table 4: Number of songs played during the broadcasting of Vuwani's 9 selected shows of 'Hot Time' program

List of Figures

Figure 1: The map is the courtesy of Google Search: This map depicts four local municipalities under Vhembe District Municipality, in Limpopo Province, South Africa.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
ABC	African Broadcasting Company
ANC	African National Congress
MDDA	Media Development and Diversity Agency
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
PSALB	Pan South African Language Board
ZANU-PF	The Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
RSG	Radio Sonder Grense
MALA FM	Malamulele FM

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

One of the legacies of apartheid that South Africa had to deal with in the democratic dispensation was the segregated areas created to promote the distinct existence of several officially recognized racial and ethnic groupings (Ramutsindela and Simon 1999). In 1994, the focus shifted to reconfiguring society for a non-racial democratic South Africa, emphasizing ethnic inclusion (Ramutsindela and Simon 1999; Rudwick 2006). The apartheid government implemented the Group Area Act in 1950 to promote the segregation of different races in metropolitan areas, leading to the creation of segregated places (James 2012). Reorganizing apartheid territories through inclusive boundaries led to social challenges like tribalism and ethnic conflicts, as certain ethnic groups became interethnic and multi-ethnic communities. Others were economic and political structural challenges such as access to territorial resources, or lack thereof, inside the newly reconfigured spaces (Mavungu 2011). Ethnic-based developmental inequalities, such as service delivery in South Africa's newly reconfigured inclusive spaces not only undermines social cohesion efforts, but also contributes to the emergence of interethnic conflicts and tribalism (Khambule et al 2019; Nkuna and Shai 2018).

Tribalism is a social phenomenon polarising South Africa along ethnic lines and undermines the country's efforts to foster social cohesion in the newly reconfigured inclusive territorial zones. Baloyi (2018:1) refers to this phenomenon as "a danger at our doorstep". As an ideology, tribalism is systematically organised to advocate for a tribe (Okogu and Umudjere 2016). It prompts one to have a positive attitude towards those who are connected to him or her through kinship, family, and clan, while alienating one from people of other tribes who are not related to him or her by blood, kinship, family, or clan (Sanou 1999). Seemingly, any attempts to challenge or expose tribalism in South Africa is seen as an attempt to promote division among black people along ethnic lines, or incitement thereof. Tribalism has successfully found a conceptual place and refuge in 'ethnicity'- a socio-cultural identification concept promoted in recognition of diverse ethnic groups (Lentz 1995). Language remains a powerful expressive tool to effectively perpetuate tribalism in South Africa. Steyn (1998) views language in South Africa as a reflection of a historically divided society along racial and ethnic lines. However, language on its own cannot create tribalism, although it is associated with this phenomenon. Instead, the ideologies behind the functioning of the language can engender for tribalism.

Language ideologies are irrefutable common-sense assumptions which are ordinarily tied up to the subjective beliefs and feelings of the dominant language groups whose ambitions are centred on pursuing linguistic hegemony to subdue others' languages (Piller 2015). For example, many people from around the world are likely to agree on the following common-sense assumption that:

> English is the most useful language for global commercial, scientific, and cultural exchange. The best kind of English is spoken by native speakers, particularly those from the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and everyone else should try to emulate their English (Piller 2015:1).

While most people across the world recognize these common-sense assumptions about English as a global language, it is also easy to see that they are nothing more than ideological beliefs and feelings and that they are impossible to confirm or refute (Piller 2015). The linguistic common assumptions of this nature, as theorised above, have the potential to promote linguistic hegemony among disparate cultural groups. According to Hlophe (2013), linguistic exclusion and tribalism can arise from these issues. Linguistic common-sense assumptions are often reinforced through media, particularly in multilingual environments. Typically, dominant languages receive more airtime on inclusive broadcasts compared to 'minority' languages (Hlophe 2013). This preference is based on the assumption that dominant languages are more widely spoken and easier to use (Piller 2015). South Africa provides a strong example of how linguistic common-sense assumptions set a basis for promoting linguistic hegemony across dispensations, with English and Afrikaans (and recently IsiZulu) being the commonly accepted mediums of instruction languages (Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). Because of these assumptions, specific ideological interests representing certain groups are inherently supported through these languages and expressed in an official national policy. In an actual sense, policies are formulated out of certain ideologies as representing particular interest groups, and this paves the way for exclusion and tribalism (Beham and Adenauer-Stiftung, 2018; Alexander, 2013; Hlophe, 2013; Bevan, 2008; Wasserman, 2008; Wigston, 2001; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). History has it that the functioning of language across generations in South Africa was ideologically orientated to pursue discrimination along racial and ethnic lines, with the latter resulting in tribalism (Lekgoathi 2014; Hlophe 2013; Lekgoathi 2009; Orman 2008; Barnett 2000; Mersham 1998; Steyn 1998). Rudwick (2006:67) posits that:

> language can be used as a weapon to distinguish external boundaries as well as internal lines: for instance, it can be used to worship the in-group while isolating the out-group. In this context renegades can be singled out very quickly. The employed linguistic labels for the out-group and renegades express a disavowal of those who betray the in-group.

The success of language sowing ethnic divisions and promoting tribalism is attributed to the notion that language itself "constitutes the single most characteristic feature of ethnic identity" (De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1975; De Vos 1995, cited in Rudwick 2006:59). In most parts of the world, politicians use ethnicity as a basis for their ascension to national political power. They also use languages attached to certain ethnic groups to mobilise and spread propaganda along ethnic lines to achieve such a goal (Lisege et al. 2019). The political ideologies which inform their campaigns and policy perspectives are usually aligned to ethnic groups with which they associate (Lisege et al. 2019). Piombo (2009) argues that during the struggle against apartheid in South Africa the ANC was associated with Xhosa people and the brains of the organisation were largely drawn from this tribe. Similarly, in the democratic era, the ANC also drew much support from KwaZulu-Natal province during the period Jacob Zuma was canvassing for a powerful political office. The scholar further argues that the use of ethnicity to assume power may have affected the party's policy position, as it imperilled being assumed to be aligned to the Zulu ethnic group of South Africa. Ethnicity, therefore, serves as a basis by which politicians ascend national political power (Adeyanju 2018; Pignatelli 2016; Mwendia 2013; Acran 2013; Howard 2009; Paluck 2007). The tendency is that voters are more likely to vote for a candidate from their own ethnic group than from other ethnic groups (Liesege et al., 2019). Most of the so-called nationalist movements that emerged to counter colonialism and apartheid, in the case of South Africa, were aligned with the ethnic groups of their leaders (Vail 1989). For example, in Zimbabwe, the ZANU-PF's leadership was dominated by the Shona tribe. Abrams (2006) argues that Robert Mugabe and his ZANU-PF party have habitually used ethnic conflicts under the pretext of Shona identity as a self-serving weapon to dominate the politics in Zimbabwe. Vail (1989) argues that the future of ethnicity is secured if the determination of who must lead within the emerging national movements is decided along ethnical lines. As a result, ethnic language becomes a catalyst in shaping and affirming the identity of aspiring leaders and mobilising national political campaigns along ethnic lines (Rudwick 2006). Not only does ethnic language affirm the identity of the dominant ethnic group in the society, but also carries with it the ideologies attached to them, which may further sow class divisions and tribalism (Kotzian 2016). It is on record that tribalism in South Africa served as an apartheid ideology to divide and rule the nation (Baloyi 2018). It became a

means through which ethnic minorities ascended the podium of power to pursue hegemony over other ethnic groups. The use of dominant class's languages for ethnic affirmation is a common phenomenon in most parts of the world, particularly Africa (Howard 2009). However, the use of language alone cannot affirm ethnic identity, sow divisions, or promote tribalism. Broadcast media, particularly radio, can effectively promote ethnic divisions and tribalism using language (Lekgoathi 2014; Lekgoathi 2009). Regardless of whether it is employed for covert ethnic purposes or not, it is difficult to analyse language's power to shape identity politics without taking the media into account. It has been found that broadcast media, particularly radio is more lethal in promoting ethnic divisions and tribalism (Lekgoathi 2009; Lekgoathi 2014). Milikowski (2000) argues that the media's use of language is a catalyst in ensuring that society's ethnic divisions are upheld and promoted. However, only media that is established along ethnic boundaries can promote ethnic divisions (Milikowski 2000). In apartheid South Africa for example, the SABC's African language radio served as an ideological channel using vernacular languages to pursue and perpetuate ethnic separatism among diverse ethnic groups, resulting in ethnic phobia and tribalism (Mhlanga 2011; Lekgoathi 2009; Hlophe 2009; Lekgoathi 2009). Generally, the vernacular or African language radio in most parts of Africa has been used the most by politicians and other interest groups to incite ethnic conflicts and tribalism for narrow political interests (Paluck 2007; Pignatelli 2016; Acran 2013; Howard 2009; Adeyanju 2018; Mwendia 2013). This is despite being seen as a voice for marginalized communities, emphasising the vital role of empowering them by delivering information in their own languages (Dalene 2006; Salawu 2006). Vernacular language was therefore deemed an essential tool in the conceptualisation of the African language radio to achieve divisive ideological objectives because of its identification with ethnicity (Mhlanga 2013; Hlophe 2009). Howard (2009) argues that the media, being a double-edged sword, can be used to weld together disparate social groups for positive social cohesion, especially in the post-conflict or post-civil war era. Mwendia (2013) emphasizes the necessity of a viable media to reintegrate society that has been weakened by conflicts and wars. Although the author asserts that the media acts as a passive observer during the conflict and its aftermath. Social cohesion is a crucial policy issue in South Africa, affecting social, political, and economic aspects (Matema and Kariuki 2022). Given the country's diverse population comprised of different races, ethnicities, and migrants from around the world, its history of violence, and the persistent incidences of xenophobia, social cohesion must be a top priority for the nation (Matema and Kariuki 2022). To achieve social cohesion, an inclusive interethnic

community radio may be the option to unify and integrate disparate ethnic groups during ethnic conflicts.

1.2 Context of this study

The violent protests that took place in Malamulele and Vuwani areas in the northern part of Limpopo province between 2013 and 2022 present an excellent case of the post-apartheid South Africa's ethnic-based demarcation difficulties, upon which we can understand the origin of the research problem of this study. For example, they present a context of the interethnic communities which are ravaged by the scourge of tribalism. In the same vein, the community radio, which was expected to play a unifying role, was instead accused of promoting tribalism through the application of language hegemony.

Figure 1: The map is the courtesy of Google Search: This map depicts four local municipalities under Vhembe District Municipality, in Limpopo Province, South Africa.

Between 2013 and 2022, Malamulele and Vuwani areas in the northern parts of Limpopo province witnessed periodic wildcat strikes and protests by communities unhappy about the demarcation of municipal boundaries. The nature of tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people was on the issue of disparities of access to territorial resources and service delivery, which was based on ethnic identity and affiliation (Risimati and Rankoana (2023). The Vatsonga people of Malamulele staged the first violent protests because they wanted to break away from Thulamela Municipality and form their own municipality (Musitha 2016). Thulamela Local Municipality is a local municipality within the Vhembe District Municipality

in the Limpopo province of South Africa (Musitha 2016). It was established as a category B municipality in accordance with the Local Government Structures Act number 117 of 1998 (Municipality Demarcation Board of South Africa's 2015 feasibility study). The composition of this municipality included areas such as Malamulele- which is currently under the newly formed Collins Chabani Local Municipality, of which Vuwani is part. Thulamela municipality alleged to be associated with the Vhavenda ethnic group. Hence, the protests in the areas of Malamulele were led by the Vatsonga people. Only after the demarcation board agreed to their demands did the Malamulele demonstrations come to an end, culminating in the formation of Collins Chabane Municipality in 2016. While the formation of Collins Chabane was received with great joy and excitement, the inhabitants of Vuwani who did not want to be incorporated in the new Collins Chabane Municipality were up in arms and started demonstrating later in the same year. The new municipality marked the end of the Vhavenda-aligned municipality of Thulamela for Vatsonga communities in Malamulele. The Vhavenda inhabitants of Vuwani and the adjacent districts, who were to be included in the new municipality, were sceptical of the new municipality's ability to service their needs. The Vatsonga people of Malamulele saw the new municipality as an opportunity to avenge their oppression under the Thulamela Municipality.

This led to infamous violent uprisings by the Vhavenda people in Vuwani and other parts of the newly formed Collins Chabane Municipality. The Vhavenda communities of Vuwani and neighbouring areas claimed they were not consulted before the merging process and their inclusion into the new municipality. Therefore, they pleaded to be re-integrated into their former municipalities. These violent protests (dubbed Vuwani protests), which captured the headlines, turned ugly, ethnic, and tribal, with buildings being torched and businesses completely shut down. It became dangerous for Vatsonga people to live in the Vhavenda areas. However, the South African government refused to give in to the demands of the Vhavenda people in Vuwani and neighbouring areas, arguing that recommendations by the demarcation board had been reached after years of dialogue. At this stage, the newly established municipality of Collins Chabane had begun operating despite being prohibited from providing services by the Vhavenda people of Vuwani and neighbouring areas. To curb the violence, the national government needed to find new ways to appease the Vhavenda communities of Vuwani and the surrounding areas, which included placing them under the administration of the Vhembe district municipality. However, the communities of Vuwani and surrounding areas were compelled to return to Collins Chabane Municipality to receive joint-service delivery with

the Vatsonga people of Malamulele after realizing that the services they hoped for were not being provided by the district municipality. To date, a dark cloud of profound ethnic conflict and tribalism hangs over the two ethnic groups, particularly in locations where the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people co-exist despite integration. Intercultural acceptance of each other's cultural identity between the two ethnic groups eventually slipped away amidst efforts for social cohesiveness, as each ethnic group appears to consolidate its cultural identity against the other.

1.3 Research problem

Community radio stations are ideally positioned to play a vital role in nation-building, especially in societies where colonialism and apartheid have created divisions among various ethnic and linguistic groups. However, these stations do not always act in ways that support this goal. Various factors contribute to behaviors that can lead to unethical, partisan, and divisive practices, ultimately resulting in disunity and fragmentation within the nation. The recent demarcation protests in Malamulele and Vuwani have garnered considerable media attention, particularly from community radio stations, which have faced accusations of promoting tribalism through their broadcasts. As a member of the communities affected by these violent protests, the researcher observed that some community members accused these radio stations of trying to create a divide between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people, who have coexisted for centuries. Community members have expressed concerns that radio stations broadcasting to the Malamulele and Vuwani areas during the demarcation protests worsened tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people. They pointed out that these stations did not effectively promote social cohesion between the two ethnic groups, primarily because one language dominated their programming. This situation contributed to ethnic division and tribalism. They argued that the stations failed because they were ideologically designed to affirm separate ethnic identities, which could further perpetuate tribalism between the two groups. Additionally, they claimed that most community radio stations in the Vhembe District, including those in Malamulele and Vuwani, were owned and controlled by individuals acting as proxies for powerful politicians with narrow tribal interests. They believed this arrangement allowed these politicians to control the content, including the broadcasting language, based on ethnic majoritarianism. They concluded that the dominance of the majority languages in these community radio stations hindered their ability to promote and foster the social cohesion

necessary to unite the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people in Malamulele and Vuwani. They attributed the radio stations' inability to reach interethnic audiences to their mono-ethnic structural organization, which they deemed unsuitable for social cohesion objectives. In South Africa, community radio stations ordinarily decide their transmitting language based on the democratic ideological principle of ethnic majoritarianism (Mashau 2019). This is a hegemonic approach aimed at affirming the dominance of one group's linguistic and cultural identity over the others within an inclusive area (Hlophe 2009). In this regard, the supremacy of the majority language allows for the marginalisation and mistreatment of the minority groups' languages (Hlophe 2009). This study investigates the role of community radio in perpetuating tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda in the Malamulele and Vuwani areas in the Vhembe District. It aimed to determine whether the dominant use of specific languages on community radio stations in Malamulele and Vuwani has contributed to tribalism or promoted social cohesion between the two ethnic groups during the demarcation conflicts. It used Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM as case studies. It employed a dual-focused approach to investigating the phenomenon, which combines problem diagnosis with potential solutions, offering insights into the issue and recommendations for addressing it.

1.4 Gaps in Media Studies Scholarship and Rationale of this study

Existing research has predominantly focused on investigating how community radio contributes to ethnic tensions and tribalism using a diagnostic approach (Adeyanju 2018; Pignatelli 2016; Acran 2013; Howard 2009; Paluck 2007). However, there is a dearth of scholarly work that integrates diagnostic and remedial approaches to examine the role of this media platform in ethnic conflicts, especially in proposing methods to foster unity among members of the same nation. Where attention has been given (Mwendia 2013; Howard 2009), researching the intersection between linguistic dominance and tribalism in relation to the languages used in broadcasting for community radio, particularly within interethnic community settings, remains relatively understudied. While language is seen as the primary suspect in the escalation of tribalism (Rudwick 2006), it can also serve as a solution to many of the social challenges. This study, therefore, suggests multilingualism (Kriel2003) as a remedy for re-structuring community radio broadcasting for fostering social cohesion. The study broadens existing scholarship by paying attention on language policy while discoursing the roles of community radio in ethnic conflict settings. To contribute to the existing

scholarship in the broader area of ethnic-based community radio broadcasting, this study recommends that academic attention be paid extensively to the issue of language distribution in defining the language of community radio broadcasting in inter-ethnic communities. Language can be used as a weapon to distinguish external ethnic boundaries as well as internal ethnic lines (Rudwick 2006). The goal of this study is to provide insights into how South Africa's ethnic-based community radio, which currently operates within inter- and multi-ethnic spaces can be transformed to become a community-centred radio broadcasting in which the various ethnic groups are fairly and equally represented.

1.5 Research objectives

- To explain how using broadcasting languages in Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM contributed to tribalism or promoted social cohesion among the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani through qualitative interviews.
- To ascertain whether coverage of the demarcation protests by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM promoted social cohesion or perpetuated tribalism among the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani.
- To explore the ideological beliefs behind the establishment of community radio in post-apartheid South Africa.

1.6 Research questions

- How did the language used by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM during the demarcation protests perpetuate tribalism or promote social cohesion?
- To what extent did the coverage of the demarcation protests by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM promote social cohesion or perpetuate tribalism among the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani?
- Under which ideological beliefs were the ethnic-based community radio stations established in post-apartheid South Africa?

1.7 Theoretical and Conceptual frameworks underpinning the research study

The study was informed by a number of theories, namely social responsibility theory, democratic and social cohesion, inter-ethnic communication theory, media and ethnic conflict studies, and political economy. The theoretical relationship between democratic values and social cohesion initiatives was made clear by the democratic theory. However, the social responsibility of the media theory was applied because it offers insights into how media should operate responsibly in a democratic society. The interethnic communication approach was employed to provide insights into the role played by community radio within and across different ethnic communities. It was also for the purpose of setting a basis for understanding the dynamics, characteristics, and limits of the community radio stations operating within inter-ethnic spaces. Lastly, the study has employed the political economy theory of media to explain influence of politics and economics on the editorial autonomy of community media. This is consistent with the study's assumption that the community radio, in the case of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM, serves the ideological interests of politicians who are also their funders.

1.8 Research Methodology

This study was conducted within the framework of the qualitative research paradigm. A qualitative design was particularly suitable for this research because it allows for a deeper exploration of social phenomena rather than a quantitative assessment. According to Hancock et al. (2007), qualitative research focuses on developing explanations for social phenomena, aiming to help researchers understand the social world in which people live and the reasons behind various circumstances. A case study approach was employed to effectively address the research problem. FM. Karlsson (2016) describes a case study approach as a research strategy that enables researchers to understand phenomena in real-life situations, where only specific sub-units within a larger case are examined. The fact that this study's phenomenon was relatively new to the researcher indicates that the research needed to be exploratory in nature. According to Pitout and du Plooy (2001), exploratory research involves studying a communication problem or phenomenon to gain a better understanding of a topic where little is known. The goal is to gain a deep understanding of the phenomenon in order to (1) create a more specific research problem for future studies and (2) establish a clear and relevant hypothesis on which future investigations of the research problem can be based (Pitout and du Plooy 2001). The researcher recognized that the findings of this study are not generalizable beyond its scope. Since the study was exploratory in nature, it was important to address issues

of trustworthiness, which include credibility, dependability, transferability, confirmability, and authenticity. This was achieved by employing triangulation, defined as the “combination of two or more theories, data sources, methods, or investigators in one study of a single phenomenon to converge on a single construct” (Perone and Tucker 2003:2). In this research, triangulation involved integrating different research methods to ensure that the findings were trustworthy. The use of multiple research methods was aimed at (1) minimizing bias while enhancing validity; (2) addressing the inadequacies of individual methods, as noted by Meijer et al. (2002); (3) leveraging the strengths of varied methods to complement one another; (4) enabling the researcher to capture a more comprehensive, holistic, and contextual understanding; and (5) revealing diverse dimensions of the phenomena being investigated (Perone and Tucker 2003). The following research methods were essential for data collection:

- Qualitative document analysis, which includes analysis of the current community radio broadcasting language policy.
- Qualitative content analysis of radio programs, which included analysis or reviews of previously recorded programming of the two radio stations.
- Qualitative interviews with the Station Managers, Presenters, and Field reporters of the two community radio stations.

1.9 Data Analysis

This study employed a multifaceted approach to data analysis, integrating both content analysis and thematic analysis techniques to systematically explore the data obtained from three distinct triangulated data collection methods outlined in this chapter. According to Bowen (2009), content analysis is a methodological approach that involves classifying and organizing data in alignment with the specific research questions guiding the study. This technique allows for a systematic examination of the content, facilitating a clearer understanding of the information being analyzed. In contrast, thematic analysis was applied to identify and interpret patterns and themes within the data. The study focused on emergent themes, which are categories that arise naturally from the data itself rather than being imposed beforehand by the researcher. This flexibility ensures that the analysis is responsive to the actual content of the data. For the content analysis component, the research employed a "first-pass document review." This method involves identifying and highlighting significant and relevant excerpts from texts or

other types of data (Bowen 2009:32). During this initial review, the researcher was tasked with demonstrating the ability to discern pertinent data from less relevant information, a crucial skill for effective analysis. To mitigate the risk of imposing preconceived categories on the qualitative content analysis, the researcher opted for a conventional content analysis approach. This choice allowed categories and terminology to emerge organically from the data being collected, as advocated by Hsieh and Shannon (2005). The process of thematic analysis necessitated a careful and in-depth rereading and assessment of the data. To uncover themes that are relevant to the identified phenomenon, the researcher implemented Bowen's (2008) methodology. This approach entails a meticulous examination of the chosen data, followed by a coding exercise and the development of categories based on the inherent qualities and nuances present in the data. As a result, even within this analytical framework, there was no requirement for preset codes and themes, allowing for greater authenticity in the analysis. Ultimately, the empirical data collected through the three triangulated data-gathering methodologies offered rich insights that led to the development of codes and themes, illuminating key aspects of the study's focus and contributing to a deeper understanding of the phenomena under investigation. This thorough analytical process ensured that the findings were grounded in the actual data, enhancing the validity and reliability of the study's outcomes.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 provides a comprehensive introduction to the research study, detailing the specific research topic and the contextual factors that shaped its formulation. This section articulates the primary research objectives, outlining the key aims of the study and their significance. Additionally, it presents the research questions that guide the inquiry, highlighting the critical areas of investigation. Furthermore, the chapter identifies and discusses the academic gaps that the study seeks to address, ensuring that the relevance and necessity of the research are clear. It also elaborates on the research and data analysis methods employed, offering insight into the methodology that underpins the study. This detailed framework sets the stage for the subsequent chapters and furthers the reader's understanding of the research's scope and significance.

Chapter 2 delves into the historical context of community radio, providing a comprehensive framework for understanding its origins and the reasons it was established. It explores the

motivations behind community radio's development, including the desire to empower local voices and enhance community engagement. Furthermore, the chapter analyzes both the successes and failures of community radio in fostering social cohesion and contributing to the democratic project. By examining various case studies and historical examples, this chapter illustrates how community radio has navigated the challenges and opportunities it has faced over the years, highlighting its role in promoting inclusivity, diversity, and active civic participation within communities.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the literature review for this study. A literature review involves examining academic writings, such as books and journal articles, that have been published on a specific topic. The aim is to identify what is already known about the subject. The steps in this research process include searching for relevant literature, synthesizing the research findings, composing an assessment review, and continuously refining the review until it aligns with the research objectives. Another important purpose of a literature review is to identify discrepancies in the literature, such as gaps, contradictions, and unanswered questions. It also seeks to justify the need for further research by highlighting the relationship between existing works and their contributions to the topic. Additionally, it positions the researcher’s own work within the context of the existing body of literature.

Chapter 4 elaborates on the theoretical framework that forms the foundation of this study. This framework not only provides a rationale for the research but also clearly defines the problem statement, the articulated purpose of the study, and the specific research questions that guide the investigation. By anchoring these elements, the theoretical framework ensures a cohesive structure throughout the study. It integrates and contextualizes relevant literature, informing the methodology employed in the research and shaping the subsequent analysis of the data collected. This comprehensive approach allows for a deeper understanding of the study's significance and the implications of its findings.

Chapter 5 provides an in-depth overview of the research methodology that underpins this study. It begins by explaining the specific research methods employed for data collection, emphasizing the importance of qualitative approaches in understanding participants' experiences and perspectives. The chapter also outlines the sampling techniques used to select the participants, detailing how these techniques were designed to ensure a representative and diverse group that would enrich the study’s findings. Furthermore, the chapter delves into the

various data analysis methods utilized to interpret the collected data, highlighting both the analytical frameworks and tools applied in the process. This includes a discussion of thematic analysis, coding strategies, and any software used to assist in the analysis. Lastly, the chapter addresses the ethical considerations involved in conducting the study, including the measures taken to protect participants' confidentiality, obtain informed consent, and ensure that the research adheres to ethical guidelines. This comprehensive approach ensures both the integrity of the research process, and the welfare of the participants involved.

In Chapter 6, the study provides a thorough exploration of the perspectives surrounding language policy in the context of community broadcasting. This chapter offers a detailed presentation of the data collected through qualitative document analysis, which involves a careful examination of relevant documents to extract meaningful insights. By doing so, it aims to establish findings that robustly support the study's hypothesis regarding language policy. The discussion not only highlights the nuances of community broadcasting but also emphasizes the implications of language choices made within this sphere, shedding light on how these policies impact the communities involved.

Chapter 7 provides an in-depth analysis and presents the findings obtained through qualitative content analysis of various radio programs. In this chapter, the researcher meticulously examines the collected data, interpreting the content to uncover underlying themes, patterns, and insights. The analysis aims to capture the perspectives that emerge from the radio programs, showcasing how these interpretations contribute to a broader understanding of the subject matter. By highlighting the nuances in the data, this chapter not only reflects the researcher's analytical approach but also offers a thoughtful discussion of the implications of the findings.

Chapter 8 provides a comprehensive analysis, and an in-depth presentation of the findings obtained from interviews conducted with the staff members of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM. This includes insights from key personnel such as the station manager, presenters, and reporters. The interviews aimed to explore their experiences, perspectives, and roles within the stations, shedding light on the operational dynamics, challenges, and successes faced by both radio stations. The chapter delves into themes that emerged during these discussions, offering a nuanced understanding of the local broadcasting landscape.

Chapter 9 provides a comprehensive summary of the entire study, encapsulating the journey undertaken throughout the research process. It highlights the key findings that emerged from the investigation, discussing their implications and significance in the broader context. Additionally, the chapter addresses the limitations encountered during the study, offering a critical analysis of how these constraints may have impacted the results. Furthermore, it presents carefully considered recommendations based on the findings, suggesting practical applications and potential strategies for implementing changes. Lastly, the chapter outlines directions for future research, identifying gaps in the current literature and proposing areas that warrant further exploration to build on the insights gained from this study.

CHAPTER 2: COMMUNITY RADIO BROADCASTING IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced and provided a background to the research problem. This chapter provides a historical overview of community broadcasting in South Africa. The chapter emphasises the importance of understanding South Africa's history of colonialism and its impact on the development of community radio. In addition, it provides insights into the post-colonial political challenges that have impacted the development of community radio across the continent. Further, it aids in the understanding of how other African countries have shaped the concept of community radio in South Africa. In addition, the historical context of the phenomenon was also crucial in setting this chapter's basis. This affirms Da–Costa's (2018:17) assertion that "an understanding of a country's media landscape is lost without looking into the historical context from which it originates." The second part of the presentation focused on the challenges of post-apartheid South African radio broadcasting and broadcasting reforms. This includes discussions on language policy reforms, reconfiguration of the broadcasting system, the introduction of community radio in South Africa, and the relationship between community radio, ethnicity, and tribalism in South Africa.

2.2 The Concept of Community Radio in Post-colonial Africa

Top of the political agendas of the postcolonial dispensation on the continent of Africa was to democratize societies already splintered by class, ethnicity, and beliefs, which the foreigners simplified into black and white (Birmingham 2009). This was viewed in line with a need to accomplish the fundamental objective of decolonizing the entire continent of Africa (Birmingham 2009). Decolonization in Africa began in the 1940s when the Italians were driven out of Ethiopia and Libya, with most of the countries receiving their independence in 1956 (Woodruff 1998). With the democratic processes unfolding in different parts of the continent, radio became a significant communication tool envisaged for empowering citizens as well as changing political dynamics (Bosch 2014). It would be difficult to imagine how modern African societies could be run without radio (Kijana 2012). However, the discourse around the liberalization of airwaves proved cumbersome, especially with most African countries

choosing dictatorship as a form of government. Despite growing global calls for the liberalisation and deregulation of broadcasting, most of the post-colonial governments on the continent were not keen on liberalising the airwaves to allow diverse political opinions (Moyo 2011). Instead, they adopted a monolithic colonial administrative policy of controlling broadcasting (Nyman-Metcalf et al. 2003) for political propaganda purposes (Ligaga 2011). Where they could, they only granted licenses to their trusted cronies or to communities that would not be allowed to use the stations to discuss 'politics' (Moyo 2011). This unfolded against the backdrop of most African governments resembling military dictatorships and one-party dictatorships of southern and eastern Europe (Birmingham 2009) in the early stages of independence. Meanwhile, the general belief was that "the multiparty system of democracy that had returned to north-western Europe after the dismembering of Hitler's empire would be appropriate for Africa too" (Birmingham 2009: 4).

Since independence, most African dictators of note grappled with the phenomenon of a free media, viewing it as a 'demon' systematically arranged to loosen their grip on the state control. In such an instance, broadcasting, in particular radio became a monopoly of the state justified on the grounds that it was a public service critical to development, the fostering of unity and the promotion of national culture and identity (Nyman-Metcalf et al. 2003). To bring radio under state control, broadcasting had to be strategically placed under the ministries of information or broadcasting. The implication was that radio broadcasting was accountable to the Minister and the State President. This arrangement, according to Nyman-Metcalf et al. (2003:2):

> allowed the Minister and State President a direct say in appointments to boards, management issues and programming content in the 'national interest'. The national interest was often defined as or meant the political and policy in choices of the ruling party. Rarely was there a reference to the 'public interest' which was more pluralist and inclusive. More often than not, these institutional arrangements violated the editorial and programming independence of the public broadcasters and turned them into state broadcasters.

In his study entitled 'Contesting Mainstream Media Power: Mediating the Zimbabwe Crisis through Clandestine Radio', Moyo (2011:50) demonstrates why African dictators were keen on pursuing the colonial legacy of state broadcasting against global calls for a free and competitive broadcasting landscape:

> In Zimbabwe, not much change has taken place in the broadcasting landscape since independence in 1980. Mugabe is on record as having stood against private broadcasting on the grounds that 'you don't know what propaganda a non-state radio might broadcast'. It is therefore no wonder that the old broadcasting law (the Broadcasting Act of 1957, which gave monopoly status to the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), remained in force for two decades after independence, even though it clearly presented a stark contradiction to the democratic values that had informed the struggle for the that independence).

The scepticism around the liberalization of broadcasting landscape resulted in one-party dictatorship governments assigning the state radio a propagandist role of protecting the states and justifying its repressive control rule. "This meant that citizen participation in the production of such programs was measured and controlled according to what was acceptable to the state" (Ligaga 2011:149). However, the 1990s witnessed an unprecedented paradigm shift in broadcasting on the African continent that has been described as liberalization of the airwaves (`Kijana 2012; Mhiripiri 2011; Banda and Nyman-Metcalf et al. 2003). The discourse on the liberalization and deregulation of the airwaves on the continent was incessantly gaining momentum. Many countries on the continent began to open the sector for competition by allowing alternative broadcasters to compete with the state broadcaster (Kijana 2012). For some, the liberalization had to come under the conditions of some stringent and uncompromising censorship (Moyo 2011).

The liberalization of the airwaves on the continent also paved the way for community radio as a fundamental alternative voice with the best interests of the communities at the grassroots level (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). The 1990s was not only perceived as a decisive period in the emergence of community radio broadcasting in Africa but also as a game changer in the dynamics of how broadcasting was supposed to be run (Kijana 2012; Odhiambo 2011; Coplan 2011; Mhiripiri 2011; Banda 2004; Nyman-Metcalf 2003). Other alternative broadcasting voices to state radio broadcasting had to be foreign-sponsored radio stations (Mano 2011). The community radio slowly acquired a special place in "the society as one form of independent media capable of evolving a community managed and interactive communication and programming of issues of public awareness and human activity" (Kijana 2012:128). However, the advent of community radio broadcasting stations, being a result of ideological and political pluralism demanded that variety, difference, contrariety, and divergence are permitted, tolerated, and even encouraged (Kijana 2012). The issue of local languages became central for this type of radio to take the broadcasting services to various

communities (Bosch 2014). It was believed that that communication is better enhanced in a medium that uses the language of a given people (Salawu 2006). Therefore, community radio stations became mediums through which the communities could express themselves in their own languages (Salawu 2006). Moreover, disadvantaged rural communities who did not have access to other forms of media could use community radio as an alternative platform for participation in the selection of programming (Salawu 2006; Media Development Project 2001). Community radio stations in most parts of the African continent are referred to as local radio stations for rural-based communities (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998; Mbennah et al. 1998). The emergence of these community radios, according to Kijana (2012:28), was primarily to respond to:

> the narrow focus of the contemporary African media practice and its' tendency to give wish-washy treatment to issues of rural and impoverished communities; the use of old colonial language in traditional media practice at the expense of other African languages; the tendency of the contemporary African media to perpetuate western perception of the socio-economic-political issues due to its heavy reliance on western news agencies and its' failure to rely on the communities in question.

As part of the democratization process in Africa, community radio was also set up to enable "greater popular access to information systems, enhancing people's rights to respond and criticize those in the position of power" (Odhiambo 2011:37 cited IIboudo 2000:43). Hence, some countries run by dictatorships on the continent rejected the pluralist approach for diversification of media, which catered among others the community radio in favour of a monolithic approach to broadcasting (Ligaga 2011; Moyo 2011; Mhiripiri 2011). Despite the popularity of this form of broadcasting in most African countries, historical accounts have pointed to the fact that the concept of community radio is not an African phenomenon but inherited from other developing countries outside the borders. The first community radio was credited to Latin America, particularly Radio Sutatenza in Colombia, founded in 1947 to reach the rural population with development information (Bosch 2014). Apart from Latin America, there was no experience of community radio in the developing countries until the emergence of the Tambuli project in the Philippines in 1991 (Bosch 2014). Later, community stations began to emerge organically in the Caribbean, Asia, Australia, Europe […] while in "North America, especially Canada and the United States, community media emerged in the 1970s and shortly thereafter in Europe" (Bosch 2014:427).

2.3 History of Community Radio in South Africa

South Africa has an interesting history regarding the establishment of community radio. Despite sharing a common vision with other African countries about this form of radio since its rise in the early 1990s, it has a unique case. The history of community radio in South Africa dates back to the colonial era when the first community-based radio attracted an audience from white English and Dutch communities in the early 1900s. The first amateur and experimental community broadcasts were created in 1919, leading to increased radio amateurs and subsequent government regulations on transmissions (Bevan 2008; Teer–Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). The government granted broadcast licenses to three organizations - a private club of amateur radio broadcasters called the Association of Scientific and Technical Services for Johannesburg urban areas, the Cape Peninsular Publicity Association for Cape Town urban areas, and the Durban Corporation (Lekgoathi 2009; Wigston 2001; Teer–Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). These measures aimed to ensure regular and sustained broadcasts (Teer–Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). Subsequently, the recently licensed radio stations faced financial difficulties and were taken over and amalgamated under the African Broadcasting Company in 1927 (Wigston 2001). This move spearheaded the commercialization of radio broadcasting. Language and cultural identity representation in commercialized radio broadcasting became a contentious issue, with the focus shifting from race to whose language and cultural identity should be represented between the dominant British and Dutch groups in South Africa at the time.

The issue arose when the African Broadcasting Company (ABC) faced criticism for the disproportionate representation of English and Afrikaans programs on its radio stations. Since the company received most of its support from English-dominated businesses, the prevailing language on South African radio was English (Adenauer–Stiftung 2018). Teer–Tomaselli and de Villiers (1998) argue that radio programming at that time primarily served the interests of the English-speaking elite, mainly in urban areas, to propagate their culture. At the time, there was a lack of programming for Afrikaans listeners, who were predominantly living in rural areas (Wigston 2001). Moreover, there was a notable absence of representation of Indigenous languages for black listeners on the radio during this period, which was even more excluded than Afrikaans.

In 1927, the ABC was pressured to reconsider its approach to language representation in radio broadcasting. Initially focused on promoting the English language and upholding the cultural identity of English people, ABC introduced an hour of Afrikaans programming and a daily news bulletin in Afrikaans due to pressure from Afrikaner groups (Wigston 2001). A review of scholarly literature suggests that the commercial and English-oriented nature of the ABC influenced the government to take over control of radio broadcasts to protect the language and cultural identity of Afrikaans speakers. However, at that time, there was still no broadcast material in African languages for African people (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998).

As the ABC license came up for renewal, the government sought to address their broadcasting strategy. Their commercially driven radio stations had a singular focus on promoting the language and cultural identity of English speakers. In addition, the issue of inadequate funding emerged as a major concern for the broadcaster. Consequently, Prime Minister JBM Hertzog initiated a comprehensive investigation into all aspects of broadcasting. This investigation took place in 1934 and was led by the British John Reith (Bevan 2008; Wigston 2001; Teer–Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). After completing his investigation, Reith proposed that the South African broadcasting service be brought under the management of a public corporation like the BBC. This entity would operate independently and without government influence, have exclusive control over the country's broadcasting, and strive for equal representation of the English and Afrikaans languages. Furthermore, it would include special programming for languages other than English and Afrikaans (Bevan 2008; Wigston 2001).

The outcome of the Reith Commission resulted in the establishment of the South African Broadcasting Corporation in 1936. as the national broadcaster, maintaining a broadcasting monopoly for many years (Bevan 2008; Fokane 2003). The establishment of the SABC was influenced by the recommendations for a public service broadcaster (PSB) similar to the BBC, as outlined in the South African Broadcasting Act of 1936. This act was based on several key assumptions, namely: [1] consensus between English and Afrikaans speakers on representation, [2] representation achieved through the Governor-General's appointments to the Board of Control, [3] appointed individuals being free from alignment with any interest groups in the country's political landscape, and [4] provision of special programs for language groups other than English and Afrikaans (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998).

Even though special programs were mentioned for language groups other than English and Afrikaans, the Broadcasting Act never referenced to any black languages or culture. During the Second World War, programming specifically for black people was only accessible through telephone lines in townships and hostels (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). It was not until 1949 that daily programming was exclusively transmitted on English and Afrikaans radio in isiZulu, isiXhosa, and Sesotho. When making recommendations about the public service broadcaster, Reith seemed unaware of the conflict between the two European groups in South Africa and the distinct political ideology they represented (Wigston 2001). Despite the Broadcasting Act of 1936, which aimed for equal representation of English and Afrikaans, English language broadcasting continued to dominate (Wigston 2001). The challenge of providing bilingual services was compounded by the fact that most Afrikaans listeners resided in rural areas, where technical issues with the medium wave channel of the SABC hindered the delivery of high-quality sound. This led to conflicts until a proposal in 1938 suggested a split into English and Afrikaans. As a result, a new shortwave service called Program B (now RSG) was introduced for Afrikaans audiences, while the English audience remained on the medium wave channel, known as Program A (now SAfm) (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). This split was intended to ensure a balanced representation of language and cultural identities for both groups, promoting their languages and cultures as equally valid for all South Africans, regardless of race and ethnicity (Odine 2013).

It is evident that radio was more than just a means to disseminate information. It also functioned as a socio-cultural medium to promote and preserve the language and cultural identities of the Dutch and English people. During the era of colonialism, the dominance of English and Dutch (later Afrikaans) was effectively advanced via the power of the airwaves, while the languages and cultures of the indigenous people were marginalized. The colonizers showed little interest in local culture and languages (Odine 2013). Emphasis on the languages and cultural identities of the English and Dutch people not only solidified their influence over indigenous cultural groups, but also contributed to their development and popularity in South Africa (Odine 2013). The establishment of commercial radio, known as the Springbok, in the 1950s can also be viewed as part of the apartheid regime's efforts to develop community-based radio to cater for the linguistic and cultural interests of white people, particularly the Afrikaans and English communities (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). The station featured bilingual programming aimed at reaching a larger white Afrikaans and English audience (Teer-Tomaselli

and de Villiers 1998). The push for national interests in radio development during this period was centred around the rhetoric of language rights and cultural pluralism, which called for the inclusion of black people's languages (Barnett 2000). This initiative led to the conceptualization of Bantu Radio, to create separate ethnic identities among the majority of black South Africans to further divide them (Lekgoathi 2009). African languages were then used as the basis for officially defining the ethnic and cultural identities of indigenous people in South Africa. To promote separate ethnic identities, the National Party government called for the introduction of African language radio broadcasting, organized within the context of the communities they were to represent. This was organized based on separate language stations for separate audiences in distinct territorial locations (Teer–Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). It could be argued that the introduction of the SABC African language radio was a defining moment during apartheid South Africa which ushered the beginning of the ethnic-based community radio for black people. One could assume that the establishment of African language radio during the apartheid era was aimed at enabling the natives to receive information in their own languages (Salawu 2006). This argument could only be true if African language radio had found its conceptual meaning from the African language press, which was established by Christian missionaries with the purpose of communicating their religious messages to the natives in their own languages (Salawu and Chibita 2016). Thus,African language radio emerged against the backdrop of the National Party's desperate need to divide black populations by separating them into localized ethnic communities. The goal was to enforce separate cultural identities for different ethnic groups to fracture them. For this purpose, significant changes were immediately made in the SABC to create a separate structure for the administration of black programs (Teer–Tomaselli & de Villiers, 1998).

In 1960, the South African Broadcasting Corporation launched Radio Bantu as a fully-fledged radio station for African listeners, with programming in different languages. It was used as the apartheid state's propaganda channel, targeting millions of African listeners. The production of programs for blacks on this radio station was done within existing organizational structures through white supervisors, with the purpose of ensuring control of black staff members. Teer–Tomaselli and de Villiers (1998) argue that Radio Bantu was purposely created to reinforce the separation between black and white listening audiences, as well as to further divide black listenership based on ethnicity. Therefore, the promotion of separate languages and cultural identities amongst ethnic groups of South Africa during this era was critical in the establishment of Radio Bantu. Radio Bantu provided radio stations for black listeners, with the

first transmission being in Sesotho (Radio Sesotho) and IsiZulu (Radio Zulu) (Wigston, 2001; Lekgoathi, 2009). These stations first broadcast on 1 January 1962. The same programs were also presented in Northern Sotho (Radio Lebowa) and Setswana (Radio Setswana) on 1 July 1962, and on 1 February 1963, IsiZulu transmissions were introduced in Natal. Radio Xhosa followed on 1 June 1963 from Grahamstown. Radio Tsonga (now Munghana Lonene FM) and Radio Venda (now Phalaphala FM) followed in 1965 (Mhlanga, 2011).

It could be concluded that radio broadcasting during the apartheid era served as a tool to advocate for apartheid policies. SABC radio was used by the National Party to promote Afrikaner nationalism among white Afrikaners and to impose it on black people and other non-whites. For instance, the establishment of Springbok Radio, the first SABC commercial radio, was meant to balance the representation between English and Afrikaans languages, while also preserving Afrikaner cultural identity. African language radio stations were created to segregate black and white audiences and further divide black listeners based on ethnicity. However, these stations also provided language groups with a platform to maintain their cultural identity through programming in their own languages, as exemplified by the establishment of Radio Bantu and its various African language broadcasting services.

2.4 Post-apartheid Radio and its challenges in South Africa

The 11th of February 1990 was not just a date for the release of Nelson Mandela but was also a day that significantly marked a long-awaited freedom for the people of South Africa, particularly the black majority. There were numerous events that took place in the early stages of post-apartheid South Africa., The dawning of post-apartheid South Africa had its own sheer of challenges. Some of which, to a certain extent, affected even the thinking about how radio broadcasting would operate. It should also be noted that South Africa at the time was sitting among many multi-ethnic nations of the developing world facing the dilemma of having to choose between national identity and cultural diversity in pursuit of a national democratic agenda (Chauke 2021). Contestation of ideas through dialogue and debates under the banner of ‘citizen participation’ resulted on more impasses than consensus. As the era continued to unfold, there was a dichotomy of two thoughts in play. The first argued for distinct ethnic tribes and their languages; while the latter subscribed to a national monolithic perspective applied in

most African countries whereby the success of a nation-building project is determined by the dissolution of tribes (Nyman-Metcalf et al. 2003).

One of the notable challenges that the democratic dispensation had to deal with, which also had a bearing on how broadcasting would be structured, was the issue of language policy. The planning thereof had to be done based on acknowledging that South Africa was a multilingual and multicultural nation (Kriel 2003). In addition, the policy had to be aligned with democratic principles, with a view to bringing together language and culture in defining the development of diverse cultural groups (Mesthrie 2006). Central to the planning, though, was the issue of vernacular languages, which had to be viewed as cultural resources and prerequisites to the sustainment of the cultural identities of Indigenous black South Africans (Odine 2013). The eleven-language policy by the government was an attempt to satisfy a wide range of possible contending interests to prevent future conflict around the issues of language and ethnic identification (Hlophe 2013:29). Hence, the current South African constitution sanctions that all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably. The emphasis on language empowerment in the early stages of democracy in South Africa was envisaged not only to preserve the cultural identities of indigenous people, but also to promote their languages (Chauke 2021). However, the implementation of the language policy in South Africa became a challenge on its own since it overlooked the realities and seriousness of sociolinguistic problems (Orman 2008). In fact, Webb (1994) argues that language policy should be planned within the context of the country's sociolinguistic landscape and consider the relationship between language and several serious problems such as the sociolinguistic problems in the country. Bringing light to his argument, Webb (1994:254) affirms:

> South Africa's sociolinguistic complexity is a function of numerous factors: a multiplicity of languages and cultures; the overlapping demographic and geographic distribution of the country's major languages; the politicisation of these languages and cultures due to both the colonial past and the policy of apartheid; and the differentiated linguistic manifestation of the politicisation of language and cultures.

The problem with the implementation of the language policy was \that the languages were structured according to apartheid linguistic and hegemonic patterns. African languages were reconstructed as separate or rather parallel categories according to their dominance and influence in the new democratic South African society (Orman 2008). This parallel arrangement, where some languages were considered larger or smaller than others, resulted in the marginalization of several African languages, especially those that were regarded as

minority African languages (Orman, 2008). Hlophe (2013:29) sees the construction of African languages as separate categories rooted in the colonial thinking of "linguistic fixity." This is an ideology that he vehemently disregards the socio-historical contexts in which these languages were invented. South Africa may, on paper, have a highly developed national language policy with the potential to protect and promote all official languages (Chauke 2021). However, many South Africans, especially those in minority language groups, argue that the policy prioritises the ethnic majority groups' languages at the expense of the minority ones-a tendency that encourages tribalism and negative cultural stereotypes among diverse ethnic or language groups (Orman 2008).

The above challenges affected the thinking and imagination of how the media, in particular broadcasting would be structured in line with the democratic mandate. At the backdrop of these challenges, the main thrust was the establishment of free and democratic media to hold the elected African National Congress (ANC)-led government to account and be a voice for a more inclusive citizenry than was the case under apartheid (Milton et al.2013). To achieve all this, a transformed non-partisan and inclusive media was needed. Broadcasting radio came first on the mind of the policy planners and makers (Fokane 2003). Radio in the sense that it remained a tested influential and an efficient communication tool in the nation-building projects of the modern societies due to its ability to reach large audiences from diverse geographical locations (Chauke 2021; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). However, this medium had to operate within a transformed broadcasting space that is free and competitive to be able to hold those in power accountable and become that inclusive citizenry voice (Milton et al.2013; Fokane 2003). For that to happen, media policy reforms, which including broadcasting had to take place in fulfilment of the resolution of the new dispensation. The following section provides details on how media reforms unfolded, and their impact on the broadcasting system in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.5 Radio Broadcasting Reforms in the Post-apartheid South Africa

The resolutions on media reforms in post-apartheid South Africa were all-encompassing and inclusive of media across the board. However, in the early stages of this dispensation it appeared as if these reforms were pushed and prioritized for the redresses of broadcasting, particularly radio. This is because the role played by radio during the apartheid era as an

important state agent responsible for the propagation of National Party propaganda information aimed at dividing people along racial and ethnic lines (Teer-Tomaselli and De Villiers 1998). Hence, the power of the airwaves could not be ignored in the entire discourse of media policy reforms despite reform proposals being for all the media. Against this background, it would be imperative in this juncture to unpack the history of media policy reforms since the dawn of democracy to set a basis for understanding a newly broadcasting mandate given to radio broadcasting. This is in acknowledgement of fact that this form of broadcasting had been viewed as the most vital communication tool to influence change in a society that was slowly transforming into a fully democratic one (Fokane 2003; Barnett 2000; Teer-Tomaselli and De Villiers 1998). Therefore, the media policy reforms had to begin with the re-regulation of the broadcasting system to make it more open, representative, and entirely democratic (Chauke 2021 cited Teer-Tomaselli and De Villiers 1998). The re-regulation of broadcasting proposals was inspired by the democratic demands to redress the imbalances of the past where only the state broadcaster aligned to the National Party government was sanctioned to broadcast (Barnett 2000). Crucial in the proposals for re-regulating the broadcasting system were the broadcasting language policy reforms. The policy reforms about languages had to be planned against the backdrop of the sociolinguistic complexities of South Africa (Webb 1994). Considering the democratic role the broadcasting media would play in the changing society of South Africa, of paramount importance was. was the preservation and reaffirmation of the cultural identities of historically marginalised diverse ethnic groups and the promotion of their languages, which were already threatened (Chauke 2021). However, the politics of language equity in broadcasting reform was shaped by conflict over the legitimacy of who was to be represented, by what means, by whom, and for what purposes in the process of policy deliberation and decision making (Barnett 2000).

With the public pressures from various civil society groups, there was need to reposition the SABC radio for public service broadcasting, with a view to make it open and representative in the new democratic era (Teer–Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). The emphasis placed on radio was not only due to its wide geographic reach and large audience numbers, but also on its potential to present in the languages of the listeners. It was important especially in a country with high a literacy rate and one that is polarised along ethnic lines (Myers 2008; Nyman-Metcalf et al. 2003). Television, with obviously limited channels, was going to be a congested space to see through equal and equitable representation of the diverse ethnic groups of South Africa. As a matter of fact, the dominant language groups' cultural outputs could be easily

slotted in this form of broadcasting media at the expense of minority groups (Orman 2008). In the long run, this would have given the dominant language groups an unfair advantage in promoting and propagating their cultural identities over the minority groups through their cultural programming broadcast in their own dominant languages (Orman 2008). Against this backdrop, the repositioning of a radio in post-apartheid South Africa for a change was necessary.

2.6 Repositioning of Radio Broadcasting in the Post-apartheid South Africa

It was widely acknowledged that the restructuring of radio broadcasting in post-apartheid South Africa was imperative to ensure adequate representation of diverse languages, particularly those of ethnic communities. However, there were concerns about the restructuring of radio in all 11 official languages, as it was perceived to mirror the patterns of the apartheid era. This raised concerns about the potential perpetuation of racism and tribalism in post-apartheid South Africa (Mhlanga 2011; Hlophe 2013). According to Barnett (2000:67), the repositioned radio stations bore structural resemblances to the old monolithic apartheid system, with intentions to divide the newly democratic society along racial and ethnic lines. For instance, SA FM and RSG, which originated from apartheid-era Radio South Africa (serving white English audiences) and Radio Suid Afrika (serving white Afrikaans audiences), respectively, continued to cater to English and Afrikaans audiences (Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). In contrast, the 9 SABC African language stations, relaunched under new names, were structured in a manner that perpetuated the apartheid pattern of dividing ethnic communities along tribal lines (Lekgoathi 2015; Lekgoathi 2009; Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). This observation corroborates Mhlanga's argument that the structural organization of these radio stations during the apartheid and post-apartheid periods shares similarities, despite their ideological differences (Mhlanga 2011). It is important to note that the original idea at the onset of the post-apartheid era was to emphasize the value of these radio stations in promoting vernacular languages and cultural identities of historically marginalized indigenous African people (Mhlanga 2011). However, this vision was hindered by the structural organization of these radio stations, which still reflected the apartheid's radio broadcast pattern (Mhlanga 2011).

The following radio stations were relaunched with new names in line with the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA)'s Triple Enquiry Report (1995) as part of the restructuring process. The report stipulated that radio stations should not be categorized according to specific languages or ethnic groups of their audience, aligning with the practices of the apartheid era (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). It was argued that this structure perpetuated the apartheid model by promoting separate ethnic broadcasting agendas for each of the 9 SABC African language radio stations (Hlophe 2013). Thus the radio stations underwent a transformation with new mandates: Radio Zulu became Ukhozi FM; Radio Sesotho became Lesedi FM; Radio Lebowa became Thobela FM; Radio Setswana became Motsweding FM; Radio Venda became Phalaphala FM; Radio Tsonga became Munghana Lonene FM; Radio Xhosa became Umhlobo Wenene FM; Radio Ndebele became iKwekwezi FM; Radio Swati became Ligwalagwala FM; Radio South Africa (English language medium) and Radio Suid Afrika (Afrikaans language medium) transitioned to SA FM and RSG respectively (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998).

2.7 Conceptualization of Community Radio in Post-apartheid South Africa

The concept of community radio in post-apartheid South Africa was in response to many challenges that any form of broadcasting in the democratic country would face. Some of these, as detailed above, had to do with the legacies of marginalization that continued to persist with new forms of exclusion even in the light of a new dawn (Milton et al. 2013). The most fundamental challenge of all was to find a way to redefine the country based on the democratic values of non-racialism, with an emphasis on ethnic inclusion and non-sexism (Ramutsindela and Simon 1999; Rudwick 2006). In the case of South Africa, the advent of community radio broadcasting was imminent and had to be defined within the framework of broadcasting reforms, as inspired by these challenges. It is imperative at this juncture to mention that community radio in South Africa was conceptualized as an alternative form of broadcasting to mainstream radio broadcasting and for a particular niche and disadvantaged audiences (Wigston 2001; Terr-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). Therefore, this study paid attention to the reforms and challenges of indigenous language broadcasting in post-apartheid South Africa, with special reference to the SABC African language radio. This was because the challenges that faced the advent of community radio were similar to those that confronted reforms on the development of African language radio broadcasting.

2.8 The advent of community radio in the Post-apartheid South Africa

In the early 1990s, there was a call for a political shift and a restructuring of broadcasting in South Africa. This included exploring community radio as an alternative. After the release of the Viljoen Commission's report in 1991, which led to the restructuring of broadcasting, a few new community radio stations emerged. According to Wigston (2001), these stations were usually linked to some or other cultural event, such as the Rand Easter Show and the Grahamstown National Arts Festival. For example, Festival FM broadcast only for 10 days, from 09:00 until 18:00, as part of the Grahamstown National Arts Festival. Winston states that:

> The purpose of the station was to provide information regarding the festival in the form of news bulletins on the half hour. The rest of time was filled by interviews with festival performers, celebrities, and music. With hindsight, the organisation of Festival FM can be seen to have been, at best, haphazard. No audience research was done and as the announcers were students, the music selection was limited to pop and heavy metal genres. The limited selection of music quickly alienated many listeners (Wigston 2001).

According to Wigston (2001), the temporal state of community broadcasting persisted until 1995 when the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) finally issued a few temporary licenses. The author notes that this decision allowed around ninety stations to go on air, offering a broad spectrum of programming, and this, according to him, included religious and campus stations as well as those dedicated to topics such as wildfire and community development. This move, he alludes, marked a significant and diverse expansion of the broadcasting landscape during that period. The mandate for community radio was to act as a third voice between public and commercial broadcasting, with ownership vested in the community it served. This perspective upheld the oppositional theory, which advocated for the equitable allocation of resources and the empowerment of socially and politically marginalized or oppressed groups. Michael Delorme (1990)- the president of Amarc, in Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers (1998:165) articulated a description of community radio that appears to have influenced post-apartheid South African community radio thus:

> We chose the term because we believe it expresses the democratic spirit, the sense of belonging to a community. Community radio implies a democratic dimension, popular participation in the management of the station as well as in the production of its programs. For us community radio is accessible […] it is neither the expression of political power nor the expression of capital. It is a third voice between state radio and

> private commercial radio. Community radio is an act of participation in the process of community […] it is controlled democratically by the population it serves […] based on non-commercial relations with its audiences. Its mission is essentially one of community and group development. It is a local communication service. It informs, motivates discussion, and entertains while broadcasting music and poetry that regenerate the collective soul.

Mhlanga (2006) and Teer-Tomaselli (2001) as cited in Mashau (2009:4) characterize community radio as the broadcasting media:

> (a) being fully controlled by a non-profit entity and operated for non-profit purposes,
> (b) serving a specific community, and
> (c) encouraging community members to participate in selecting and providing programs for broadcasting.

The mandate and characterization of community radio, as outlined above, emphasizes its ideological foundations and the issue of ownership. Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers (1998) argue that South African community radio stations are theoretically owned, staffed, and controlled by their communities, who should act as facilitators in a constant, multidirectional dialogue. However, in practice, community radio stations are controlled by regulatory bodies, such as IBA (Now ICASA). Since they came on air, community radio stations have faced numerous financial challenges, preventing them from providing quality, newsworthy information (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). Their financial struggles ever since have been worsened by the perception that they get funding from donors, neglecting the use of advertising as a revenue collection mode (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). When community radio was unveiled in the early stages of post-apartheid South Africa, many people hailed it as a revolutionary broadcasting media aimed at giving a participatory voice to the voiceless. It marked the era of the media that is owned by the communities and presented in the languages of its audiences. It was seen as an alternative to public and commercial broadcasting. Despite the many challenges it faced, it stood tall to perform its functions for the benefit of the communities it represented.

Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers (1998:167) provide a detailed discussion on a few of the first community radio stations, which rose through the challenges earlier at the dawn of post-apartheid South Africa to give a voice to the voiceless:

- **Bush Radio**

Bush Radio was established in 1992 with a vision to provide a platform for diverse voices and perspectives in South Africa. However, it was not until April 25, 1993, that the station officially began its broadcasting operations. At that time, the station was operating without a government-issued broadcasting license, which placed it in a precarious legal position. Shortly after its inaugural broadcast, the government took action against the station, arresting key leaders among its ranks. This crackdown was a part of a broader effort to control media narratives in the country. In addition to the arrests, authorities confiscated essential broadcasting equipment, significantly hindering the station's ability to operate and continue its mission of community-focused broadcasting. Despite these challenges, Bush Radio played a crucial role in the media landscape during a time of significant political change in South Africa.

- **Radio Zibonele**

Radio Zibonele has its roots in Khayelitsha, one of South Africa's bustling townships, where it began broadcasting from a modest shipping container. Established in 1995, the station was initiated by a health committee comprised of local residents who recognized the urgent need to raise awareness around health issues and to provide vital information to those who lacked access to healthcare services. The journey of Radio Zibonele began even earlier, in 1993, as a pirate radio station under the stewardship of Gabriel Urgoiti, an Argentinian medical doctor and seasoned activist. Through his commitment, the station aimed to inform and empower the community, particularly targeting listeners who were often overlooked by mainstream healthcare providers. Despite facing significant challenges, including threats of closure and legal action, the station managed to carve out a space for itself and successfully reached approximately 20,000 people. In 1994, Radio Zibonele played a pivotal role in South Africa's historic first democratic elections, providing essential voter education to first-time voters. This initiative not only helped to inform the community about the electoral process but also encouraged civic participation during a transformative period in the nation’s history. Through its blend of health information and community engagement, Radio Zibonele continued to serve as a vital resource for the Khayelitsha community.

- **Radio Moutse**

The Rural Women's Movement took a significant step towards empowering and uniting rural women by establishing a dedicated radio station. This initiative aimed not only to educate women in these communities but also to give them a platform to express their concerns and mobilize for their rights. To achieve this, the organization invested in training programs, sending local women to workshops and seminars that equipped them with essential skills in broadcasting, production, and community engagement. With the support of external funding, the Rural Women's Movement set out to launch a rural community radio station, a project that carried great potential in a region marked by economic challenges. The radio station was designed to serve a wide audience, with the capacity to reach approximately 120,000 individuals across 43 villages in the Moutse area of the Northern Province. This region, at the time, faced significant socio-economic hardships, and the establishment of the radio station was seen as a vital tool for fostering communication, sharing vital information, and building solidarity among the women and families living there. Through dynamic programming, community discussions, and educational content, the radio station aimed to uplift the voices of rural women and create pathways for their active participation in community development.

2.9 Challenges faced by Community Radio stations in Post-apartheid South Africa

During the early stages of post-apartheid South Africa, community radio faced numerous challenges, one of which was the requirement to operate within a well-defined community. Like many African countries, the idea of community in South Africa has always been a contentious and politicized one. It has often been linked to ethnic boundaries, ethnic conflicts, and tribalism (Isik 2011; Lentz 1995). During the apartheid period in South Africa, "community" was used as a euphemism for race (Bosch 2010:144):

> official racial categories were suffixed with the word 'community': the black community, the Indian community, the coloured community, and the white community. Apartheid was thus legitimised by a rhetoric of ethnically defined cultural communities which defined the life one lived, the language one spoke and officially appropriate practices […] Government used signifiers such as 'community development and community participation' to refer to white population.

With the reconfiguration process of the society in the early 1990s, which emphasized democratic non-racialism, some new perspectives on the definition of the concept of community were brought to light. Some of these perspectives were premised on the argument

that for South Africa to experience democratic non-racialism, all the historically marginalized communities had to come on board when defining the concept of community (Ramutsindela and Simon 1999; Rudwick 2006). The restructuring of post-apartheid society aimed to create inclusive territorial community spaces to achieve the democratic goals of social cohesion (Ramutsindela and Simon 1999; Rudwick 2006). However, defining the concept of community within these spaces became a challenge, as various ethnic groups living in the inclusive boundaries preferred to identify themselves along ethnic or tribal lines rather than the inclusive ones. These tribal-minded groups resisted integration and chose to remain separate within the inclusive spaces purely due to tribalism (Baloyi 2018; Mavungu 2011).

Some of the resisting ethnic groups even resorted to violent protests against their integration, such as the case of the disputed area of Bushbuckridge, which began in 1993 and remained unresolved by the end of 1998 (Ramutsindela and Simon 1999). The recent violent protests over the Malamulele-Thulamela-Vuwani demarcation are one example of protests resisting integration within the reconfigured inclusive territorial spaces (Baloyi 2018).

In the reconfigured inclusive territorial spaces, the concept of "community" posed a challenge, as it did with the setup of community radio and the issues surrounding its identification. It is important to emphasize that the newly reconfigured boundaries became fiercely contested social, economic, and political spaces for diverse ethnic groups, who were polarized along ethnic and tribal lines. Within these inclusive communities, people preferred to be identified based on their ethnic and tribal affiliations, creating a platform for tribalism and ethnic conflicts.

The emergence of newly reconfigured inter-ethnic and multi-ethnic communities was met with strong opposition in the inclusive space. According to Nyman-Metcalf et al. (2003), the resistance of diverse ethnic groups to integrated communities was a legacy of apartheid, which aimed to divide people along tribal and ethnic lines and weaken their unity. Following the end of apartheid, South Africa continued to maintain the apartheid-era tribal and ethnic divisions, contradicting the nation-building goal of unity (Mhlanga 2010). The preservation of ethnic and tribal boundaries within the newly reconfigured inclusive communities led to a dilemma for post-apartheid South Africa's community radio stations in terms of defining their audience. The question arose as to whether they should categorize their audience based on their ethnicities or use inclusive terms such as inter-ethnic and multiethnic audiences. Additionally,

the diversification of the concept of community in post-apartheid South Africa meant that other historically marginalized social and religious groups would also seek recognition as communities. These were groups whose marginalization was rooted in the conservative Christian values upheld by the National Party government during apartheid (Bilchtz 2015). Bilchtz states that:

> Apartheid was often justified in terms of a specific form of Christian doctrine, and early leaders of the National Party professed to be religious. Many laws were instituted to favour Christianity…Hindu and Muslim marriages were prohibited because they did not conform to Christian doctrine. As part of these measures, a conservative and repressive attitude was adopted towards same-sex sexuality and gender non-conformity. Sex between men was prohibited by anti-sodomy laws, which were enforced by the police, contributing to a sense of persecution of gay men. Black men were prosecuted for sodomy more frequently than white men (Bilchtz 2015:23).

The monumental task that faced the new democratic dispensation was to establish community radio capable of meeting the needs of the diverse communities, including the emerging ones. To achieve this goal, community radio had to be diversified, and the responsibilities had to be placed in the hands of the relevant broadcasting regulatory bodies. As mandatory requirement, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) classified the community radio stations into two; -the ones that serve geographical communities and those serving a community of interests (Bosch 2010). Most of the stations that fall within the first category (geographic of interest) had to be those found in disadvantaged communities, which were historically denied access to airwaves by repressive and discriminatory apartheid policies. Moswede (2009) describes these communities as having a particular place in common such as townships, villages, and suburbs. In the early stages of the post-apartheid South Africa, the geographical interest community radio stations included Bush Radio in Cape Town, Radio Zibonele in Khayelitsha and Radio Winterveld in Northwest Province (Moswede 2009; Teer-Tomaselli and De Villiers 1998).

Meanwhile, stations serving a community of interests were those stations with a common ethnicity, institution, religion, sexual orientation, et cetera (Moswede 2009; Wigston 2001). At the time, these radio stations included for example, Radio Turf for Turf institutional community, Radio Kingfisher for Christian listeners in the Eastern Cape and Radio Islam for Muslim listeners in Gauteng, and cultural communities such as Radio Today for senior citizens and Communidade Portuguesa for the Portuguese community living in Gauteng (Wigston 2001). However, it is important to highlight that even with the diversification success of

community radio to meet the emerging communities in post-apartheid South Africa, there appeared to be no solution for newly formed inter-ethnic and multi-ethnic communities regarding the establishment of inclusive inter-ethnic and multi-ethnic community radio stations for an objective of social cohesion. A few that emerged, such as the X-K FM, which was established for the Xu and Khwe communities, were marred by language hegemony and tribalism because of a lack of proper regulatory inter-ethnic/multi-ethnic linguistic guidelines for the representation of the inter-ethnic/multi-ethnic communities (Mhlanga 2010).

While ethnic community radio stations remain a fundamental problem to the democratic objective of social cohesion in post-apartheid South Africa, it was important to explore scholarship that extensively explicated the ethnicization processes of radio broadcasting to shed more light on why radio broadcasting, in particular, community radio, had to be ethnicized in post-apartheid South Africa amid a democratic objective of ethnic inclusivity. In the same breath, the issues pertaining to the dynamics of ethnic communities in defining the audiences of this radio were of fundamental importance in the following discussion.

2.10 Community Radio's Ethnic Identity in Post-apartheid South Africa

In the preceding sections, it has been asserted that the renaming of the 9 SABC African language radio stations, in accordance with the Independent Broadcasting Authority's (IBA) Triple Enquiry Report (1995), as part of a restructuring process, aimed to discourage their association with ethnic and tribal identities (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). This was because African language radio during the apartheid era possessed names associated with the languages and ethnic groups they represented. These identities, especially in the democratic era, were viewed as promoting separate ethnic developments of diverse historically marginalized language groups, hence the need to change their names (Lekgoathi 2009). For example, Radio Tsonga identified with the Vatsonga people, Radio Venda identified with the Vhavenda people, Radio Sesotho identified with Sotho people, Radio Xhosa identified with the Xhosa people, Radio Ndebele identified with Ndebele people, Radio Swati identified with the Swati people, Radio Zulu identified with the Zulu people, Radio Setswana identified with the Batswana people, and Radio Lebowa identified with Pedi people (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). For many, the emergence of African language radio in ethnic identity during the apartheid was for the purpose of creating ethnic boundaries to weaken the unity of black people (Odine 2013). The post-apartheid South Africa challenged the ethnic identity issue

during the reconfiguration process of the SABC African language radio. This position led to the prohibition of using names identifying with the languages or ethnic groups. Even though the radio stations adopted the new names, they still identified with the ethnic groups they represent- making them the ethnic-based radio stations capable of promoting separate ethnic development. The failure of the SABC African radio to de-ethnicize is because it is established in the languages of the ethnic groups it serves. Its concern is the formation of social boundaries aiming to protect the integrity of (presumed) ethnic groups. Konstanty Gebert (cited in Pignatelli 2016) argues that the media that is inherently ethnic is concerned with strengthening the audience's connection with the ethnic group it represents.

The decision to rename the nine historically marginalized ethnic groups according to names associated with the linguistic identity of the ethnic groups they represent suggests a lack of political will to depart from the apartheid's ethnicization project of ensuring separate ethnic development, which has proven to be divisive and perpetuate tribalism (Chauke 2021). The ethnicization of radio in South Africa, as demonstrated by the nine reconfigured SABC African radio stations, is deeply rooted in the monolithic thinking of apartheid aimed at encouraging the reaffirmation of separate ethnic identities (Lekgoathi 2009). However, Salawu (2006) has a different view regarding radio ethnicization. He views the ethnicization of radio as aimed at tailoring programming to audiences who prefer receiving information in their own language. This was based on his assessment that many historically disadvantaged language groups in Africa have been deprived of the opportunity to receive information in their own languages because of the hegemony of the dominant languages. Therefore, he proposes the use of local languages in the local radio to enable audiences to receive information in their own languages. Because most local language radio stations are ethnic by nature and present in the language of their audience, they are easily hijacked for the purpose of dividing people in the communities along ethnic or tribal lines. This has been witnessed quite a lot in conflict situations, such as in Kenya during the 2007/2008 post-election violence, where the radio was ethnicized with the purpose of perpetuating ethnic violence and tribalism among members of diverse communities (Howard 2009).

The reaffirmation of ethnic identity politics and local language, leading to the reconfiguration of the SABC African language radio in post-apartheid South Africa, was the reason for the establishment of the community radio. Many of the community radio stations in post-apartheid South Africa were established along ethnic lines for monoethnic audiences. They mainly

broadcast in the languages of the majority ethnic groups. Their alignment with the ethnic groups makes them an unviable option for uniting people in their diversity. While some of their challenges were economic and ownership-related, others were purely political and ideological. Ethnicity plays a significant part in shaping the function of community radio in South Africa and determining its target audience. Community radio stations in the country are typically oriented towards serving specific ethnic groups, even in areas with diverse populations (Milikowski 2000). This emphasis on ethnic-based radio can establish social divisions aimed at preserving the cultural heritage of ethnic communities, a phenomenon known as ethnicization (Milikowski 2000). The concept of ethnicization draws its conceptual meaning from the term ethnicity, which Ghosh (2013) defines as an affiliation or identification with an ethnic group. The term ethnic group has been designated in anthropology as:

> a population which is largely biologically self-perpetuating; shares fundamental cultural values, realised in overt unity in cultural forms; makes up a field of communication and interaction; has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order (Barth 1969:10).

While ethnicity serves as a cynical political weapon for ensuring divisions among diverse social groups of the same races (Rudwick 2006), Milikowski (2000) argues that the media is always a catalyst in ensuring that the very same divisions are upheld and promoted. In the context of Africa, though, ethnicity remains a slippery concept. Rudwick states that:

> Where the term has a troublesome history with regard to the fact that it was mistakenly employed in public discourse as a synonym of 'tribalism' and other controversial terms in order to explain conflict phenomena (Rudwick 2006:44).

It is a common thing in most parts of Africa to associate ethnicity with tribalism, especially in the study of ethnic conflicts (Mhlanga 2011; Lentz 1995). In Africa, the two concepts share the same connotation because they are common channels through which conflicts and wars take place (Paglia 2007). Conflicts in many African countries have often been presented as ethnic or tribal conflicts, as they were usually fought by contending ethnic groups or tribes (Paglia 2007). In a country like South Africa, which is essentially built on the acknowledgment of pluralism, cultural diversity may be seen as “the panacea for a stable democratic arrangement” (Mhlanga 2011:35). Under such circumstances, the existence of ethnic boundaries is unavoidable, and perhaps even desirable (Rudwick 2006). Possibly desirable because of the

hypothetical belief that boundaries have for many years increasingly been perceived as resources rather than as problems. As Rudwick states

> Wherever a boundary is established there is space for exchange and crossing […] ethnic boundaries are loci for the exchange of goods, services, and information, rather than of conflict (Rudwick 2006:67).

However, the ethnic cases of tribalism in South African society have proven beyond any reasonable doubt that ethnic boundaries are problematic and often create the spirit of intercultural and inter-ethnic communication intolerance (Nkuna and Shai 2018; Musitha 2016); Mavungu 2011). Baloyi (2018) uses the case of tribalism between the Tsonga and Venda people in the Vuwani-Malamulele municipality protests as a perfect example to demonstrate ethnic boundary problems. In this case, the Vatsonga people of Malamulele and the Vhavenda people of Vuwani fought along ethnic boundaries for and against the formation of Collins Chabane Municipality as discussed in Chapter 1. The repercussion of all these ethnic-based conflicts was tribalism. In most ethnic conflicts, community radio's role in these conflicts is always called into question (Howard 2009). The inclination towards ethnic politics hinders the efforts to promote social cohesion, as noted by Howard (2009). The phenomenon of ethnicization in community radio is not unique to South Africa; it is a common issue across much of Africa. This ethnic inclination implies that these radio stations are likely to support the ethnic groups they are affiliated with and may also promote the ethnicization of members from other ethnic groups, aligning them with their own ethnic affiliations.

2.11 Conclusion

This study focused on South Africa's community radio Africa within the broader context of Africa. The aim was to understand how the conceptualization of community radio from an African context influenced the development of community radio in South Africa. Given the common history of African nations, particularly their colonial past, it was important to consider the historical context of community radio. Community radio emerged in most African countries in the 1990s, coinciding with the end of African colonialism (Kijana 2012; Mhiripiri 2011; Banda and Nyman-Metcalf et al. 2003).). The study sought to explore the ideological patterns that influenced the reconfiguration of broadcasting systems in these countries. The liberalization of broadcasting systems in most African nations at the beginning of the 1990s was an important aspect to consider. The study also aimed to uncover why certain nations

ended up with censored and unfree media despite a shared history. Furthermore, it sought to understand why some countries, after attaining freedom and independence, experienced challenges such as dictators and unfree media. In order to understand the historical development of community radio in South Africa, the study covered topics including the concept of community radio in post-colonial Africa, the challenges faced during the liberalization period of radio, the historical era of community radio in South Africa and its challenges, post-apartheid challenges on community radio, radio broadcasting reforms in post-apartheid South Africa, conceptualization of community radio in post-apartheid South Africa, and the challenges faced by community radio in post-apartheid South Africa. The next chapter presents a review of literature from various sources related to the study's topic.

CHAPTER 3: RADIO BROADCASTING AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

3.1 Introduction

Since the dawn of democracy in South Africa, most of the transitional conflicts that occurred have mainly been intra-state political conflicts, primarily contested along ethnical lines. Qasaye (2023:1377) defines intra-state conflicts as:

> Violence between or among one or more advantaged or disadvantaged minority or majority groups, and one or more of these groups and the political/juridical state, to gain either a greater share of limited resources or control or autonomy or both over the territorial state.

Ordinarily, African conflicts stem from various factors such as colonial-imposed borders, diverse ethnic compositions, incompetent political leadership, corruption, external obligations, and poverty (Qasaye 2023). Africa's violent intra-state conflicts have diverted resources, including official development assistance, from development to emergency, highlighting a significant weakness in development (Qasaye 2023). Lentz (1995) argues that these conflicts occurred within multi-ethnic community settings, typically arising from a need to divide the people along ethnic lines. Ideologically, they are ethnic conflicts stemming from the desire to maintain distinct ethnic/tribal politics (MacInnes 2022). These types of conflicts are often initiated by those with federal political agendas within the context of ethnicism (Baalen's 2014). Paglia (2007) asserts that ethnic conflicts stem from the interplay of ethnicity and tribalism. In Africa, the terms ethnicity and tribalism are often used interchangeably to distinguish between ingroups and outgroups (Lentz 1995). Tribalism typically manifests through the concept of ethnicity. In other instances, the term ethnicity often interchanges with other concepts like race or tribe, which has become problematic (Lentz 1995). Ethnicity and tribalism appear to have a deeper, divisive meaning that contradicts the objective notion of national unity. Therefore, politics that are based on ethnic affiliation involve the use of ethnic and tribal differences to either build or destroy communities and neighbourhoods (Sanou 2015). Ethnic conflicts can arise due to the differences between different groups within a specific geographical area. “Disputes between contending groups identify themselves primarily on the basis of ethnic criteria and make appeals as groups, based on their collective rights” (Pignatelli 2010 cited in Pignatelli 2016:120).

The ANC-Inkatha political violence in the late 80s and early 90s, which occurred along ethnic/tribal lines, was a significant example of these conflicts (MacInnes 2022). Similarly, Baloyi (2018) asserts that the Malamulele-Vuwani conflict, which occurred from 2013-2016, can be counted among the significant ethnic-based conflicts that contributed to South Africa's political instability. The same applies to Mpumalanga's Bushbuckridge's violent demarcation conflicts between 1993 and 1998 (Ramutsindela and Simon 1999) and the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreigners in South Africa (Vahed and Desai 2013). Even though these conflicts occurred at different epochs, they underscored the post-apartheid intra-state politics of ethnic intolerance used to undermine social cohesion project planning. Baloyi (2018) asserts that tribalism is inevitable in these types of conflicts. In these types of conflicts, media's role must be under scrutiny, mainly because of its power of influence in society.

Despite the conflicts' magnitude, there is no direct scholarly account of the media's role in conflict, particularly local language or community radio in post-apartheid South Africa. Of course, a few of the existing literature is on social media's role in perpetuating social disorder, such as xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa (Raborife et al. 2024; Rousset et al. 2022; Chenzi 2021). Much of the scholarship on the topic has exclusively covered the apartheid era, where SABC was perceived as promoting racialism and tribalism among whites and blacks or blacks on blacks (Hlophe 2013; Lekgoathi 2009; Wasserman 2008; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1989). The present study addresses this knowledge gap by examining tribalism in community radio coverage in South Africa's inter-ethnic community space.

There is, however, existing related research on the study's problem in African countries conducted by international and African scholars such as Paluck (2007), Pignatelli (2016), Acran (2013), Howard (2009), Adeyanju (2018), Mwendia (2013), and others. Therefore, the literature review of this study profoundly expresses their significant contributions. Despite their variations in terms of their research focus and disciplines being in cultural, communications, and linguistic studies, these scholars posit that the media, particularly ethnic radio broadcasting in Africa, has been largely used by political leaders as a tool to spread views or hate campaigns which could lead to ethnic conflicts, tribalism, and civil wars. Therefore, various African and international case studies have been explored to set a basis for understanding how the media, particularly radio broadcasting, perpetuated ethnic conflicts and tribalism in the inclusive societies in Africa and some other parts of the world. In some of these studies, scholars perceived the role of media, particularly community radio, in perpetuating tribalism and ethnic

conflicts in Africa as an abandonment of its social responsibility role. The following sections of the literature review aimed to concentrate on scholarly case studies of the media's role in conflict situations and the extent to which their involvement perpetuated ethnic divisions and tribalism in these scenarios.

3.2 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of 2007 Kenya Elections

The 2007 election violence in Kenya presents the first interesting case study upon which we can learn how media, in particular community radio, was used as a facilitator for ethnic violent conflicts and tribalism. In a study done on community radio and ethnic violence in Kenya, Howard (2009) argues that community radios were vital tools to undermine social cohesion and encourage violence during the 2007 elections, by propagating messages of intolerance and disinformation that had the tendency to manipulate the public to resort to violence. Howard concluded that politicians and other influential people used community radio to exacerbate the tensions and conflicts among various tribes during the elections to settle a political score. This was not an isolated study that concluded that the community radio, among other forms of media, was used by politicians for the perpetuation of ethnic conflicts and tribalism in Kenya during the 2007 elections. In another study that looked at ethnic conflicts and mass media, Kurtis (2018) reaffirms Howard's (2009) position that community radio was abused, among other forms of media, by politicians to perpetuate ethnic hatred as well as to heighten ethnic tensions during the 2007 elections. Kurtis (2018) cites the issue of programming on community radio as the most infringed space dominated by discourses of hate speech to promote ethnic hatred for the purpose of political interests. Considering the intensity of ethnic-based politics in Kenya following these elections, community radio stations that were ethnically aligned to the opposition leader Raila Odinga were used to spread propaganda about the falsification of election results to favour the incumbent president, who was from different ethnic group (Adeyanju 2018). The eventual results announcement, which favoured the incumbent president, triggered widespread and systematic violence, resulting in more than 1000 deaths and the displacement of over 500 000 civilians (Howard 2009). In a different study that looked at the role of media in countering political and tribal conflicts in Kenya, Mwendia (2013) concurs that the media has been a passive bystander even in the post-election conflicts instead of pursuing a unifying social cohesion and integration role.

Howard's (2009) study on Kenya brings out a few important insights that inform this research. Since this study examined the role of community radio in maintaining tribalism using Malamulele and Vuwani's interethnic communities, parallels can be found. In his research, Howard (2009) identifies phrases like tribalism, ethnic conflicts, ethnic groups, and ethnic media, all of which are key terms in the investigation of this study's issue. In his findings, tribalism and hate speech were incorporated into radio programs to incite ethnic disputes among multiple ethnic groups. Although his research focused on the role of radio broadcasting in Kenya's multi-ethnic context, it is instructive to this study, particularly how community radio programs can be used to create tribalism and ethnic conflict. However, it differs from the present study in that it investigated the role of community radio in maintaining tribalism in an inter-ethnic community. While there is abundant scholarship on media coverage of the conflict during the 2007 Kenyan Elections, Howard (2009) is the only scholar who outlines theoretical frameworks and research methodologies that guided this study's inquiry into the problem.

3.3 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of the Nigerian indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB)

In another study focusing on the mass media and violent conflicts in a Sub-Saharan African country, Adeyanju (2018) uses a recent case of the Nigerian indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB), namely the Igbo ethnic group, who used Radio Biafra as vehicle for promoting hate speech. According to Adeyanju (2018), Nnamdi Kanu, the Director of Radio Bifra and the leader of IPOB used the medium of Radio Biafra to inflame ethnic divisions and disparage the Nigerian state, calling it a zoo and openly clamouring for an arms donation and armed rebellion by the Igbos against other ethnic groups. The Radio Biafra even went to as far as using its programming for mobilising the protests on behalf of Igbo, mainly across the South of East of Nigeria. The end results of these protests were the deaths of many citizens, with over 1000 deaths claimed to be of members of IPOB (Adeyanju (2018). Adeyanju's (2018) study shares a similar thrust with the present study. His study focuses on the media's role in perpetuating ethnic conflict and tribalism, which is a line of inquiry like the one this study seeks to undertake. His study highlights several themes that are significant to understanding the focus of this study. For example, themes about ethnic groups, ethnic divisions, tribalism, ethnic media, and bias programming have been crucial in the investigation of this study. However, it is important to highlight that there was no highlight of the methodology and theoretical frameworks that informed Adeyanju's (2018) study.

3.4 Media and the Genocide in Rwanda

The genocide in Rwanda also presents another interesting case, which demonstrates how mass media in Africa is used as a facilitator for violent conflicts and a perpetuator for tribalism, of which has generally been the focus of some research. A few interesting research works by different scholars have been collated in this instance to demonstrate how mass media was used for this. The Rwandan genocide in 1994 was attributed to the deadly consequences of wrong doings of Rwandan media. The genocide was purely a battle between the Hutus and Tutsi, regarding who should govern the nation of Rwanda. A battle that not only plunged the nation into the civil war but divided it along ethnical lines. The primary understanding though was that the Rwandan catastrophe was more to do with political intrigues than ethnic centrality, and ethnicity was used as an ideological tool for that purpose (Kurtis 2018). Radio Rwanda was used by the government and forces aligned to it, primarily for stimulating ethnic hatred among citizens, including broadcasting suggestions on how to kill Tutsis (Arcan 2013). Radio broadcasts created a climate of fear by repeatedly reporting that the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), formed predominately by Tutsi refugees who fled the country, was attacking unarmed civilians and wanted to wipe out the Hutus of Rwanda in a campaign of ethnic purification (Pignatelli 2016). Rwandan media also used perceived historical differences between Tutsi's and Hutu's as a propaganda tool for exaggeration and spreading fear that Hutus could once more be the victim of suppression if Tutsis were to take over control in Rwanda (Howard 2009; Adeyanju 2018). The media, especially the radio (controlled by the Hutu government), poisoned contents of information to create mass movement and transform ordinary people into militias (Adeyanju 2018). Media such as the newspaper (*Kangura*), Radio Rwanda and Radio Mille Collines (RTLM) became tools of mass propaganda, portraying extreme ethnic hatred and labelling Tutsis as the enemy (Howard 2009). They went to the extent of even broadcasting and publishing the names of hit lists for execution (Arcan 2013). It was also estimated that between April and July 1994, almost a million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed; while 250 000 women became the victims of sexual violence, many of whom were killed afterwards (Arcan 2013; Adeyanju 2018). These inform the present study in the sense that they shed light on the role of the media in interethnic conflicts. Scholars on media and the Rwanda genocide all focused on the media's role in perpetuating ethnic conflicts and tribalism which all led to genocide. Their focus is close to the line of enquiry of this study. A couple of themes identified

in their studies in relation to the role of the media in the genocide illuminate on the research problem in this study. These are themes with keywords such as tribalism, ethnic groups, tribal media coverage, ethnic violence and hate speech, which helped paint a picture of what happened leading to genocide. However, the scholars used different conceptual frameworks and research methods which may not resonate with those of this study.

3.5 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of Multi-ethnic Ethiopian nation

In examining the role of the media in ethnic tensions in contemporary Ethiopia, Skjerdal (2021) presents historical and current perspectives on how the media operated or operates in a multi-ethnic Ethiopian nation. His study sets a basis for understanding how the media was used in different dispensations as a facilitator for ethnic conflicts, divisions, and tribalism. The author reveals that throughout the different regimes, ethnic interests played an important role as a motivator for daily reporting, and the media have been used by the authorities to propagate political as well as ethnic causes. By 1970, Ethiopian Radio served local groups by offering programmes in Afar, Somali, Tigre, and Tigrigna. Skjerdal (2021) notes that it was during the Derg Regime (1974-91) that the media was viewed as a potential battleground for ethnic conflict, and a language policy was enforced in the state media in favour of Amharic. According to Skjerdal (2021), the use of other languages was seen as promoting regional separatism. The current regime in Ethiopia adopted ethnic federalism and redesigned the country along ethnic lines as soon it took political power in 1991 (Taye 2017). The media reforms since 1991 which should represent the most sweeping game-changer for the Ethiopian media to unite the warring federalised ethnic groups still find no expression in the media, particularly the media outlets which have been established along ethnic lines (Skjerdal (2021). Conversely, they are purportedly perpetuating further ethnic divisions. Despite all these reforms, the media houses in Ethiopia still experience government interference by officials who want to drive the agenda that suits certain ethnic groups at the expense of others. While he concedes that such a call in the past meant one-way delivery of directives, Skjerdal (2021) is convinced that these days, editors proactively and passionately discuss ethnic agendas with less government officials' involvement. Skjerdal (2021)'s study sheds important insights to the present study. However, the international scholarship indicates that the issue under investigation is not limited to South Africa, and Africa as whole. This study has also examined various international cases regarding the role of media in perpetuating ethnic conflicts and tribalism among language groups cohabiting in the same countries.

3.6 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of Kurdish-Turkish conflicts

The current Kurdish-Turkish conflicts, which date back to the year 1923 when the Turkish Republic was created, presents an international perspective on how the media can instigate or perpetuate ethnic conflicts. This shows that the phenomenon under investigation is not only an African problem. For the sake of background, Kurdish-Turkish conflicts were essentially armed conflicts between the Republic of Turkey and various Kurdish insurgent groups who were attempting to secure autonomy and greater political and cultural rights for Kurds within the Republic of Turkey (Beriker-Atiyas 1997). The fundamental question that led to these conflicts was a continued denial by the Republic of Turkey that the Kurds existed in Turkey (Somer 2004). The Kurds, who constituted a large ethnic and linguistic group, have been subject to systematic state oppression and denial of their ethnic identity since the creation of the Turkish Republic in 1923; and any discourse that sought to uphold the narrative that Kurds existed was associated with terrorism (Arcan 2013). The Kurds' efforts to move towards self-determination, political representation, freedom from discrimination, and recognition of their identity as an ethnic group have been marred by oppression and violence (Yildiz 2012). Turkish media acted in the same way and denied existence of Kurds, and the media preferred to employ a destructive rather than constructive language (Arcan 3013). "Instead of taking side human rights and peace the media took side with war against the Kurds" (Arcan 2013:341). The scholarly discussion on the function of media in these wars (Arcan 2013), has many implications for the research problem of this study. Scholars on Kurdish-Turkish utilised themes like tribalism, ethnic radio broadcasting, ethnic conflicts, and hate speech in their arguments.

3.7 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of the Belgian linguistic conflict

The Belgian conflict which has spanned over decades between the Dutch-speaking people of the Flanders region in the North and the French-speaking people of southern region of Wallonia in Belgium also presents an international case upon which we can understand how the media could be used to incite or perpetuate ethnic-related conflicts and tribalism. The Belgian conflict has been a perfect example of a nation that has been over the years polarised along ethnic and cultural lines, and with tribalism being manifested by a way of language hegemony. Van der Linden and Roets (2017) posit that the current dynamics of the Belgian linguistic conflict can

be fully grasped with knowledge of the historical processes that created Belgium's institutions and political culture (Van der Linden and Roets 2017). It has essentially been a conflict between the Flemish-and French-speaking communities, going as far back to the seventh century liberation war of the so-called low countries from Spanish rulers (Euwema and Verbeke 2009). It defined the era of political domination of one group by the other based on linguistic and cultural differences (Van der Linden and Roets 2017). Since that time, Belgium became a nation divided into two monolingual regions, Flanders and Wallon (Euwema and Verbeke 2009:140):

> In the northern part of the territory that now makes up Belgium, people spoke various Dutch-German dialects, except a small French-speaking bourgeois elite. In the southern part of what is now Belgium, French was the common language. As a result of the French Revolution, the whole country became a province of France. After the fall of Napoleon in 1815, what is now Belgium became the southern part of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, ruled by King William I. Soon a surprising coalition emerged, with deep resentment of Dutch rule. The liberal bourgeoisie and Francophone aristocracy resented the use of the Dutch language and ―foreign control. The Catholic Church, especially influential in Flanders, was suspicious of the Netherlands because it was seen as a Protestant state. In 1830, this coalition led a revolt against Dutch rule. In 1831, the Belgian National Congress (dominated by the Francophone bourgeoisie, consisting of Walloons and the Flemish elite) wrote a liberal constitution and created a unitary parliamentary state with a constitutional monarch.

As matter of fact, Mnookin and Verbeke (2009) cited in Van der Linden and Roets (2017:2) chronologically divided the history of this conflict into four episodes: "the domination by the French-speaking elites, breakthrough of the Flemish movement, role-reversal in economic prosperity, and a changing institutional structure". This conflict was the result of deeper social, economic and political disparities between the Flemish-and French-speaking communities, and their federal political approach along linguistic lines (Heenen-Wolff and Bazan 2011; Euwema and Verbeke 2009). Since the very beginning, the Francophone Belgians have dominated the country politically, economically and culturally although the majority of the population has always been Flemish (Euwema and Verbeke 2009; Molitor 1978). French has been the exclusive and single language, and a language through which even the Dutch-Flemish could use to attain elite status and access economic and political power. While French became the only language in administration and education, Dutch language was suppressed (Linden and Roets 2017; Euwema and Verbeke 2009). The discriminatory divisions upon which the Dutch-Flemish were the victims were also affirmed by the findings made by Heenen-Wolff and Bazan (2011) in their study that looked at the psychodynamics of trauma in the history of Belgian conflict.

Their long-standing conflict, and the fact there was undeniable segregation between the North and South resulted in Belgium being viewed as a federal state divided into two monolingual regions politically and practically possible. Today Belgium is a federal country with substantial autonomy for the French- and Dutch-language communities and the Walloon and Flemish (Linden and Roets 2017; Heenen-Wolff and Bazan 2011; Euwema and Verbeke 2009:138). Their linguistic, cultural and ideological differences inspired the need to have a federal state (Linden and Roets 2017; Heenen-Wolff and Bazan 2011; Euwema and Verbeke 2009). The issue around Belgium identity was far-fetched. Belgium has two identities constructed along two monolingual regions, the Flanders in the Northern Belgium and Wallon in the Southern Belgium (Euwema and Verbeke 2009). The people in the North did not speak to those in the South, and they had no dealings with each other. The fact that the politics in Belgium were federalised along linguistic lines, the two cultural groups had their own political autonomy, with each having separate laws to govern their affairs. This sentence is not complete. Please check

The linguistic and cultural lines between the two groups were successfully reinforced by their own media-the French-speaking RTBF and the Dutch-speaking BRT, and the media in the North would patriotically report only on the people of North in their language and this was also the case with people of the South (Euwema and Verbeke 2009). The media contents in the North and South were exclusive to issues pertaining to their regions. It was seldom for the media in the South to cover stories about the North and vice versa. In the context of federal political arrangement, the media in both the North and South had to parallelly reinforce separatism and discrimination between the Dutch-Flemish of Northern Flanders and Francophone of Southern Wallon (Euwema and Verbeke 2009). Where the media coverage had to go beyond linguistic border lines, it would be mostly characterised by demeaning stereotypes against each other or incorporated propaganda to incite hate and intolerance (Euwema and Verbeke 2009). To date, in Belgium “there is no mention of the promotion of national identity or cohesion by the media, as in other federal countries […] the media is exclusive French, Dutch and German”-for the minority German speaking Belgians (Euwema and Verbeke 2009:151).

The Belgian conflict presents a real-life situation of a country that has over the years been splintered by the politics of ethnic discrimination and tribalism through linguistic lines. The conflict, like discussed above, was the result of deeper social, economic and political disparities

between the Flemish-and French-speaking communities, with the former as the victims of this political disposition (Heenen-Wolff and Bazan 2011; Euwema and Verbeke 2009). The conflict also witnessed the contestations of thoughts regarding the federalization of politics along linguistic and cultural lines between the Dutch-Flemish speakers and Francophone speakers of both the North and South of Belgium respectively. According to Euwema and Verbeke (2009), the media played both negative and positive roles in this conflict. In the context of this study, it was important to know the history of Belgian political dynamics and media landscape to understand the motive why the media in Belgium perpetuated discrimination and separatism along linguistic lines between the Dutch-Flemish of North and Francophones of the South regions as a basis to understand the phenomenon of this study. In the study that looked at 'Negative and Positive Roles of Media in the Belgian Conflict: A Model for De-escalation', Euwema and Verbeke (2009) examined issues which are core to the study of media and ethnic conflicts and in many ways intersects with the focus of the present study. This included the thematicization of ethnic discrimination between the two diverse cultural groups in Belgium, the Flemish and Francophones based on linguistic and cultural differences. The study's conclusions with regards to the fact that the media could be used to spread stereotypes, hate and propaganda to safeguard linguistic boarder lines is significant to the study given that the present study is also concerned with how media are implicated in ethnic conflicts.

3.8 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of the Balkan conflict

Still on the international level, the Balkan conflict is another case in which the media was accused of perpetuating ethnic conflicts and tribalism to divide the Balkan states. The inter-ethnic civil war events that led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 90s provide a context upon which we can understand these conflicts (Pignatelli 2016). As a background, Yugoslavia came into existence in the aftermath of World War I in the 1918 as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes nations (Sotiropoulou 2004; Hajdinjak 2004). The creation of Yugoslavia was historically based on the concept of ethnicity, under the assumption that people from a particular geographical region shared the same ethnicity and that they should be in the same state (Hajdinjak 2004). For example, those in the South Slavia were assumed to be entirely the members of one nation. The term ethnicity was used within that context to imply only the notion of race; and while its content was partly biological, its essence was language (Sotiropoulou 2004). Simply put, the people who spoke the same language were presumably the members of the same nation and should in accordance be living in the same state. The flaw

in that case was the disregard of the fact that the geographical location of people and the language they spoke did not automatically qualify the assumption that they were of the same ethnic groups (Sotiropoulou 2004). There were those dominated nations whose ethnic identities diminished as result of linguistic hegemony in the hands of powerful nations within the specific geographical regions of the former Yugoslavia. The situation was further exacerbated by the coming into power of the communist regime at the end of the World War II. At that time, Yugoslavia was a federation of six republics: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Slovenia and the two independent province, Kosovo and Vojvodina (Sotiropoulou 2004). The re-creation of Yugoslavia state under the leadership of the communist and authoritarian leader Josip Broz Tito was based on the principle of brotherhood and the unity that was necessary for the state's coherence (Sotiropoulou 2004). The communists failed to find the state on ethnic and language ties. They instead based the paradigm for solidarity among Yugoslav ethnic groups on supra-ethnic elements that Yugoslavia was one and that they shared a sense of ideological values. In fact, the communist regime tried to impose to the group's the doctrines of Yugoslavism, a common Yugoslav identity that was beyond the individual ethnic ones (Sotiropoulou 2004). It was after the death of Tito in 1980 that the communist regime began to weaken and tensions between Yugoslavia's ethnic groups emerged, and this was because the communists never managed to build viable political institutions to codify and regulate relations among the groups (Sotiropoulou 2004). In the years after his death, conditions were ripe for ethnicity to emerge as a dominant source of social and political cleavage. Sotiropoulou notes that:

> From that point, ethnicity was used instrumentally to further interests by the political elites who needed to mobilise large followings to support their goals in the struggle for power. In this struggle ethnicity became a very useful tool. It also became a distinguishing feature, in the sense that the various ethnic groups identified themselves with their own ethnic identity, which excluded the rest. Ethnicity became thus a matter of contrast and excluded the groups that did not share the same identity (Sotiropoulou 2004:5).

The Balkan wars demonstrated the importance of local media coverage in shaping and developing the conflict on the ground. According to Puddephatt (2006:8), war was neither inevitable but "the local media played an important role in preparing the ground for war, by ensuring public opinion was mobilised behind the different participants". The media establishments in the former Yugoslavia were divided along ethnic lines (Kurtis 2018:62). Kurtis posits that:

> Yugoslavia TV, situated in Belgrade, turned out to be more interested in Serb issues in their broadcast. They present emotional pictures of the ancient Serb Motherland in Kosovo, while Radio Yugoslavia started to become an expository medium of leaking Croatian point of view. These advancements were an impression of changes in the public, however, in the meantime bolstered into developing ethnic divisions by giving a medium around which domestic 'patriots' could rally.

This means that all the nations of the former Yugoslavia had their own ethnic-based media. The media acted "as vehicle for venomous nationalism and division: more so that, the battle for hearts and minds is as all important as the battle of territory and all warring actors aspire to control its own media narratives" (Adeyanju 2018:74). In the report that entitled 'Media's Role in Balkan Wars', which was published on the 16 November 2010 by the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR), International Criminal Court for former Yugoslavia (ICTY)'s programme manager Merdijana Sadovic spoke at conference themed 'From Peace to Justice: Understanding Security' to confirm the media's role in the Balkan wars of the Nineties and how reporting contributed to the escalating of the conflict and may have incited war crimes. As a journalist in Sarajevo during Bosnia's 1992-1995 war, Sadovic had a clear understanding of how the local media worked and its contribution to inter-ethnic fear and hatred in the early 90s. In her address, she argued that:

> There is no doubt that media was instrumental in setting the stage for monstrosities that took place in the Balkans in the Nineties […] However, no media outlets or individual journalists from the former Yugoslavia have been indicted for inciting ethnic hatred and encouraged war crimes, neither by the International Criminal Court for former Yugoslavia (ICTY), nor local courts in the region […] Instead of helping all ethnic groups face their recent past, the media encouraged denial, creating an atmosphere in which it is acceptable to blame 'the other' for everything that went bad and to deny one's won responsibility […] Had this reporting been objective and non-biased, it would have had a crucial role in helping people come to terms with their past and moving forward. However, in most cases these reports only fuelled ethnic tensions and increased insecurity in already fragile states.

The relevance of this case study is that it addressed the issues that spoke to those in the present this study. The observation by the authors that media was reliably used in the Balkan conflict as a weapon to spark divisions and hatred among the Yugoslavia states along ethnic lines instead of uniting them is significant to this study. This case study strengthened the need and purpose to investigate the hypothesis of this study as issues under investigation, such as media's role in perpetuating ethnic conflicts, tribalism, and linguistic hegemony were similar issues addressed in the very same case study. The inference that one drew from the scholarship's argument in this case study was that the very same media that was used as a weapon to polarise

Balkan states along ethnic lines could have equally been used to unite them. Since the present study shares similarities with the case study discussed above inspiration has been to arrive at the findings that could make recommendations that set apart the media for a role as a unifier than seen as a perpetuator of conflicts and ethnic divisions.

3.9 Media coverage of conflict situations: The Case of Israel-Palestine conflict

The Israel-Palestine conflict, which is one of the longest in the world is another case beyond African borders to set another international context upon which we could understand the role of media in perpetuating conflicts. It would be imperative in this instance to first outline a brief historical context of this conflict to set a basis for understanding what it was about. In the article that is entitled 'History and Development of the Israel-Palestine Conflict Resolution, Ihsan et al. (2021) attribute the root cause of the Irael-Palestine conflict to the historic events that led to the partitioning of Palestine in the 20th century to create the state of Israel. Some called it a conflict between two Jewish, Zionism and Palestinian nationalism, both claiming the same territory (Nets-Zehngut and Bar-Tal 2007). To the western world, it is a struggle between two indigenous peoples fighting over the same space of land in which they share a history (Kennedy 2020). It is well documented that the Ottoman Turkish Empire controlled the Middle East region for a long period, and that Palestine as part of the same region was under this Empire for three consecutive centuries (Ihsan et al. 2021; Ingram 2016; Nets-Zehngut and Bar-Tal 2007; Fillmon 2007; POV 2001). However, Britain took over control of the Middle East after defeating the Ottoman Empire in the First World War of 1918, evidently leading to its control of almost all the Ottoman territories (Ihsan et al 2021). Part of the undertaking made by Britain to Middle East was the declaration of the independence of the Middle East Arab nations and the creation of the state of Israel for the Jews who were suffering from all over Europe and in Palestine (Ihsan et al 2021). As matter of fact, the declaration of independence of these nations indirectly meant a complete destabilization of the Ottoman Empire.

Although Britain obtained the right of dominion over the entire territory of the Ottoman Empire by the United Nations at the end of the First World War, it seemed to have forgotten its promise to the Jews, sparking territorial bloodshed conflicts between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine (Ihsan et al 2021). Being fed up with the chaos happening in Palestine, Britain had to therefore hand over the Palestine issue to be resolved by the United Nations, leading to the partitioning

of the Palestine to form the Jewish state of Israel with effect from 1948 (Ihsan et al 2021). Even to date, the Israel-Palestine context is defined by a series of interrelated phenomena of a continuing loss of Israel and Palestine lives over the Palestine land. Fillmon (2007) argues that the two nations' claims to Palestine land were inspired by their convictions that both their ancestors lived in the land nearly 2000 years ago; Jerusalem, home to most important Jewish site- Western Wall, while Palestinians believed it to be a home of the 3rd of the most important Muslim site- the Dome of the Rock/Al-Aqsa Mosque. There has been a total discrimination and hatred between Israel and the Palestinians from one generation to another based on their claims of the territorial rights to the land of Palestine, which was already allocated to the Israelites since 1948 (Ihsan et al 2021).

It is irrefutable that the media bias and abundance of misinformation which have been created and spread through media outlets ever since may have had an impact on the perception of these conflicts and at most resulted in disastrous situations which furthered the loss of life these two countries have already experienced (Kennedy 2020). In a study that looked at the representation of Palestine and Israel in the national and international news media, Suwarno and Sahayu (2020) use the case of the two international media outlets, the Jakarta Post of Indonesia and New York Times of USA to illustrate how media bias and misinformation as represented by the Western and Asian media outlets could have influenced the perceptions on the Israel-Palestine conflicts. Suwarno and Sahayu (2020) concede to the fact that the representation of the Palestine-Israel conflict by the two media outlets was based the ideological relationship the media outlets have with the two countries involved in the conflict. This affirms what Paul and Elder (2006) alluded to in Suwarno and Sahayu (2020:218) when they broke down several sensitivities that influence bias and misinformation. One of the interesting sensitivities that Paul and Elder (2006) mentioned is the sensitivity of media outlets that is based on the common ideological interests they share with governments or powerful groups in the world. Suwarno and Sahayu (2020:218) argue that:

> The biggest news media in Indonesia and the USA, i.e. The Jakarta Post and The New York Times might have different views of this world including the conflict in Palestine. It is common knowledge that ideologically, Indonesia is closer to Palestine while America tends to support Israel (Suwarno and Sahayu, 2020:218).

While the findings by Suwarno and Sahayu (2020) point to the conclusion that there are abuses of Palestinians in the study of Israel-Palestine conflict, the two also argue these abuses were dichotomously represented by the two media outlets, the Jakarta Post of Indonesia and New

York Times of USA in a way that creates confusing perceptions. In most cases, the Jakarta Post would represent the Palestinians as the victims, while their situation (abuses) in the New York Times would be admitted and justified as reprisal. The Palestinian problem in Israel has always been represented by Western media aligned to Israel as the refugee problem than acknowledging that Israel government was effectively removing the Palestinians from their homelands to gain control of the area entirely (Kennedy 2020). Kennedy asserts that:

> This only perpetuated further misunderstand for the media to latch onto. The concept of "people without a land" in reference to Palestinians is still common today as well as the idea of "refugee." All of this exists despite their existence on their own territory up until the creation of Israeli by the British government. These concepts are the beginning of the continued manipulation that has occurred over the years not only in Eastern Europe but the United States as well (Kennedy 2020:8).

In a study that examined media coverage of the Israel and Palestine conflict in the United States and in France, Schweitzer (2011) concludes that people played down the plights of the Palestinians in the hands of the Israelites because of the negative coverage given to the Palestinians by the Western media. According to Schweitzer (2011), this further perpetuates the negative perceptions that people of the world have on Palestinians, as these biases and misinformation are largely represented by Western dominant media. The study on Israel-Palestine conflict reveals important insights relevant to the study, particularly in relation to the fact that the media can perpetuate conflicts between groups of people inhabiting the same area. The land claim between the Israelites and Palestinians provides a good case study to that effect. The Israel and Palestine conflict exposes the failure by international media to assume a neutral position in covering this conflict. This owes much to the ideological stance they share with both countries. Drawing inferences from scholarly arguments in the case of Israel and Palestine conflict, the leading Western media outlets aligned to Israel were subjective and manipulative on their coverage of the conflict in favour of Israel. They provided the negative media lens through which the world could understand the conflict and portray Palestinian issue as refugee problem.

3.10 Conclusion

This literature review chapter provided a comprehensive understanding of the study's phenomenon, particularly the connection between media and ethnic conflicts. It began by giving the breakdown of the concepts of ethnic conflicts within the context of African society

to set a basis for understanding their sources and the extent to which media influenced them. The literature review has also given an account of media's role during the conflicts as that of perpetuator rather than a means to unite people. From the scholarship reviewed, it has been noted that media played a tremendous role to perpetuate ethnic conflicts and violence among diverse ethnic groups in different nations for cheap political gains, like in the case of 2007 Kenyan elections, Bifra Nigerian conflict, Rwandan genocide, Kurdish-Turkish conflict, Belgian linguistic conflict, Balkan conflict, and many others not mentioned in this study (Paluck 2007; Pignatelli 2016; Acran 2013; Howard 2009; Adeyanju 2018). Based on the scholarship reviewed, the local media, particularly the radio has been alleged to have ideologically using language to promote ethnic divisions and tribalism among diverse communities in their programmes. The next chapter discusses theoretical concepts informing this study.

CHAPTER 4: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

The literature review presented in Chapter 3 offers an extensive examination of scholarly works relevant to the current study. This includes a thorough exploration of the contemporary discourse surrounding the role of media and its significant influence on the perpetuation of ethnic conflicts and tribalism. Building upon this foundation, the current chapter elaborates on the theoretical frameworks that serve as the foundation for the investigation. Theories are commonly understood as systematic sets of general principles that aim to provide coherent and plausible explanations for various phenomena (De Benetti 2009, in Kawulichi 2009). In a philosophical context, De Benetti (2009 in Kawulichi, 2009:2) posits that:

> What is expected from a theory is a model capable of predicting future occurrences or observations, being tested through experimentation, or otherwise verified through empirical observation.

This underscores the importance of theories not only in academic discourse but also in their application to real-world scenarios. They form the cornerstone for developing practical solutions to complex issues faced in everyday life (Mueller and Urbach 2017). Theoretical frameworks provide a structured body of knowledge that clarifies the mechanisms behind certain events, thereby explaining how or why they occur (MacMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners 2002). The relationship between theory and practice can be described as interdependent, with each informing and enriching the other. Laughey (2007) likens this relationship to that of a modern husband and wife—often characterized by harmony but always susceptible to discord. Laughey (2007:4) further elaborates that:

> bstract theory, in this respect, is like the Lone Ranger, in search of but unable to find fulfillment. Theory without practice is lonely abstraction, as was sadly demonstrated by some theorists in the 1980s who expressed resolute and excessive anti-empiricism.

While theories endeavor to describe the natural world, questions arise about whether these descriptions serve to define the world or restrict its potential. De Benetti (2009) argues that theories guide how scientists conceptualize and model phenomena, thereby leading to the formulation of testable hypotheses. Within the realm of media studies, theoretical frameworks

provide invaluable insights into various aspects of media consumption, audience engagement, and distribution mechanisms. These insights have profound implications for industries like marketing, broadcasting, and journalism (Indeed Editorial Team, 2022). The media communications received by audiences can significantly shape their perceptions and behaviors, and theories serve as essential tools for understanding the intricate ways in which media messages influence and affect audiences (Indeed Editorial Team, 2022). By examining these theoretical underpinnings, we gain a deeper appreciation of the critical role of media in shaping societal narratives and individual experiences.

This study investigates a social phenomenon that falls within the bounds of cultural studies and media studies. It was imperative to gain a theoretical insight into the problem of this study within the media related theoretical frameworks. The goal was to comprehend the reason and way this study's phenomenon occurs. The study incorporated social cohesion and democracy, media social responsibility, interethnic communication, media and ethnic conflicts, and political economy theories into its conceptual framework. This study's findings were assessed and discussed based on above-mentioned theories. Therefore, the following is the outline of the theoretical framework underpinning this study:

4.2 Theoretical frameworks underpinning this study

4.2.1 Social cohesion and Democracy

This study conducts an in-depth investigation into a complex social phenomenon and highlights a significant problem that reveals the enduring social injustices prevalent in post-apartheid South Africa. These injustices continue to undermine the efforts toward achieving social cohesion within the democratic framework established after the end of apartheid. The apartheid regime has inflicted a lasting legacy characterized by ongoing racial and ethnic discrimination among South Africans. This is evidenced by numerous instances of conflicts, often referred to as "black-on-black" violence, which frequently occur along ethnic lines (Baloyi 2018; Hlophe 2013). The impetus for this research stems from an exploration of the issues that have arisen in the post-apartheid context—issues that appear to originate from the deep-rooted legacies of apartheid. The study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of these issues by examining them through the theoretical lenses of social cohesion and democratic principles.

By focusing on this perspective, the research aims to shed light on the challenges that South Africa faces as it strives to be an inclusive nation.

In particular, this investigation addresses critical questions regarding diversity, social cohesion, and the need for racial and ethnic tolerance within South African society. To achieve this objective, the study employs the theoretical framework of social cohesion and democracy to analyze the prevalence of these divisive phenomena and the underlying reasons for their persistence. Through this framework, the study posits that theory is not merely an abstract concept but is instead intricately connected to the tangible realities experienced in the context of the research problem. Such an approach allows for a deeper understanding of the interplay between historical legacies and contemporary societal dynamics, thus enriching the discourse on social cohesion and democracy in South Africa. The social cohesion and democratic theory, as proposed by Cuellar (2009), is premised on the need for social cohesion as a solution to conflicts in the democratic dispensation. The author argues that the basis for a stable democracy is social cohesion – consolidation of the plurality of citizenship and reducing inequality and socio-economic disparities and fractures in the society. For Cuellar, balancing individual rights and collective responsibility is fundamental for sustaining democratic societies. Cueller reasons that:

> in order to arrive at a balance between individual rights and collective responsibilities for sustainable democratic societies, issues of disparities, inequalities and discrimination must be addressed. Democracy will be undermined in societies with wide-spread poverty and growing gaps between societal groups (Cuellar 2009:3).

As a matter of fact, Cueller contends that democracy and social cohesion are complementary parts of public decision-making and active citizenship, with both rights and responsibilities. It is, therefore, imperative to define social cohesion and democracy to understand their theoretical foundations in addressing disparities and inequality, which can lead to social conflicts.

4.2.1.1 What is social cohesion?

Social cohesion refers to the social bonds or 'glue' that unites societal members (UNECE 2023). Social cohesion is a democratic effort to maintain social balance, economic dynamism, and national identity, aiming to establish equity, sustain uncontrolled growth, and prevent social fractures (Cuellar 2009). Jakubowicz (2007:1) posits that social cohesion has:

> one locus in which it can be negotiated and experienced, the terrain of the public sphere which can provide opportunities for discursive engagement among the many social groups that make up contemporary societies. The public sphere is in part constituted through the mass media, which in all their diversity accommodate the sweep of the social in today's open societies (Jakubowicz (2007:1).

The media is increasingly expected to address factors behind disengagement, violence, and intergroup antipathies as a public concern about social conflict intensifies (Jakubowicz 2007). There are always going to be mechanisms in complex societies that tend to strengthen social bonds and others that might widen them; these processes have been called the construction and destruction of social capital. Two components make up social capital, namely bridging processes, which create linkages between groups, and bonding processes, which create links inside groups.

4.2.1.2 What is democracy?

The post-apartheid South Africa is a sovereign, democratic state based on the following democratic values:

(a) human dignity, the achievement of equality and advancement of human rights and freedoms;
(b) non-racialism and non-sexism;
(c) supremacy of the constitution and the rule of the law;
(d) universal adult suffrage, a national common voters roll, regular elections and multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996).

These ideological values underpin a fundamental need to pursue a common South African citizenship where all citizens, as stipulated in sub-sections 1 and 2 of Section 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996, are:

(a) equally entitled to the rights, privileges, and benefits of citizenship; and
(b) equally subject to duties and responsibility of citizenship

It is only in a democratic state whereby a common citizenship is pursued, and citizens are full and equal members of a democratic nation-state (Mouffe cited in Patrick 1999). Patrick (1999) argues that in most democracies, the sources of all authority-the legitimate basis of power are the collective body of people, the citizens of the country (Patrick 1999). The citizens are the core in the establishment of democracy, which Abraham Lincoln in Epstein (2011) defines as a government of people by the people for the people. Under this form of government, equality

becomes one of the fundamental rights of the citizens (Patrick 1999). This means that everyone, irrespective of their race, ethnicity, language, gender, and religion, is equal before the law of the land (Burns 2001).

Conceptually, democracy presupposes the presence of a freely established political system that is based on universal principles that provide regulations against the arbitrary use of privileges and authority (Cuellar 2009). It encapsulates human rights by providing opportunities for citizens to fully enjoy their citizenship rights and lead a dignified life, thereby contributing to public life (Cuellar 2009). It should foster a society where citizens can fully enjoy their citizenship rights and lead a dignified life, thereby contributing their unique identity to public life (Becker and Raveloson 2008).

Cuellar (2009:5) affirms that:

> Social cohesion aims for an equality denied by society to many citizens, and democracy is a system of guarantees that allows citizens to exercise their freedoms in a political order of justice and tolerance. While the democratic spirit aims to safeguard public well-being through the power of the people, the logic of social cohesion is to guarantee the well-being that allows the power of the people to exist.

4.2.2 The Social Responsibility Media Theory

4.2.2.1 Setting the context for Social Responsibility Media Theory

The literature review of this study discussed scholarship on community radio and ethnic conflicts which shows how media, particularly community radio, can be used as a facilitator of tribalism and ethnic violence using language hegemony. Tribalism and ethnic conflicts are socio-political problems with economic implications, which have a history in South Africa to divide the society along tribal or ethnical lines (Baloyi 2018; Lekgoathi 2015; Lekgoathi 2015; Mackenzie 1989 in Baloyi 2018; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998; Steyn 1998). Considering this background, the idea in this instance is to have a theoretical insight into aspects of social responsibility standards that the media should uphold in the daily operation of their business. Again, it must be expected in the democratic political landscape that the character of a responsible and independent media should be tested against its ability to remain objective, as well as its ability to withstand any external pressures when it conducts its business (Chauke 2021). For example, in post-apartheid South Africa, the media is expected to be independent, accountable to the society and be free from any form of control, as enshrined in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution (Wasserman and de Beer 2005). However, the objective

stance of media's independence in South Africa remains in question since those who own it possess different subjective interests which compromise or are against the editorial autonomy of the media. The media is forced to abandon its social responsibility role to be accountable to the public due to financial pressures, and now finds itself succumbing to political and commercial pressures. Literature reviewed also noted that many scholars perceived the role of media, particularly community radio in perpetuating tribalism and ethnic conflicts in Africa, as an abandonment of its social responsibility role (Chauke 2021; Kijana 2012; Howard 2009; Teer-Tomaselli and De Villiers 1998). Hence, it is difficult for these radio stations to assume an objective and social responsibility role. Therefore, it is expected that the two community radio stations under study play a social responsibility role of unifying and integrating the two ethnic groups, the Vatsonga and Vhavenda living together under the inter-ethnic municipality of Collins Chabane. Therefore, the theoretical inquiry into the social responsibility theory will provide an insight into the social responsibility functions and the role that the media must fulfil in a democratic society.

4.2.2.2 Theorisation of media's social responsibility

The social responsibility role of the media is an approach preferred in Anglo-American countries and is also propounded by many as the ideal for South Africa (de Beer 1998). Social responsibility in the media traces back to a key milestone in the field of the report produced by Hutchins Commission on the Freedom of the Press (Middleton 2009). According to Blevins 1997 in Middleton (2009), this project was requested by the founder of Time magazine Henry Luce, in 1942 when it was believed that the First Amendment freedoms were being increasingly threatened by the rise of totalitarian regimes throughout the world. The Hutchins Commission was perceived by critics of modern journalism as a commission that put more emphasis on people, while at the same time negating the power and importance of the media owners and operators (Merril 2004). Merril (2004) concedes that basic objective was to shift from press freedom to press responsibility. The press responsibility was predicated on reconciling the ideas of freedom and independence with responsibility towards society (Roelofse 1996 in Fourie 2001). The Social responsibility theory t emerged as a direct alternative to the free press or libertarian theory which places emphasis on the freedom of press (de Beer 1998). As the press exercises its right to freedom, its social responsibility role should not be questionable (Fourie 2001).

Fourie (2001:272) explains fundamental functions that media or press should fulfil in society; and these functions are outlined as:

> to support democratic political principles; to fulfil their social functions with regard to the transmission of information and the creation of a forum for different viewpoints; the independence of media should be emphasised in relation to their responsibility towards society; the media should meet certain standards; the media should accept certain responsibilities towards society; the media should fulfil their responsibilities mainly by setting professional standards with regard to the supply of information and the truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance of their reporting; in order to be responsible, the media should apply self-regulation within the framework of the law and established institutions; the media should avoid publicising information that can lead to crime, violence or social disruption, as well as information that can offend ethnic or religious minorities; the media collectively should represent all social groups and reflect the diversity of society by giving people access to a variety of viewpoints and the right to react to these viewpoints; society is entitled to expect high professional standards and intervention is justifiable if the media fails to meet these standards (Fourie, 2001:272).

If the press wants to be responsible and fulfil the above-outlined functions to the society, it must in one way, or another be accountable. Merril (2004) argues that mechanisms of accountability in authoritarian countries are lodged with the government, the military, and sometimes with rebel armed forces. However, the author also concedes that in more libertarian countries such mechanisms are found in public opinion, audience acceptance or rejection, pressure groups, and certain laws such as libel law that hold the media accountable. In other words, the freer and open a country is, the lesser accountability mechanism it has. Merril (2004:30) argues that:

> as the country inclines toward authoritarianism or dictatorship, its accountability mechanism become more blunt, brutal, and bellicose. Laws are more specific and unambiguous, and they are used more frequently to control the media.

From the above arguments, it can be deduced that the social responsibility theory is premised around the issue of accountability; and in case of media, they should take full responsibility of their actions as they produce and disseminate information their intended audiences. The following section discusses the concept of accountability, to help understand the ideals this theoretical framework stands for.

4.2.2.3 Meaning of Accountability

Accountability is concept that has long been situated within both political science and financial accounting traditions (Lindberg 2009). Schedler (1999) cited in Kyriacou (2008:1), accountability: "A is accountable to B when A is obliged to inform B about A's (past or future)

actions and decisions, to justify them, and to suffer punishment in the case of eventual misconduct". Simply put, the concept of accountability suggests that those being held accountable have obligations to act in ways that are consistent with accepted standards of behaviour and will be sanctioned for failure to do so (Grant and Keohane 2005 in Kyriacou 2008). However, Feintuck (1999) in McQuail (2005) offers a legal definition of accountability to help us understand the sanctioning and enforcement processes thereof. One of these being a requirement to give an account of one's actions, either directly to the public or via public authorities. Secondly, it means being liable to sanctions if found in breach of some requirement or expectation attaching to the exercise of power, reaffirming Grant and Keohane's (2005) in Kyriacou (2008) argument above. The concept of accountability has also been adopted in media studies to ensure public scrutiny whereby the public activities of the media are confronted with legitimate expectations of the society (McQuail 2005). In this regard, media accountability will therefore be understood as:

> all the voluntary of involuntary processes by which the media answer directly or indirectly to their society for the quality and or consequences of publication, with particular reference to matters of the general public good (McQuail 2005:180).

In essence, media accountability processes should meet three general criteria, which, according to McQuail (2005), include the respect to free publication, preventing or limiting harm arising from publications to individuals as well as to the society, and promoting positive aspects of publication rather than merely being restrictive.

4.2.2.4 Lines and relations of accountability

McQuail (2005) describes accountability as involving a relationship between media and some other parties. McQuail (2005) outlines two separate stages of accountability to help us understand the dynamics and processes under which the concept of accountability unfolds. One internal and the other external. The former involves a chain of control within the media,

> such that specific acts of publication (e.g., news items or television programmes) can be made the responsibility of the media organization and its owners. Important issues do rise in this respect concerning the degree of autonomy or freedom of expression of those who work in the media (e.g., journalists, writers, editors, producers). There is a tension between freedom and responsibility within the walls of the media so to speak, which is too often resolved in favour of media owners (McQuail 2005:182).

The author also concedes that we cannot rely on internal control or management to satisfy the social needs for accountability. His concession is based on his understanding that internal control is either be too strict while at the same time protecting the organisation. This can result in self-censorship which can be too much directed at serving the interests of the media organisation rather than society. McQuail (2005) sees external accountability as the external relationship between the media and those affected by, or with an interest in, publication or media institution. He affirms that the media is held indirectly accountable to social institutions affected by media or depend on media for their operation, public opinion representing the entire society, and various pressure and interest groups that are affected by publication or media.

4.2.2.5 Frame of Accountability

A frame of accountability in this sense entails several common elements related to the relationship between a media agent and some external claimant, "often with a third party as an adjudicator; there are some criteria or principles of good conduct; and there are rules, procedures and forms of account" (McQuail 2005:184). McQuail (2005) further outlines four frames of accountability, which include law and regulation, financial/market, public responsibility, and professional responsibility.

4.2.2.6 The frame of law and regulations

McQuail (2005) perceives the frame of law and regulation as referring to all public policies, laws, and regulations that affect the media structure and operations. According to McCQuail (2005) the main purpose is to create and maintain the conditions for free and extensive intercommunication in society and advance public good, which includes limiting potential harm to legitimate private and public interests. He argues for the consideration of the main mechanism and procedures which normally comprise regulatory documents concerning what the media may and may not do, together with formal rules and procedures for implementing the provision of any regulation. Furthermore, he outlines the advantage and disadvantage of this approach to accountability. With regards to advantages, McQuail (2005:185) affirms that:

> There is ultimately some power to compel delivery of the benefits that society claims. There is also some democratic control, by way of the political system, over ends and means as check on abuse of powers of compulsion. Any limits to freedom, as well as to the scope of any regulation, are clearly established (McQuail, 2005:185).

McQuail (2005) also exposes the potential conflict between the aim of protecting freedom of publication and making the media accountable as the disadvantages and limitations of this approach. One of the critical accountability impediments to this approach, which the scholar highlights, relates to the argument that law and regulation give more advantage to those with power and money, even when the intention is to protect the interests of all. McQuail's (2005) argues that laws and regulations are often ineffective, hard to enforce, unpredictable in their wider and long-term effects and hard to change or remove when become outdated.

4.2.2.7 The market frame

According to McQuail (2005), the market frame is arguably a fundamental means through which the interests of media organizations and producers and those of their clients and audiences (consumers) can be balanced. He argues that the mechanisms of ensuring this balance are the normal processes of demand and supply in a free competitive market, which theoretically encourage good and discourage bad performance. The market accountability frame, according to him, should primarily emphasize on the aspects of communication quality. To improve this quality, the scholar therefore encourages the adoption of media pluralism approach to encourage competition for quality communication contents. One of the advantages of the approach is that:

> There is no compulsion involved in control through market forces…the laws of supply and demand should ensure that interests of producers and consumers are kept in balance. The system is self-regulating and self-correcting, with no need for outside regulation or control (McQuail 2005:185).

Like other approaches, the market frame is not above criticism and has limitations. One of the critical perspectives, according to McQuail (2005), is related to the argument that the media is too commercialised- meaning that it is mainly organised for profits rather than communication and lacking any true standard of quality. From this perspective, the market, as the scholar contends, cannot self-reflect.

4.2.2.8 The frame of public responsibility

The frame of public responsibility refers to the fact that media organisations are also social institutions that fulfil, through varying kinds of voluntary means and explicit commitment that

go beyond their immediate goals of making profits and giving employment (McQuail (2005). It is therefore expected that the media, whether they acknowledge this or not, serve the public interests in the matters of information, publicity and culture (McQuail 2005). In this regard, the mechanism, and procedures for ensuring public interests services come at the backdrop of the activities of pressure groups, including the media consumer organisations and the public opinion surveys by which public opinion is expressed. McQuail (2005:186) maintains that in number of countries:

> There are various forms of press or broadcasting councils and procedures for public complaints that are adopted voluntarily by the media industry as a means of meeting claims from society. Some media are operated as public trusts on a non-profit basis to serve some public informational or social purpose. The large volume of public debate, review and criticism, often carried by the media is an important means of informal control.

There are both advantages and disadvantages associated with the development of a public responsibility framework for accountability. One advantage is that society's needs can be expressed directly through the media, allowing for those needs to be addressed (McQuail 2005). This framework fosters a continuous, interactive relationship between the media and society. McQuail (2005) views this mode of accountability as open, democratic, voluntary, and protective of freedom. However, there are also limitations to this framework. One significant limitation is the voluntary nature of accountability. According to McQuail, some media organizations may misuse their freedom, resulting in society's needs not being adequately met.

4.2.2.9 The frame of professional responsibility

McQuail (2005) refers to the frame of professional responsibility as accountability that arises out of the self-respect and ethical development of professionals working in the media whose role is to set their own standards of good performance. This can also apply to associations of owners, editors, producers, etc. that aim to protect the interests of the industry by self-regulation (McQuail 2005). Like other frames, the frame of professional responsibility has its own mechanisms and procedures for ensuring accountability. The mechanism and procedures generally consist of a published set of principles or code of conduct that is adopted by members of a media professional group, together with some procedures for hearing and judging complaints and claims against particular media actions (McQuail 2005). The issues can be,

> be any matter dealt with in the code of ethics or conduct, but invariably relating to some harm or offence caused to an individual or group. The development of professionalism in the media is often supported by the government and other public institutions and assisted by improved education and training (McQuail 2005:187).

One of the advantages of this accountability framework is that it is voluntary and aligns with the self-interests of the media and professionals (McQuail 2005). This system offers non-coercive benefits, promoting voluntary self-improvement and self-regulation. However, there are significant limitations to this approach. One major drawback is its narrow applicability, which often fails to exert strong pressure on influential media outlets. It is not sufficiently The media's coverage is often lacking in independence and tends to be fragmented. Overall, professionalism within the media industry is not well established, leading to limited autonomy for employees concerning management and owners (McQuail 2005).

4.2.3 Interethnic Communication Theory

The inter-ethnic communication theory is one of the five theories employed in this study to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon under study. The theory provides insights into the role that community radio should play as an inter-ethnic communicator within an inter-ethnic community space. For this reason, there is imperative to have a better understanding of the dynamics, characteristics and limits of community radio stations operating within inter-ethnic spaces. Suyunova et al. (2007) defines interethnic communication as the communication of the representatives of different ethnic communities in situations of prolonged cohabitation in the same society and citizens of one state. This type of communication is characterised by lack of homogeneity and uniqueness, as it seeks to represent two opposing groups within an inclusive interethnic space (Lee 2012). Kim (2005) in Lee (2012) proposes a contextual theory of interethnic communication, with a view to focus on the interethnic behaviours of communicators. The theory explains communication behaviours (or activities) of individuals when they encounter a set of societal, situational, and psychological forces that make up the context for particular interethnic behaviours (Lee 2012). It asserts that the behaviour and the context together co-constitute the basic interethnic communication system, operating simultaneously in a dynamic interplay, each affecting the other. Thus, interethnic communication is treated as an entire system (not a variable) in which the behaviour and the context are taken together into a fusion.

Kim's (2005) contextual theory outlines eight reliable theorems in which the behavioural conduct (or activities) of community radio stations of the study could be understood, in the process of airing their programs (cited in in Lee, 2012). The first theorem applied deals with the associative or dissociative behaviours of the communicators' interethnic communication, as linked to their inclusive and exclusive identity orientations. As for Kim (2005), the communicator's associative interethnic communication behaviours are motivated, at an initial stance, by their inclusive identity orientations, in which they are cognitively inspired to engage themselves in inclusive meaningful interactions rather than as representatives of an in-group or outgroup category. Meanwhile, their dissociative behaviours are motivated by their exclusive identity orientation, which is based on lack of interest, stereotypical, and depersonalised perceptions. Exclusive identity orientation is closely linked to a more rigid differentiation of oneself from ethnically dissimilar others. The more inclusive/exclusive the communicator's identity orientation, the more associative/ dissociative their interethnic communication behaviour. The second one deals with associative or dissociative behaviours of the communicators' interethnic communication, as linked to their identity security or insecurity orientations. Identity security is reflected in the degree of self-confidence and the sense of self-efficacy. It is a personal capacity to empathise with others and is a sense of self-assuredness and positive attitude towards others. In contrast, identity insecurity producers manifest feelings of inferiority or defensiveness when interacting with ethnically dissimilar others. In this instance, the more secure/insecure the communicator's identity orientation, the more associative/dissociative their interethnic communication behaviour.

The other three theorems provide the contexts in which the communicators' interethnic communication behaviours can take place (Kim 2005). These contexts are represented in three key situational factors, which are ethnic proximity/distance, shared/separate goal structure, and personal network integration/segregation. The interethnic proximity/distance, which makes the first of the three theorems, refers to the level of homogeneity or heterogeneity. Based on this context, the greater the ethnic proximity/distance between the communicator and the other(s) involved in interethnic communication, the more associative/dissociative the communicator's interethnic behaviour. Then the shared goal structure, which makes the second of the three theorems, refers to the extent to which the communicators come together with mutual or dissimilar interests. Therefore, the greater the shared or separate goal structure between the communicator and the other(s) involved in interethnic communication, the more associative or

dissociative the communicator's interethnic behaviour. Personal network integration, which forms the last of the three, is defined in terms of the degree to which a given communicator's existing relationship networks are ethnically diverse. In the context of this theorem, the more or less ethnically integrated the communicator's personal network structure, the more associative or dissociative the communicator's interethnic behaviour. The last three theorems are presented in the context of the three factors of the environment, which are institutional equity/inequity, ingroup strength, and environmental stress. Ingroup and ethnic groups strength, in this regard, is related to the relative size and economic resources of the ethnic group. Implying that the greater the relative strength/weakness of the communicator's ethnic ingroup in the environment, the more associative/dissociative their interethnic behaviour. Institutional equity/inequity and environmental stress, on the other hand, address issues of fairness and justice. Based on this theory, "individual communicators are less likely to act associatively if they perceive, correctly or not, some form of unfair rules or practices directed against their own ethnic group" (Lee 2012:32). Since the study's research problem is a social phenomenon, the theory provides a framework for analysing the motivations behind and circumstances surrounding specific interethnic behaviours (activities) of community radio broadcasters operating within interethnic zones. This included setting a basis for understanding the causes of the associative and dissociative behaviours of the radio broadcasters, as communicators in the casting of their programming.

4.2.4 Theory of Ethnic conflicts and Media

The theoretical approaches on ethnicity and tribalism have been employed in this study to understand the origin and dynamics of ethnicity, and to understand the causes of ethnic conflicts and tribalism. The approaches also provided an insight into the expected role of media in ethnic spaces, particularly during ethnic conflicts. These theoretical approaches illuminated on why vernacular language media in the ethnic-based society are ethnic and tribal. There are two fundamental questions that Pignatelli (2013) poses in her analysis of ethnicity and ethnic conflicts analysis, namely; (1) What leads groups to mobilise based on ethnicity? (2) To what extent and under what conditions are ethnic groups willing to fight rather than co-operate? Besides these two questions, there is also a theoretical question on the role of media in the ethnic conflicts that Pignatelli (2013) poses by implication. As an attempt to answer the first two questions, three predominant theoretical approaches; in this regard, which are

primordialism, instrumentalism and constructionism can be applied. The three approaches have emerged and grouped out of many theories developed by scholars over the years (Yang 2000).

4.2.4.1 Primordialism approach

With regards to primordialism, Yang (2000) proposes three insightful arguments. The first being around the notion that ethnicity is an ascribed identity or assigned status; something inherited from ones' ancestors. This in simple terms means that ethnicity is deeply rooted to one's ancestral bloodline. The second argument is the notion that ethnic boundaries, which demarcate who is a member of an ethnic group and who is not, are inherently fixed. This argument presents a position that ethnicity is static and immutable; meaning you cannot change your membership to another group. The final argument centres around the premise that common ancestry determines ethnicity. The implication being that people who belong to an ethnic group all share common biological and cultural origins. Based on this approach, according to Pignatelli (2013), ethnic conflicts are thus seen as a result of inherent differences between ethnic groups that naturally feel sympathy and friendship for those belonging to their own group and who feel dislike for those who are outsiders. "The aggression that rises within the group towards the outside groups is based upon a fundamental need to link identity with certain given characteristics, often ethnicity and/or race" (Pignatelli 2016:124). From a primordialist's perspective, inter-ethnic conflict is a result of ethnic difference; while ethnic cooperation is linked to ethnic similarities which is tied to one's ancestral bloodline.

4.2.4.2 Instrumentalism approach

The second theoretical approach that Yang (2000) presents is instrumentalism in the study of ethnicity. Instrumentalism sees ethnicity as an instrument or strategic tool for gaining resources; and thus, people become ethnic and remain ethnic when their ethnicity yields significant returns. The functional advantages of ethnicity, according to Yang (2000), range from moral and material support provided by ethnic networks to political gains made through ethnic bloc voting. Pignatelli (2016:124) takes it further by explicating the main causes of inter-ethnic conflicts from an instrumentalist's perspective. In her assessment, the instrumentalist' views are centred on the notion that "inter-ethnic conflict is the result of elite manipulation and of community appeals to achieve their own goals rather than a kind of tendency for different ethnic groups to enter into conflict". To mobilise a particular group for a social action, it is

necessary to politicise it beforehand. This means that cultural differences alone do not lead to conflict since it is generally orchestrated by the politicians. However, it is also important to note, as according to Pignatelli's (2016) argument, that ethnic and political elite's manipulation of ethnicity can only be achieved if it is in the best interests of the will of the people. If it does not meet the supposed real aspirations of individuals and groups, as she affirms, mobilisation will not succeed.

4.2.4.3 The constructionist approach

Finally, the most recent and predominant model on ethnicities is the constructionist perspective. According to Yang (2000), constructionists' school of thought advanced three major arguments about this approach. First, is based on the premise that ethnicity is a socially constructed identity. The second argument is the notion that ethnic boundaries are flexible or changeable. Lastly, the notion that ethnic affiliation or identification is determined or constructed by the society; meaning that ethnic affiliation or identification is simply a reaction to changing social environment. Bringing context to the three arguments, Yang (2000) argues that it is the constructionist perspective that there are no inherent or fixed ethnic boundaries based on ancestral bloodline or cultural origins. He further argues that it was for this reason that the constructionist school proposed what is termed emergent ethnicity perspective to downplay the primordialist's ideological stance that cultural heritage and ancestral bloodline are linked to the evolution of ethnicity. For Yang emergent ethnicity is centred on the perspective that ethnicity is an emergent phenomenon created by structural conditions (Yang, 2000). Yang (2000) presents a constructionist stance that seeks to maintain that the formation, crystallisation and development of ethnic communities, cultures and identities were shaped by structural conditions closely associated with the industrialisation process in the host society and the positions of ethnic groups within it. This means that ethnicity is defined by both culture and ethnic identity while at the same time being continuously constructed by processes of inclusion-exclusion and negotiations between different groups of people within a particular space (Pignatelli 2016). For constructionists, conflicts are not naturally associated with ethnicity but rather caused by problems within social systems, as highlighted above by Yang (2000), over which individuals do not have control (Pignatelli 2016).

4.2.4.4 Theorising the media's role in ethnic conflicts

Pignatelli (2016) also looks at the role of media in ethnic conflicts. She argues that since media are part of society, they are automatically a major locus of ethnic discourse, ethnic integration, and mobilisation. Therefore, the processes of ethnic media production, as she further argues, are anchored from a primordialist, instrumentalist, or constructionist perspectives, and of course depending upon the focus, relevance and in-depth look professionals tend to have of ethnic rifts. The fact that most media is produced in the languages of their audience makes them ethnic despite the ideological approach under which it was produced. Pignatelli (2016) suggests that the media, particularly in a pluralistic society, one ought to be careful about what they say since, quoting Ira Rifkin (1988 cited in Pignatelli, 2016:128), "When you talk about racial, ethnic or religious conflicts, you are talking about the stuff that riots, wars and deep-seated prejudices are made of". This is notwithstanding the fact that the media is a part of social dynamics and instrumental in maintaining both the status quo and change. The inference to draw from these approaches is that ethnicity is the basis of ethnic conflicts and tribalism, and societies across the world are entirely formed based on ethnic demarcations. Being part of the society, the media is generally ethnic as it uses language to reach their audience. This theoretical framework provides a comprehensive understanding of ethnic conflicts, their origins, and their connection to tribalism. The theory also sheds light on the role of the media in ethnic conflicts.

4.2.5 Critical Political Economy of Media: A Theoretical Framework

4.2.5.1 Setting the context for Political Economy Theory of Media

Community radio in South Africa has a huge responsibility of ensuring that all members of the community it represents including the forgotten ones have a voice that speaks to the issues that affect them. It becomes a tool to unearth any developmental opportunities for the sake of its communities. It is arguably a closet form of media to the members of the communities. It is expected to operate 24/7. It has found its niche audiences- the poor of the poorest who can hardly be target markets for any businessman or woman seeking to advertise their businesses. It is run on poor budget and at times workers are reportedly working for free, with some using that as an opportunity to gain some experience to be employed by the already established mainstream media institutions. However, with such conditions, most of the community radio stations fall prey to powerful business and politicians who offer financial support in exchange of seeing their underhanded interests making the content. Governments and powerful

politicians are always criticised for their interests in controlling the operations of media institutions (McQuail 2005). Most of the community radio stations that resist to compromise their editorial autonomy are now defunct. In principle, community radio stations, like any other forms of radio broadcasting in South Africa today are autonomous (Chauke 2021). But in practice, they are controlled by their funders (Chauke 2021). This thesis argues that there is political interference in the running of the two community radio stations under inquiry. Tribalism raised is not only a social problem but also a political economic one. Against this background, this study has employed the critical political economy theory of media to set a theoretical basis upon which we can understand the influence of politics and economics on the editorial autonomy of the media. This has been done against the assumption that community radio stations that are the focus of this study, namely Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM, serve the ideological interests of politicians who are also their funders. However, it will be imperative to locate the political economy theoretical framework within its historical context to understand its founding premise and the purpose thereof.

4.2.5.2 Historical context of Political Economy Theory

The term political economy originated in the 17th and 18th centuries to refer to economic policies of the nation-states that were then consolidating (Adler 2009). It was expanded in the 19th century

> to refer to the manifold ways in which capitalist economic structures and market processes influenced and were influenced by the political power at local, national, and international levels. The great theories of that period were Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Richard Malthus, John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx (Adler 2009:1).

Conceptually, it was initially coined to help people understand and cope with the dramatic change in the system of want satisfaction, both in the nature of wants and in the manner of production and distribution of goods to satisfy them (Caporaso and Levine 1992). Caporaso and Levine (1992:1) argue that the term 'political' refers to two interrelated qualities of the system of want satisfaction:

> Firstly, this system links persons otherwise independent- strangers rather than relatives. To satisfy our wants, we now depend on persons, not our relatives, whom we might not even know. The boundaries of want satisfaction devolve onto a public authority- the head of the state rather than the head of the household.

Its emergence marked a fundamental shift from the older term ‘economy’, taken from the Greek usage to refer to household management:

> It had relevance to a society in which, to an important degree, wants emerged and things that satisfied them were produced in the household…political economy referred to the management of the economic affairs of the state (Caporaso and Levine 1992:1).

Caporaso and Levine (1992) further argue that it was the emergence of political economy that brought the debate over the responsibilities of the state regarding the economy, and this debate continues to date. According to these authors, the political economy did not only bring the debate, but also posed four fundamental questions in the analysis of the new emerging phenomenon (Political economy). Caporaso and Levine (1992:1) outline these questions thus:

> 1) Is the state responsible for determining which wants will be satisfied, and for mobilising resources to ensure their satisfaction?
> 2) Will wants be better satisfied if the mobilisation of resources is left in the hands of individuals acting as private agents, motivated by their private interests?
> 3) Should for example, house, medical care, education, welfare be provided by private citizens using the resources they have available to them? or
> 4) Should they be provided by the state?

It is also imperative to state that the wants and things which should satisfy the citizens are literally not the choice of the citizens, but the outcome of the decisions from the selective powerful authorities in the society. This could be the decisions by the state through its coercive regulations on what needs to be given or not given to the citizens (Fourie 2001), and the powerful businesspeople with economic power and self-interests to dictates the terms of what should satisfy the citizens (McQuail 2005). To deal with the complexities of political economy on the issue of wants or interests’ satisfaction of the citizens, we need to explore as to who commands the power on the broader national scope. Various scholars have opined on the issue pertaining to power dynamics while expounding on the concept of political economy. Majority, from the explored sources, were typically Marxist thinkers, whereas others like Jessop (2012) were virtuously anti-Marxist on their approach to power. It is also important to mention that the political economy theoretical framework, as employed in this study, is situated within the Marxists approach. Therefore, it will be vital to also mention that this study strictly explored the Marxist approach to the study of political economy. However, the approaches by scholars

such as Michel Foucault (1926 - 1984) and other liberal pluralists, which are opposed to Marxist approach to power will be examined in the critique of the theoretical framework.

4.2.5.3 The theorisation of power

Central to some of the propositions of political economy is the concept of power (Fourie 2001). Conceptually, power can be defined as "capability of producing an effect" or, what is probably more directly relevant for normal use in the international arena, "possession of controlling influence over others" (Cooper 2004:2). “It is often equated with force and so in its economic manifestation seemingly implies compulsion; the ability to force or persuade others to comply with the wishes of communities exercising power” (Whalley 2009:3). According to Thompson (1995) power is the ability to act in pursuit of one’s aims and interests, the ability to intervene during events and to affect their outcome. Thompson (1995:13) asserts that:

> in exercising power, individuals employ the resources available to them, resources are the means which enable them to pursue their aims and interests effectively. Hence, by accumulating resources of various kinds, individuals can augment their power- in the way, for instance, that an individual may build up personal savings in order to purchase a property. While resources can be built up personally, they are also commonly accumulated within the framework of institutions, which are important bases for the exercise of power. Individuals who occupy dominant positions within large institutions may have vast resources at their disposal, enabling to make decisions and pursue objectives which have far-reaching consequences (Thompson,1995:13).

Thompson further perceive power as a pervasive social phenomenon that is characteristic of different kinds of action and encounter, from the recognizably political actions of state officials to the ordinary encounter between individuals in the streets. There are many definitions and theories of power. Therefore, Thompson (1995) distinguishes between four kinds of power in the study of political economy:

- **Economic power**

According to Thompson (1995), economic power stems from human productive activity, which is, activity concerned with the provision of the means of substance through the extraction of raw materials and their transformation int goods which can be consumed or exchanged in a market. The author sees productive activity in this regard as involving the use of and creation of raw materials, tools of production, for example land, consumable products and financial

capital. The author notes that these resources can be accumulated by individuals and organisations for the purposes of expanding their productive activity; and, in so doing, they are able to increase their economic power. For example,

> as an economic industry the media produces goods, ranging from newspapers, books, videos, films, magazines, news, CDs, and so on. The bigger a media company is and the more it can expand its productive activity to include, for example, not only newspapers but also internet services, computer software, programmes for television and radio studios, and so forth, the bigger is its economic power (Thompson, cited in Fourie 2001:123).

In earlier eras, productive activity was predominantly agricultural, and "institutions of economic power were typically small-scale organisations oriented towards subsistence farming or towards the production of small surpluses for trade" (Thompson 1995:14). However, with the development of modern societies, the institutions of economic power "have become much larger in the scale and scope of their activities and more varied in character, with manufacturing and, subsequently, industrial production assuming a fundamental importance" (Thompson 1995:14). The problem with the economic power is that it empowers these institutions with illegitimate authority to resolutely punish or reward another party- and of course according to "whether that party responds in the desired way, combined with a perception that the possessor has the will or political ability to use it if necessary" (Cooper 2004:2).

- **Political power**

Thompson (Thompson 1995:13) asserts that:

> If today we associate power with political power, that is, with the actions of individuals acting on behalf of the state, this is because states have become particularly important centres of concentrated power in the modern world.

In the above statement, Thompson (1995) tries to demonstrate to us that the concept of power has always been defined within the framework of political power to mean the authority that has been delegated to the individuals on behalf of the state on the society. It is one of the key concepts in the great Western tradition of thought about political phenomena (Parsons 1963). According to Whalley (2009), the economists treat power as an area reserved for political science. As for Thompson (1995:14), political power emanates from the activity of coordinating individuals and regulating the patterns of their interactions. According to Thompson,

> All organisations involve some degree of coordination and regulation, and hence some degree of political power in this sense. But we can identify a range of institutions which are concerned primarily with coordination and regulation, and which pursue these activities in a manner that is relatively centralised within a territory that is more or less circumscribed. These institutions comprise what is generally referred to as the state- the paradigmatic institution of political power (Thompson 1995:14).

Such institutions are the states which in various forms (ranging from the classical Greek city states, African traditions of governance, to the nation-state) have purposes and goals to govern citizens (Fourie 2001). The execution of governance is done with a complex system of rules and procedures that authorise certain individuals to act in certain ways (Fourie 2001; Thompson 1995). Fourie (2001:124) argues that these rules and procedures in some cases "are encoded in laws that are enacted by sovereign bodies and administered by a judicial system". However, the state ability to command authority is arguably dependent on its capacity to exercise some influence over coercive and symbolic power (Fourie 2001). In other words, as Thompson (1995:15) contends that,

> the state can make recourse to various forms of coercion- that is, to the actual or threatened use of physical force- in order to back up the exercise of political power, both with regard to external conquest or threat and with regard to internal unrest or disobedience. The authority of the state can also be backed up by the diffusion of symbolic forms which seek to cultivate and sustain a belief in the legitimacy of political power.

- **Coercive power**

Fourie (2001) and Thompson (1995) concur that coercive power entails the use of or threatened use of physical force. Thompson argues that:

> Physical force can be applied in deferring ways, with differing degrees of intensity and with differing results…the use of physical force carries with the risk of maiming or destroying the opponent (Thompson 1995:15).

Fourie (2001) contends that physical force as form of power usually takes place within the framework of the military institutions such as army and para-military institutions such as the police and related security forces. These institutions are used specifically for the purpose of the external defence and conquest, and for the purpose of "internal pacification and control or suppression" (Fourie 2001:124).

- **Symbolic power**

Symbolic or cultural power stems from the activity aimed at producing, transmitting, and receiving meaningful symbolic forms (Thompson 1995). It is the real and potential power vested in all cultural institutions such as the church, education, educational institutions, and the media (Fourie 2001). These institutions possess power to influence people's thinking and behaviour; and at the same time guiding people to understand and think about the world in certain ways (Fourie 2001).

> For example, religious doctrines entrench certain norms and values of what is right and wrong. Education institutions, such as schools and universities, produce and transmit knowledge against the background of certain educational philosophies and points of departure such as, for example, Christian-National education or liberal education (Fourie 2001:124).

In case of the media, Fourie (2001) further argues that fictional films, documentaries, news, radio programmes, newspaper and magazines articles, popular music, advertisements, political comments in one way or another provide us with interpretations of realities in which we may find ourselves. Based on the above, Fourie (2001) contends that the media have an inherent power to form and guide our perceptions and interpretations of reality.

Michel Foucault (1926 - 1984) in Balan (2010) rejects the notion that institutions possess and use power oppressively against individuals and groups. In fact, the scholar argues the latter (individuals and groups) can affirm their identity and resistance to the effects of power. Foucault as cited in Balan (2010:3) argues,

> that it is wrong to consider power as something that the institutions possess and use oppressively against individuals and groups, so he tries to move the analysis one step beyond viewing power as the plain oppression of the powerless by the powerful, aiming to examine how it operates in day-to-day interactions between people and institutions. In the first volume of *Histoire de la sexualité* he argues that we must overcome the idea that power is oppression, because – even in their most radical form – oppressive measures are not just repression and censorship, but they are also productive, causing new behaviours to emerge.

4.2.5.4 Marxist's political economic approaches to power

Marxist thinkers hold a view that considers power as something that the institutions possess and use oppressively against individuals and groups (Balan 2010). Whether it is economic, political, coercive, or symbolic, the power, from Marxist's perspective, is set to oppress individuals and groups using class domination as a guiding principle (Jessop 2012). Marxist

thinkers, as Jessop (2012:2) reasons, are sternly concerned with "the power relations as manifestations of a specific mode or configuration of class domination rather than as a purely interpersonal phenomenon lacking deeper foundations in the social structures". Put simply, the class domination becomes integral in the definitions, qualification, and sustainability of power relations (McQuail 2005). Jessop (2012) further notes that the significance attached to class domination implies that all forms of power are always exercised by social actors with clear identities and class interests. The essence of Marxist approaches to the phenomenon of power, is the premise that locates the bases of class power mostly in the social relations of production, in control over the state, or in intellectual hegemony over hearts and minds (Jessop 2012). Secondly, Marxists are concerned with the links- the continuities between economic, political, and ideological class domination. The implication is that power is primarily located in the social relations of production, in control over state, or in intellectual hegemony over hearts and minds (Jessop 2012). The following is the outline of class domination categories, according to Jessop (2012), as an attempt to demystify Marxist's political economic approaches to power:

- **Economic class domination power**

Jessop (2012) posits that Marxism's economic class domination is premised on the existence of antagonistic modes of production, which is the combination of the forces of production and social relations of production. According to Jessop (2012), the productive forces comprise raw materials, means of production, the technical division of labour corresponding to these raw materials, and the given means of production, and the relatives of interdependence and corporation among the direct producers in setting the means of production to work. In contrast, Jessop (2012:5) perceives the social relations of production as comprising: Jessop asserts that:

> social control over the allocation of resources to "different productive activities and over the appropriation of any resulting surplus, the social division of labour (the allocation of workers to different activities across different units of production); and class relations grounded in property relations, ownership of the means of production, and the form of economic exploitation".

The combination of the forces of production and social relations of production create what can be referred to as capitalist economies (Reuss 2020). Reuss (2020:3) outlines three features of capitalist economies:

> (1) Production goods (things used to produce other things, such as land, buildings, and machines) are privately owned and can be bought and sold in markets.

> (2) Labour power (a person's ability to do work) is bought and sold in markets, primarily in the form of some people agreeing to work for others for pay.
> (3) Goods and services are produced for sale in markets, with the aim of private profit.

Reuss (2020:4) describes the three features of capitalist economies as referring to economic power relations between the individuals or groups, in which the economic class domination power occurs. For him, this is the beginning of the capitalist economies, in which the capital interests (profits) are prioritised at the expense of any other interests. As with any capital economies across the world, those with all the means of productions control forces of production and social relations of production, including decisions on how to satisfy the wants (interests) of the citizens. According to Reuss (2020:4), economic relations, which define the power relations, are benchmarked on the capitalist's premise that for people to exist together in societies

> they must develop ways to govern their interactions, including in economic aspects of social life. They must determine who will control resources needed for production, what kinds of goods will be produced, who will do the work, who will get to use the goods that are produced, and so on. Different societies are characterized by different answers to these questions, and also on different types of institutions that generate these answers (Reuss, 2020:4).

The economic relationship between those with economic power and the labor force is unbalanced. This imbalance is maintained through a system of rewards and punishments by those in power (Reuss 2020). Rewards can include job security, promotions, and the continuation of capital deals and sponsorships, while punishments may involve the loss of these same benefits (Reuss 2020). However, the employers' authority to fire a worker, for example, is not always absolute, as it:

> may be constrained by law (e.g., restrictions on firing without legitimate cause) or by contract (e.g., collective bargaining agreements between employers and labor unions). The strength of such constraints varies in different capitalist countries, due to differences in labour union size and strength, influence of labor based political parties, and other factors. In the United States, such constraints are weak: The legal doctrine of "at will" employment establishes the authority of employers to dismiss a worker, unless otherwise prohibited by contract, for "good cause, bad cause, or no cause at all" (excepting prohibitions against some forms of discrimination or retaliation). Meanwhile, only 6.5% of private-sector wage and salary workers are covered by collective bargaining agreements, and few other workers have individual contractual protections against being fired (Reuss, 2020:16),

- **Political class domination**

Pessop (2012) claims that Marxist accounts of political class domination begin with the state and its direct and indirect roles in securing the conditions for economic class domination. In his claim, the scholar argues that the state is emphasized for various reasons. He asserts that:

> first, since market forces themselves cannot secure all the conditions needed for capital accumulation and are prone to market failure, there is a need for some mechanism standing outside and above the market to underwrite it and compensate for its failures; second, economic and political competition between capitals necessitates a force able to organize their collective interests; third, the state is needed to manage the many and varied repercussions of economic exploitation within the wider society (Pessop 2012:6).

However, the author suggests that for political class domination to thrive, a sovereign state that is relatively autonomous from any other class interests is required for the articulation and promotion of a broader, national-popular interest. Therefore, the very same state can secure both economic and political class domination if any particular interest respects the decisive economic nucleus of the society (Jessop 2012). Based on the above Marxist line of argument, it can be deduced that any economic class domination operating in bourgeois democratic political regimes operates at the backdrop of the political class domination, which is represented by the state. Of course, an exception is placed on the dictatorship regimes. The economic power, as already argued by Thompson (1995) is subject to regulations by the state in democratic political regimes. In most of the developing democratic countries, economic powers are arguably the ones regulating the political powers and the result is the political class domination operating at the benevolence of the economic class domination (Davis 2014). For example, in the case of South Africa, the rules have been bent for capitalist interests and state-owned enterprises like South African Broadcasting Corporation became subjected to the state capture (Davis 2014). At times, there is always a case of of political interests colluding with the economic interests. The 15th to 19th Korean governments provides a perfect example of this collusion. During these periods, for businesses, political connections imply that politics and the economy are closely related or that political and economic circles are deeply connected for their own benefits (Choi et al 2020).

- **Ideological class domination**

From a Marxist point of view, ideological class domination is premised on the idea that the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas (Jessop 2012). This implies that the

class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. Marx and Engels (1976:1) argue that:

> the class which has the means of material production at its disposal consequently also controls the means of mental production, so the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations, the dominant material relations grasped as ideas; hence of the relations which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance.

For Jessop (2012), Marxist interest in the forms and modalities of ideological class domination grew even stronger with the rise of democratic government and mass politics in the late nineteenth century and the increased importance of mass media and national popular culture in the twentieth century. Jessop (2012:10) further argues that:

> Various currents in so-called 'Western Marxism' have been strongly interested in ideological class domination – especially whenever a radical socialist or communist revolution has failed to occur despite severe economic crisis or, indeed, during more general periods of working-class passivity. Successive generations of the Frankfurt School have been important here but there are many other approaches that work on similar lines (Jessop, 2012:10).

4.2.5.5 Development of Critical Political Economy of Media

Critical political economy was developed out of Marxist-based social theory as one of many paradigms used in media studies to understand and investigate the power of media (Fourie 2001). It locates its research to the empirical analysis of the structure of ownership and control of media and to the way media markets operates (McQuail 2005). It is grounded on the premise that all means of production, including media production determines the nature of the society (Fourie 2001:122):

> …an underlying political economy proposition is that the economic and political control of the media determines the content and thus the ideological power of the media. By ideological power we mean the power (and means) to form, direct and influence the thinking of people. This power is vested in those who own the media and who have the financial means to own and manage media (Fourie 2001:122.

The theory focuses primarily on the relation between the economic structure and dynamics of media industries and the ideological content of media (McQuail 2005). Within this context, the media institutions are considered as part of the economic system, with close ties to the political system (McQuail 2005). Conceptually, the critical political economy is premised on the notion

that those who control and fund the media have the power to influence the determination of the media content (Fourie 2001). According to Murdock and Golding (1997), as cited in Fourie (2001:122) media ownership is primarily for the purpose of maximising audiences and financial profits. The primary interest being to uphold the principles of the capital mode of production, which are centred on four capitalist standard features outlined by Inglis (1990) cited in Fourie (2001:122), such as: "mass production and the distribution of commodities, capital-intensive technology, managerial organisation of highly specialised divisions of labour, and cost-effectively as the criterion of success, in other words the maximisation of profit". The four capitalist interests, as Fourie (2001:123) argues, to a greater extent, "determine what we read in newspapers, hear over the radio, see on television and in movies, and get on the Internet". The consequences of this mode of production are observed in the reduction of independent media resources, concentration of the large markets, avoidance of risks, and reduced investment in important but less profitable media tasks such as investigative reporting and documentary film making (McQuail 2005 and Fourie 2001). Therefore, the effects of economic forces, as articulated by Murdock and Golding (1977), cited in McQuail (2005:82) are not random, but they work consistently:

> to exclude those voices lacking economic power or resources…the underlying logic of cost operates systematically, consolidating the position of groups already established in the main mass-media markets and excluding those groups who lack the capital base required for successful entry. Thus, the voices which survive will largely belong to those least likely to criticise the prevailing distribution of wealth and power. Conversely, those most likely to challenge these arrangements are unable to publicise their dissent or opposition because they cannot command resources needed for effective communication to a broader audience (Murdock and Golding, cited in McQuail, 2005:82).

This raises the question of power relations between the media and those who own and produce its content. Since the power relations mostly challenge editorial autonomy of media, McQuail (2005:83) warns of the reduction of a public sphere, and "more pressure on the autonomy of those who work within the media industries". The power relations in this instance refers to the relations between economic structures, the dynamics of media industries, and the ideological content of the media (McQuail 2005). Grossberg (1995) refers to the relations between the media and those who own it as unbalanced one. In fact, the author calls the relation a marriage of some sort between those who have the means to produce and the media, which is a relationship not based on common love or understanding.

4.2.5.6 Criticism against critical political economy

According to Pereira (2009) political economy has contributed to media research by revealing how social processes and institutional pressures have operated to make the communication process accessible and tradable for larger audiences. However, the author argues that the applicability of this theoretical tradition has been subjected to critiques with the advent and widespread use of the internet and other means of communications. The reason for this is related to the potential empowerment of people to shape their own modes of production, distribution, and consumption of content as they are now able to explore the internet and select the information they want. This includes, as he contends, sharing and receiving of information in whatever format and at what moment in time. Pereira's (2009) work supports the view that the political economy tradition is still relevant in the present-day media and communication. This is mainly due to its ability to reveal social values and regimes of control that lie beyond people's apparent autonomy in interacting with the material and symbolic aspects of the new media. Pereira's (2009) further posits that political economy research should be recommended, but at the same time proposing a critical review of its strengths and shortcomings. He suggests that the shortcomings of political economy approach can be overcome by incorporating analytical methods from other streams of research. He therefore recommends that some contributions from Foucault's work on discourse can add a necessary micro-level of analysis to issues of value and power that traditionally underpin that structural approach. Fourie (2001) also, reaffirms the notion that political economy approach is not above criticism. He argues that:

> the production is determined by the dominant capitalist class and the output of mass media is ultimately controlled in the interests of that class (the media owners); the media content serves to legitimate and reproduce media owners' ideologies, interests and power as opposed to those of subordinate classes, is rejected by liberal pluralists. They argue that such a view is too conspiratorial and tends to oversimplify economic and market realities (Fourie, 2001:125).

From the liberal pluralists' perspective, the economically concentrated power of media ownership does not give media owners total control over output (content) but instead the power of ownership is mitigated by the plurality of competing interests represented by diverse groups of shareholders and consumers, professional managers and producers, advertisers and trade unions, all of whom are refereed by the state (Fourie 2001). In other words, as Fourie (2001:125) portrays the South African picture,

> in a company such as Naspers there are diverse shareholders. Against the background of empowerment, shareholders from previous disadvantaged groups are increasing. The company caters for diverse tastes and cultures among their consumers. Its various products, ranging from newspapers, to books, television, magazines and the internet are managed by professional managers and journalists who will resist interference from the owners as well as interference from advertisers, who in turn will not be prescribed to by the media owners (Fourie, 2001:125).

Fourie (2001) contends that the public also has the freedom of choice between different media products from different media groups, which speaks to the issue of pluralism. This theory has addressed a few fundamental concerns, which the present study is concerned with. The discussion began by providing the context of the theory using South Africa. This is because the study investigates the phenomenon that is tied to South African media situation. However, it was important for this study to tap into the historical context of the theory to gain deeper insights into the theoretical premise of the theory. Since the political economy approach is centred around the issue of power and power relations (McQuail 2005; Fourie 2001), it is important to explore the theoretical debates around the issues of power and its various manifestations. This is important to understand the different ways in which powers operates in media institutions. Again, since this theory is situated within the Marxist approach, it is important to study Marxist's political economy approach in order to understand how power operates in media institutions. It was also imperative to delve into the development of the critical political economy of media to gain better insights into the dynamic's media powers, power relations, ownership, and its ideological impact to running of media institutions. However, it is important to note that theories are not above criticism (Fourie, 2001). Hence it was important to critique theories informing the present study to have a more nuanced understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of these theories.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter provided a comprehensive overview of the various theories that underpin the current study. It incorporated several critical theories, including social cohesion and democracy, media social responsibility, interethnic communication, the relationship between media and ethnic conflicts, and the political economy of media. These theories were thoughtfully integrated into the study's conceptual framework, which served as a foundation for the research. The application of these theories was instrumental in guiding the researcher in formulating precise and focused research questions. By aligning the questions with

theoretical constructs, the researcher was able to ensure that the inquiry was relevant and rigorous. Additionally, the theories informed the selection of data, allowing for a more critical examination of the observed phenomena. This process included interpreting and explaining the various underlying causes and influences that shape the dynamics of the subjects being studied. Moreover, the theoretical framework played a crucial role in shaping the researcher's expectations and predictions throughout the data collection and interpretation phases. By grounding the research in established theories, the researcher could contextualize findings and draw meaningful connections between empirical observations and theoretical implications.

In the subsequent chapter, the research methodology employed in this study will be delineated in detail. This includes an in-depth discussion of the qualitative research methods used for data collection, such as interviews, focus groups, or field observations. It will also outline the sampling techniques applied to select participants, ensuring a representative and relevant sample for the study. Furthermore, the methodology section will address the specific data analysis strategies utilized, detailing how the researcher processed and interpreted the data to derive insights from the findings. Lastly, the chapter will discuss the ethical considerations taken into account throughout the research process, ensuring that all guidelines for ethical conduct were adhered to, including informed consent and confidentiality of participant information.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This study explores a socio-cultural issue within the context of media, bridging the gap between media studies and cultural studies. It was conducted using a qualitative research paradigm. The qualitative design is the most suitable approach as it allows for a more in-depth exploration as opposed to a quantitative one. Hancock et al. (2007) define qualitative research as a paradigm that aids researchers in understanding social phenomena and their underlying reasons. This study utilises a case study approach, using Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM to investigate the phenomenon of this study. Karlsson (2016) defines a case study approach as a research strategy for understanding real-life phenomena by examining specific sub-units within a more significant case. The scholar argues that this method is particularly useful when conducting a study within a limited timeframe and with limited resources. Studying all community radio stations within Malamulele and Vuwani would have been practically impossible, given the limited resources available.

Due to the limited existing research on the topic being investigated, an exploratory research design was deemed appropriate for this study. According to Pitout and du Plooy (2001), exploratory studies are aimed at gaining a deeper understanding of phenomena that have not been extensively studied. The objective was to develop a comprehensive understanding of the subject by formulating a precise research problem and establishing a clear hypothesis for future investigations. The researcher planned the study with the understanding that its findings would not be generalizable beyond the specific context of this research. This study employs a combination of qualitative content analysis and interviews to examine the phenomenon from the perspective of community radio programming. Because it is exploratory in nature, it was essential to integrate several research approaches to address concerns related to trustworthiness, including authenticity, credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability.The researcher utilised a triangulation approach to achieve this outcome. Triangulation is the combination of multiple theories, data sources, methods, or investigators in a single study to converge on a single construct (Perone and Tucker 2003). Triangulation in this study refers to the use of multiple data collection methods to help the researcher reach reliable conclusions. Research methods have been triangulated for the purpose of (1)

minimising bias while enhancing validity; (2) minimising what Meijer et al. (2002) refer to as inadequacies of individual methods; (3) using their varying strengths to complement one another; (4) allowing the researcher to capture a more complete, holistic, and contextual picture; and (5) revealing varied dimensions of the phenomena under investigation. The following research methods were crucial in the collection of data:

- Qualitative document analysis, which includes analysis of the current community radio broadcasting language policy.
- Qualitative content analysis of a radio programme, which included analysis or reviews of previous recorded programming of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM during the violent demarcation protests in Malamulele and Vuwani.
- Qualitative interviews with the Station Managers, Presenters and Field reporters of the two community radio stations, Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM.

5.2 Sampling Techniques

The sampling technique used to select the radio stations in this study is purposive sampling. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2006:91), purposive sampling involves selecting subjects or elements based on specific characteristics or qualities, while eliminating those that do not meet these criteria. This technique is commonly employed in qualitative research for identifying and selecting information-rich cases, making the most effective use of limited resources (Palinkas et al., 2013). Researchers utilize this method to choose subjects who possess experience or knowledge relevant to the research issues being addressed (Oppong, 2013). In this study, two community radio stations were selected based on the researcher's judgment that they were established within the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani. These stations are significant as they can provide relevant information for the study since they are located within the areas of focus. Furthermore, the two selected community radio stations have frequency coverage within Malamulele and Vuwani. Other community radio stations were excluded from consideration because they operated outside the boundaries of these two communities, even though they had frequency reach in the areas. To be included in this study, the radio stations had to be founded in the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani. The research examined two periods of demarcation protests: the Malamulele protests (2013-2016) and the Vuwani protests (2015-2022). Malamulele FM has been analyzed in the context of the Malamulele protests, while Vuwani FM was studied within the framework of the Vuwani demarcation protests.

5.3 Data collection methods

5.3.1 Qualitative Document Analysis

It is important to note that the study of radio must consider its operating policies. Therefore, there was a need to examine the broadcasting policies that influence the operation of community radio in South Africa. Therefore, this study employs qualitative document analysis, a systematic method used in qualitative studies to review and evaluate both printed and electronic documents. It can be used by writers and researchers as another form of literature review (Sarantakos 2005). The primary role of this method is to analyse secondary sources, which are documents produced by teams of expert researchers, often with large budgets and extensive resources beyond the means of a single student (Walliman 2011). In fact, the essence of document analysis as a data collecting method, is to access information in a cheap way, as most of the documents carrying such information are in the public domain. To the researcher,

it could provide information and insights to the research problem, and even assist him by suggesting questions that need to be asked and situations that need to be investigated as part of the research (Bowen 2009). The application of document analysis was aimed at gaining insights into legislative and policy aspects of the research problem. Since not every policy and legislative document at the disposal of the researchers was eligible for analysis, sampling of the documents was required. These documents had to be selected based on a particular sampling technique, and because they provided insights into phenomenon under investigation in this study, hence the use of purposive sampling. Etikan et al. (2016:2) posits that purposive sampling "is a deliberate choice of a participant due to qualities the participant possesses". The application of this technique implied that the sampling of documents had to be non-random and required no underlying theory or set of numbers. South Africa currently has many progressive policy documents that guide the nation on language issues. However, he deliberately picked the policy documents that address the language issues from the perspectives of the media. Particularly those pertinent to addressing the phenomenon of this study. Using his judgement, he then set out to find the policy and legislative documents that could provide him with the information he needed. He selected the documents on the basis that they were information–rich, and that they would be able to provide quality information needed.

5.3.1.1 Sampling of the documents

The policy the researcher sought were readily available in the public domain, so his modest study budget was not impacted. It should be noted, nevertheless, that not every regulation document the researcher had access to would be suitable for study. Only a few policy documents broadcasting, and community broadcasting were eligible for sampling. The policy documents provided insights into the relevant broadcasting policies and regulations and helped to better understand the phenomenon under investigation. The chosen sampling technique for document selection for analysis was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling was also the preferred technique for selecting the two community radio stations under investigation. The use of this approach under document analysis suggests that the sampled documents would not need any underlying theory or set of numbers. In this instance, the researcher utilised their judgement to locate the regulatory documents that would furnish him with the required information. The researcher chose documents based on their information-rich nature and their ability to provide the necessary quality information, as guided by Etikan et al.'s (2016)

sampling technique proposal. The following policy and regulatory documents were selected for analysis: The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996; Use of Official Languages Act of 2012; Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995; Broadcasting Act of 1999; ICASA Community Broadcasting Services Regulations No. 439 of 2019; and ICASA Broadcasting Licenses for both Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM.

5.3.1.1.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

It may seem far-fetched and implausible for this study to include the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) as part of the documents for analysis to learn and understand the phenomenon under investigation. However, the Constitution was chosen due to its significant role as a law source and its influence on all legal and policy documents, including those analysed in this study. Burn (2001) argues that the Constitution serves as the foundation for all laws and policies in the land. The author suggests that the judiciary should declare any law that contradicts the provisions of the Constitution invalid. If a government law violates the Constitution and is not in line with a provision, it can be challenged in a court and potentially overturned (Limpitlaw 2013). Therefore, this study initially analysed the Constitution of South Africa (1996) to understand its impact on other regulatory policy documents. Secondly, the Constitution was analysed to determine if it had provisions in place to address the issues raised in the hypothesis of this study. This study was addressing a very sensitive research topic; therefore, it required a thorough understanding of how the Constitution of South Africa addresses those issues.

- **The provisions on languages and the historically marginalised languages**

It is important to highlight in this instance that the claims made in the hypothesis of this study were very serious in nature as they directly implicate the community radio of perpetuating tribalism, using language hegemony. Therefore, the first focal area of analysis regarding the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) were the provisions that speak to the issues of languages, and particularly the historically marginalised languages of South Africa. The ideological function of South Africa's language has led to a divided society based on racial and ethnic lines (Steyn 1988). It was therefore important in this instance to locate the precepts in the Constitution for an insight into how they address issues pertaining to the representation and treatment of the historically marginalised languages in an inclusive South African society. The hypothesis of this study argues that the application of language hegemony by the community

radio perpetuates tribalism. In this regard, it was important in the analysis of the Constitution to locate stipulations that speak to how languages must be distributed for community broadcasting service purposes in all-inclusive spheres of the society. A need to locate such stipulations came against the backdrop of the claim that there is a constitutional-aligned provision in ICASA Broadcasting Licences for community radio that seeks to uphold the language hegemony in the inclusive areas based on the democratic principle of majoritarianism. It was also crucial to understand how the principles of multilingualism, equity, and equality fit into South Africa's varied, multicultural society- a country where the democratic ideal of majoritarianism is unassailable- as expressed in the Constitution.

- **Provisions on media freedom and responsibility: Issues of ethnic divisions and tribalism**

Like all institutions of society, the legal system of South Africa underwent some changes after the 1994 democratic elections, and this also affected the media. The Bill of rights in the new Constitution also provided the fundamental rights of the media and media workers in general (Barker 1998). This implies that the media law in this instance had to embrace all legal rules which affect the dissemination of information, ideas, or opinions in society (Barker 1988). However, the media and its workers have always been accused of abusing their media freedom and is often accused of failing to seriously consider their social responsibility role as they disseminate information to the publics. The issue of irresponsible media conduct in this regard has been raised in the hypothesis of this study. In this hypothesis, it is argued that the two community radio stations with transmission reach in of Malamulele and Vuwani perpetuate tribalism using language hegemony in their programming. The perpetuation of tribalismposes a serious security threat and potential ethnic conflicts to an already-polarised South African society. In this instance, the analysis had to locate sections of the Constitution which seek to regulate the media against any possible instances of information dissemination that could lead to tribalism and ethnic intolerance.

5.3.1.1.2 Use of Official Languages Act of 2012

The South African Official Language Act, 2012 was chosen among others for comprehensive analysis in this study to provide an understanding of the research problem. The selection is based on its compliance with the Broadcasting Act of 1999 and ICASA Community

Broadcasting Language Policies, which include the SABC Language policy. Steyn's (1998) study on media policy highlights concerns about linguistic imbalances and hegemony in post-apartheid South Africa, highlighting the ongoing issue of linguistic imbalances. These are the very same linguistic concerns which were sharply raised in the hypothesis of this studyThe issue of linguistic imbalances and hegemony raised in the hypothesis of this study, which was also set to be analysed against the Constitution, was raised as one amongst the main causes of tribalism in the inclusive communities. For example, the study's hypothesis argues that the proportional distribution of languages of broadcasting on the community radio stations with a transmission reach in Malamulele and Vuwani respectively was based on the democratic principle of majoritarianism. It further asserts that the language hegemony on community radio coverage in the post-apartheid South Africa brought about ethnic divisions and tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda in Malamulele and Vuwani. Orman's (2008) argument that South Africa's early democracy aimed to address past linguistic imbalances through the South African Official Language Act, 2012 is contradicted in this regard.

The following analytic areas, as expressed in the study's hypothesis were reviewed against the South African Official Language Act, 2012: the provisions in the Act that seeks to address issues of linguistic imbalances and hegemony; and provisions on the distribution of languages for community broadcasting services. The above-outlined focal areas had to be analysed against the study's hypothetical backdrop that there have been disparities regarding language distribution on community radio programming, leading to perpetuation of tribalism in Malamulele and Vuwani during the demarcation protests. The purpose of analysis in this regard has been to firstly establish if there were provisions in the South African Official Language Act, 2012 that sought to address the issues of linguistic imbalances and hegemony. The second objective was to evaluate the effectiveness of proposed provisions in addressing linguistic disparities in an inclusive post-apartheid South African society if included in the Act. The final task was to verify if the Act's provisions ensure equal and fair treatment of all South African official languages. The task involved assessing if the provisions align with the democratic goal of social cohesion.

5.3.1.1.3 Pan South African Language Board Act 1995

Kriel (2003) suggests that South Africa's multilingualism must be utilized to address linguistic disparities and hegemony. The author asserts that Pan South African Language Board Act,

1995 provides for the application of multilingualism, as a solution to linguistic disparities and hegemony in the development of the historically marginalised language groups in the post-apartheid South Africa. The author, however, argues that such provisions can be reduced to a mere lip service if the minority language groups are the only groups expected to learn and speak languages of the dominants. The author suggests that successful multilingualism implementation requires the development of previously marginalized minority languages on par with other majority languages in the country. He argues that the issue is not solely due to the law but rather to its implementation. The study's hypothesis raised the issue of linguistic hegemony on community radio coverage and the impact it has on the language representation of the minority language groups in Malamulele and Vuwani. Analysis of the Pan South African Language Board Act, 1995 therefore aimed to: (1) ascertain the study's hypothesis from the perspectives of language policy to determine if the Act has provisions to address the issue of linguistic disparities and hegemony; (2) determine Kriel's (2003) assertion that multilingualism has been provided for within the Act as the solution to the phenomenon of this study; and (3) establish the scholar 'argument that linguistic imbalances and hegemony are not a matter of law, but its implementation. Therefore, the provisions in the Pan South African Language Board Act, 1995 had to be examined to determine if they were aligned to the democratic objectives of promoting multilingualism to end linguistic disparities and tribalism in the society.

5.3.1.1.4 Broadcasting Act OF 1999

The Broadcasting Act of 1999 was the third regulatory document to be analysed. The Broadcasting Act is regarded as the ultimate authority regarding the broadcasting systems of most democratic countries of the world (Raboy1994). The South African Broadcasting Act of 1999 provides for the three-tier system of broadcasting, which includes the public, commercial and community broadcasting (Wigston 2001). Since the research problem under inquiry relates to the community radio broadcasting, it was imperative to analyse the Act within the context of the community broadcasting policy. Therefore, the analysis has been focused on the issues of broadcasting law regarding the community broadcasting system and services. Analysis of the South African Broadcasting Act of 1999 focused on the following areas of interest considering the assertions stated in the study's hypothesis:

- **The ideological foundation of the Broadcasting Act of 1999**

The Broadcasting Act of 1999 was analysed from an ideological perspective to understand its ideological underpinnings within the context of broadcasting policy. History has it that the ideological functioning of language in South Africa results in tribalism (Lekgoathi 2014; Hlophe 2013; Lekgoathi 2009; Orman 2008; Barnett 2000; Mersham 1998; Steyn 1998). Hence, Rudrick (2006:67). Policies are influenced by the ruling ideologies of any given dispensation (Beham and Adenauer-Stiftung 2018; Alexander 2013; Hlophe 2013; Bevan 2008; Wasserman 2008; Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). In this regard, the study hypothesised that the community radio stations with frequency or transmission reach in Malamulele and Vuwani were established based on tribal ideology to cater for the interests of their respective ethnic groups. The analysis was conducted within the political economy, under the assumption that politicians sponsor community radio and thus, they control the production of its programming (Fourie 2001). McQuail (2005) argues that those who have the means of production also control the content. It was important in the analysis of the Broadcasting Act to establish provisions around the issue of media ownership to determine its impact on the editorial autonomy of the media.

- **Community broadcasting policy: languages of broadcasting for the inter-ethnic communities**

The issue of local languages became central for this type of radio to take the broadcasting services to various communities. Bosch (2014) discusses this in detail in Chapter 2 of this study. Using local languages in community broadcasting is based on the premise that communication is better enhanced in a medium that uses the language of a given people (Salawu 2006). However, the challenge raised in the hypothesis of this study is that the local language principle in community radio broadcasting is not fairly implemented for the inter-ethnic communities because of the politics of language hegemony. Therefore, the result is tribalism and continuous ethnic division. The analysis regarding this focal area aimed to establish provisions within the Act which address issues of language distribution for broadcasting purposes for the inter-ethnic/or multi-ethnic/ multicultural communities.

- **Local language programming**

Local language programming policy is one of the focal areas of analysis this study has focused on in the analysis of the Broadcasting Act. The aim is to establish how local content, as

represented in local language or community radio, finds expression in the Broadcasting Act. Mokhele (2015) argues that local content ordinarily regulated for ideological, economic, and moral reasons (Mokhele 2015). She argues that the ideological reason for regulating local content is to promote "national and collective identity, protecting cultural sovereignty, promoting national cohesion, engendering a culture of tolerance through pluralism in opinion and choice, and fostering democracy and democratic values" Mokhele, cited in Chauke, 2012:152). The economic reasons are perceived as the promotion of "economic activity in the local production sector, and skills and technology transfer from developed to developing countries" (ibid:152). Moral reasons including "protecting the public against negative content that incites public disorder, offends public decency and good taste, or is culturally/ethnically inflammatory" (ibid:152). However, in South Africa, the purpose of regulating local content is to redress the imbalances of the past, where certain identities, languages and cultures were promoted at the expense of others (Myers 2008). Therefore, the Broadcasting Act was analysed to determine the moral objectives of local content policy regarding community radio operation. Primarily because the study raised significant moral concerns regarding community radio operating in inclusive zones. Thus, the primary goal of this section was to investigate how the Act protects the public against negative content that incites public disorder, offends public decency and good taste, or is culturally/ethnically inflammatory. The language had to be applied as barometer to determine the extent to which the Act protects the public against all the above-mentioned aspects.

5.3.1.1.5 ICASA Community Broadcasting Services Regulations No. 439 of 2019

It should be noted that the creation of ICASA- which at the time was called IBA was primarily aimed at distancing broadcasting services from the government to give broadcasting institutions greater credibility as "a purveyor of news and information" in the post-apartheid South Africa (Wigston 2001:16). Its role was to generate policy regarding broadcasting, to issue broadcast licences and to regulate and monitor the activities of broadcasters (Wigston 2001). ICASA has regulations for three-tiers system of broadcasting in South Africa. For the analysis purposes, the focus was on community broadcasting service tier. Against this background, it was imperative to analyse ICASA Community Broadcasting Services Regulations, with a view to primarily understand the regulation behind the concept of 'community'. The analysis aimed at determining if regulations considered the existence of inter-ethnic and multi-ethnic communities when conceptualizing and regulating the term

'community'. This study hypothesizes that minority ethnic groups in inter-ethnic community spaces experience discrimination due to language hegemony and lack of inclusion due to their minority status. The community radio stations were under investigation for allegedly misrepresenting minority ethnic groups' languages and cultural identities, causing them to feel excluded from targeted community audiences.

5.3.1.1.6 ICASA Broadcasting Licences for Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM

The two community radio stations that are the focus of this study, namely Malamulele FM and Vuwani Fm have broadcasting licences which are regularly renewed. These licences are renewable based on compliance to the conditions thereof. Moreover, the community radio stations, like any broadcaster in South Africa, are expected to comply with the conditions prescribed in their operational broadcasting licences. They are expected to furnish the ICASA on annual basis with their compliance reports which speak to their licence conditions. With regard to Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM's Broadcasting Licences, the following focal areas had to be covered: (1) the prescription regarding the principal languages of the stations; (2) licence conditions and compliance regarding language distribution; (3) prescription and compliance regarding the identity of the stations' communities; (4) prescription and compliance regarding the programming content and lastly, prescription and compliance regarding the conduct of the broadcasters. The analysis was conducted against the issues raised in the hypothesis of this study.

5.3.2 Qualitative Content Analysis of Radio Programming

The researcher utilised qualitative content analysis of radio programming to supplement other data collection methods in this study. Qualitative content analysis is a widely used research method for analysing text data to determine its content or contextual meaning (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Babbie (2007) defines qualitative content analysis as a method for analysing social research without converting data to a numerical format. For every chosen station, there were sufficient programmes that qualified for study. Given the restricted timeline and resources available to the researcher, it would be difficult to analyse all programmes on the two community radio stations. The analysis in this instance used a single case study approach, as defined by (Karlsson, 2016) in the outline of the research design and approach. As a result, a

single programme has been picked to represent the whole programming of each chosen station. The purpose was to address the issue of time and financial constraints. The case study approach was ideal for analysing this type of analysis, as the findings would not be generalised to the entire daily broadcast population. To provide a foundation for understanding the nature of programming and better comprehend the study's phenomenon the analysis was exclusively conducted on the prime-time programming aired by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM during the demarcation violent protests.

- **Qualitative Content Analysis: Sampling techniques**

Non-probability sampling was the method used for sampling in this investigation (Wimmer and Dominick 2006). The preferred method for identifying and choosing the radio stations' programming was purposive sampling, which Wimmer and Dominick (2006:91) define as comprising "subjects or elements selected for specific characteristics or qualities and eliminating those who fail to meet these criteria." Here, the researcher's judgment, was to be used to choose the kind of programming to use considering its relevance to his research.

5.3.3 Qualitative Interviews

Qualitative interviews were also used to collect data. Qualitative interviews are defined as a specialized form of communication between people aimed at obtaining relevant research information from the interviewees to achieve the objective of describing, predicting, or explaining a phenomenon (Dilshad and Latif, 2013). Ugwu and Eze (2023:20) posit that:

> the aim of qualitative research is to gain a comprehensive understanding of social phenomena in their natural environments. It relies on the direct experiences of people as meaning-making agents in their daily lives and focuses on the why rather than what of social phenomena.

Within the context of qualitative interviews, this study used semi-structured (semi-standardised) interviews to collect data with the station managers, presenters and field reporters of the two community radio stations. The reason for selecting semi-structured interviews was because they offer a more flexible approach to interview process (Ryan et al 2009). Edwards and Holland (2013) view semi-structured interviews as platforms for interactional exchange of dialogue between two or more participants in face to face or other contexts, and a thematic, topic-centred approach where the researcher would have topics, themes, or issues they wish to

cover, but with a fluid and flexible structure. While they may use an interview schedule for predetermined topics, they allow for unanticipated responses and issues to emerge using open-ended questions (Ryan et al 2009). To conduct qualitative interviews, the researcher visited the selected staff members of the two community radio stations at their places of comfort, on different time slots since the interviews were on individual basis.

- **Qualitative Interviews: Sampling techniques**

This investigation utilised purposive sampling to identify and choose participants for interviews. The interviewee selection was non-random, avoiding concerns about sampling sizes, which may pose statistical issues under the quantitative research paradigm. The researcher used his judgement to identify the participants based on his trust that they were the right people with the relevant information. The researcher could eliminate those that did not meet specific criteria. Sandelowski (1995) suggests that determining the appropriate sample size in qualitative research is a subjective decision based on the quality of the collected information. The target participants, including station managers from both radio stations, were ten per station. The samples were small; thus, their findings could not be generalized to the entire population of this study, but they provide insight into the problem.

- **Developing the interview schedule**

The development of the interview schedule was the first important step in the conception of the interview process. The schedule or guide was determined by the structure of the interview, the nature of the research and the aims and objectives of the study. Polit and Hungler (1995) cited in Ryan et al (2009:311) suggest that:

> it should consist of an outline of categories that are relevant to the research and on which interview questions are ultimately based. Easy, non-threatening questions such as demographic information are useful for starting off the interviews in a relaxed sensitive manner. Essential questions which directly concern the main focus of the study should follow. The sequencing of questions should allow the interviewee to be aware of what specific area he or she is being asked about**.**

Trochim cited in Ryan et al (2009) argues that more sensitive questions should be kept for when rapport and trust have been established and the interviewee is relaxed. In this study, the sequencing of questions comprised the initial introduction to the study and verification of consent, followed by non-threatening, factual questions that preceded the essential interview

questions. The more sensitive difficult questions were the last. Robson (2002) in Ryan et al (2009) advocates the use of prompts by the interviewer if appropriate. Prompts in this case were used to allow the interviewees to expand on a particular issue or to enable them to expand on a particular issue or allow them to re-engage with the interview process if they lose their train of thought. For example, asking 'what happened next?' could help to focus the interviewees on the subject matter. The following similar probing questions have been useful in this regard: 'can you tell me more about that please'. Ryan et al (2009) argue that probing questions allow the researcher to uncover deeper levels of meaning and seek clarity on the topic of interest. It was imperative to pre-test the interview schedule before actual interview took place. This was done with other researchers or people familiar with the topic in question to assist in the identification of unclear questions.

- **Conducting the interviews: the roles of the interviewer and interviewee**

It is important to mention that the interviews were face-to-face. Face-to-face interviewing is a social interaction and the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee is important in ensuring that the process is successful. However, Kvale (1996) in Ryan et al (2009) cautions that although the interview may be seen as a conversation between the two people, the relationship between the two people is not equal. Thus, it is necessary to establish rapport and trust from the outset (Ryan et al 2009). To manage the relationship with the interviewees, the demeanour of the interviewer was crucial for the success of the interview process. Legard et al (2003 cited in Ryan et al. 2009:311) suggest that:

> A relaxed, confident, and attentive approach demonstrated by the interviewer will help a good interview relationship develop. The role of the interviewer is to ensure that the interviewee is at ease and not threatened; hence the correct comfortable environment is also important.

Another crucial aspect of the interviews of this study was that of active listening through both the verbal and non-verbal medium; that will be an open posture, appropriate facial expressions, and good eye contact. It is important for the interviewer to allow the interviewees to talk uninterrupted at their own pace while responding with comments and probes where appropriate (Ryan et al 2009). Another tactic during the interview process was the application of silence while maintaining eye contact to allow the interviewees time to pause and reflect, and this was useful as a device to enhance the data collection.

5.3.4 Data Analysis

This study employed a combination of content analysis and thematic analysis techniques to analyze the data obtained from the three triangulated data-collecting methods previously described in this chapter. According to Bowen (2009), content analysis is the process of classifying data in accordance with the study questions. On the other hand, considering thematic analysis to identify patterns in the data, with the categories for study being emergent themes. "A first-pass document review, in which meaningful and relevant passages of text or other data are identified" was the method of content analysis used to analyse the study's data (Bowen 2009:32). In this case, the researcher had to show that he could recognize relevant data and distinguish it from irrelevant data (more on how this was accomplished is covered in the following chapter). To avoid using predetermined categories for the qualitative content analysis, the researcher also used conventional content analysis, preferring that categories and names come directly from the data gathered (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Meanwhile, a thorough, more concentrated rereading and evaluation of the data was necessary for the theme analysis procedure. To find themes relevant to a phenomenon, the researcher for this study had to duplicate Bowen's (2008) methodology, which entails closely examining the chosen data and carrying out coding and category development depending on the data's qualities. As a result, even with this analytical technique, preset codes and themes were not required. The empirical data gathered using the three triangulated data gathering methodologies gave rise to the codes and themes.

5.3.5 Ethical considerations

The majority of the data gathered for this study was obtained through a combination of interviews, content analysis, and document analysis, making the consideration of ethical issues particularly important. The researcher understood that the subject matter of the study was sensitive and deeply intertwined with tribal issues, which necessitated a thoughtful approach. In terms of conducting the interviews, the researcher was acutely aware of the ethical obligations involved in protecting the participants. This included ensuring that all participation was entirely voluntary, without any coercion, and that the participants were fully informed about the study's purpose and their role in it. Before proceeding with the interviews, the

researcher took great care to obtain informed consent from each participant, thereby respecting their autonomy and safeguarding their rights throughout the research process. The topic of ethics in document studies is highly debated, particularly regarding whether it is ethical to use email posts and archives without obtaining consent from the authors. Some experts argue that consent should always be obtained prior to using such materials. Sixmith and Murray (2001:426) state that:

> …the use of such material without the permission of its authors is potentially damaging to the research process, especially when group members discover their words have been used without their knowledge or consent. In these circumstances, participants to discussion forums can feel that their privacy has been invaded and may become distrustful of email forums and of the community of research scientists (Sixmith and Murray, 2001:426).

The scholars propose that ethical considerations in document studies must be placed holistically on the issue of consent, privacy, anonymity, interpretation, and ownership. In this study, it is also important to confirm that ethics did not matter as the document analysis focused solely on legislative and policy documents already in the public domain. However, an ethical consideration emphasis has been placed on qualitative interviews to protect people who, perhaps because of sensitive issues, do not usually present their views for inclusion in research.

- **Conceptualisation of ethics in this study**

According to Froneman and de Beer (1998), ethics is a subfield of philosophy that addresses what is right and wrong, as well as what constitutes a good deed and an individual's morals. The researcher carefully organized the research to ensure that it complied with the necessary ethical standards, as ethics has always been a challenging topic in social research. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2006), social scientists are typically criticized for their lack of consideration for ethical problems when performing their studies. Therefore, unethical research procedures cause a negative impression on the research community (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Considering this, the study took into account the following ethical considerations for conducting qualitative interviews:

- **Confidentiality**

Confidentiality is an undertaking to protect an informant’s identity in exchange for information (Babbie 2007). The problem of protecting the privacy of participants arises more often in field studies than in the laboratory (Wimmer and Dominick 2006). In field studies, it is possible that

people may be unaware when they are being studied, as these studies are mostly conducted in public spaces. Wimmer and Dominick (2006) argue that the more public the place, the less the expectation of confidentiality and fewer ethical problems are likely to be encountered. Thus, there are two ways to guaranteeing confidentiality: (1) through a promise of anonymity, which is a guarantee that a given respondent cannot be linked to a particular response; and (2) through a guarantee that respondents would not be identified as individuals, and that their names would never be publicly associated with the information they provide (Ibid.).

The application of confidentiality, as one of ethical considerations of this study, was of fundamental importance. In the event where the information had to be confidential, especially during the qualitative interviews, it became the researcher's responsibility to ensure that respondents' identities were kept confidential. It was also the researcher's responsibility to ensure that respondents were not linked to responses, as an alternative to ensure confidentiality.

- **Voluntary participation and informed consent**

Voluntary participation means participation cannot be in the form of coercion (Wimmer and Dominick 2006). Whereas informed consent is a responsibility that the researcher takes to ensure that potential subjects are informed of all aspects of the project that can influence participation (Wimmer and Dominick 2006). Regarding voluntary participation, every participant who was intended for the interviews consented to do so voluntarily. Hence, participants were not coerced into participating in the experiment. With their informed consent, the participants were appraised of the objectives of and were told about cautioned about specific aspects of the conversation that might could them discomfort. Before the interviews began, the researcher informed the participants that they were free to withdraw from the study if they felt uncomfortable.

- **Issue of trustworthiness**

Shenton (2003) argues that positivists often question the trustworthiness of qualitative research, as their concepts of validity and reliability are not addressed similarly to naturalistic work. Billups (2014) highlights the importance of positivists in ensuring the trustworthiness of inquiry findings through factors such as validity, reliability, generalisability, objectivity, and accuracy. However, from a naturalistic point of view, trustworthiness could only be achieved

through criteria such as credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability (Shenton 2003; Billups 2014). Since this study was carried out within a qualitative framework, the researcher applied trustworthiness criteria that are used by naturalists as guiding principles to pursue trustworthiness. The first criterion that the researcher applied to ensure trustworthiness was credibility, which Anney (2014) refers to as the confidence placed in the truthfulness of the research findings. Moon et al. (2016:2) outline strategies through which credibility can be demonstrated, and which include “data and method triangulation (use of multiple sources of data and/or methods), peer debriefing (sharing questions about research processes or findings with peers who provide an additional perspective on analysis and interpretation), member–checking (returning findings to participants to determine if the findings reflect their experiences)”. To ensure the reliability of the research findings, this study only used two of the aforementioned ways to establish credibility. Member-checking and data and technique triangulation were employed to ensure that the findings were solid, rich, thorough, and well-developed, the researcher employed data and technique triangulation to provide the groundwork for a more thorough knowledge of the phenomena under study. Since member-checking is the foundation of credibility, it is seen as an essential procedure that any qualitative researcher should go through (Anney 2014). Member-checking involves continuously testing data and interpretations derived from various audiences and groups (Anney 2014). Billups (2014) defines this as the process of incorporating the voices of respondents in the analysis and interpretation of data. It is also a method used to eliminate research bias in data analysis and interpretation (Anney 2014). In the case of the qualitative interviews, the researcher ensured that the analysed and interpreted data was sent back to all the participants to evaluate the interpretations made. This was done with a view to offer a platform for the participants to suggest changes if they were not happy with the interpretation.

Dependability was the second criterion this study looked at to make sure the results were reliable. According to Anney (2014), "the stability of findings over time" is referred to as dependability. It poses a basic question to researchers: would their findings hold up if they were conducted again using respondents (participants) who were the same or similar in the same or comparable contexts? (Moon et al. 2016). The researcher clearly defined and documented the execution of the research design to guarantee dependability. This covers the procedures and techniques as well as the specifics of data collecting, like field notes and replicable pre-questionnaires.

The third and final criteria employed to confirm the study's validity was transferability. It alludes to the idea that the results of qualitative research may be applied in different settings with different participants (Anney 2014; Moon et al. 2016). It is positivist in in design, discussing the degree to which findings from a specific study program may be confidently extrapolated or generalized to a larger population (Moon et al. 2016). Moon et al. (2016) assert that qualitative research studies are not universally applicable due to their limited scope and focus on specific environments or individuals. However, they can serve to identify and explain phenomena that may be difficult to define due to lack of clarity. Anney (2014) suggests that naturalistic perspectives can enhance the transferability of an inquiry by providing a detailed description and purposively selecting participants. The author believes that a detailed description of an inquiry can aid other researchers in replicating the study under similar conditions in different settings. This study uses Anney's (2014) 'detailed or thick description' strategies to ensure transferability. In order to compare the context to other potential contexts where transfer might be considered, the researcher had to: (1) explain every step of the research process, from data collection to study context to final report production; (2) "collect thick" descriptive data; and (3) produce a thick description of the context in order to assess how well it fits in with other potential contexts.

To further ensure transferability, the researcher had to make sure that participants were selected purposively. Purposive sampling provides greater transferability than other sampling methods because researchers only obtain data from informants who are information–rich or are knowledgeable about the issues under investigation. Even though the researcher had to use convenient sampling to select participants who were easily accessible, he also applied purposive sampling to select community radio staff members who were information-rich and knowledgeable about the phenomenon under investigation. The same process was followed with the qualitative interviews, where he had to target only those, he thought possessed reliable information and were knowledgeable about the phenomenon under investigation.

"Confirmability" was the final of the four factors utilized in this study to determine trustworthiness. The goal is to determine the extent to which an investigation's conclusions are solely a product of the participants and the investigation's circumstances, as opposed to the investigator's biases, motives, interests, and viewpoints (Moon et al. 2016; Anney 2014). According to Anney (2014), triangulation, reflexive journaling, and audit trials can all help ensure the confirmability of qualitative research. Every one of the three confirmability criteria

mentioned above has been used in this investigation. Instead of depending on his own experiences and background, the researcher used triangulation to make sure the research examined the research topic using data gathered from four distinct data gathering methods. In case the investigation processes were to be cross-checked, the following records were retained for audit trail purposes: raw data, transcripts and interview records, and policy and legislative papers. Furthermore, reflective records were retained to evaluate the potential impact of the researcher's personal history, perspectives, and interests on the study procedures, could have affected the results (Anney, 2014). In this case, the researcher retained all records that detail every incident that occurred in the field.

5.4 Conclusion

The research paradigm that guided the approach to this study was broadly described in this chapter. This included the methods used for data collection and data analysis. This chapter has also addressed the issue of ethics, detailing the possible constraints and limitations the investigator could potentially face during the investigation. It also discussed key research components that shed light on the problem of trustworthiness, including confirmability, credibility, dependability, and transferability. The next chapter presents and discusses the data collected using the methods outlined above.

CHAPTER 6: COMMUNITY RADIO: FOSTERING SOCIAL COHESION OR A CATALYST FOR TRIBALISM?

6.1 Introduction

The demarcation conflicts in Malamulele and Vuwani, as outlined in the introductory chapter necessitates a review of community radio broadcasting language policies' social cohesion stance in addressing inter-ethnic's social and developmental community challenges. This is mostly due to the criticism levelled against community radio stations broadcasting into both areas that they employ language hegemony to maintain tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda. Social cohesion is an important policy issue with social, political, and economic bearing in South Africa, given the country's history of violence, the prevalence of xenophobia, and its varied population of various racial and ethnic backgrounds (Matema and Kariuki 2022). In inclusive areas prone to ethnic violence, community radio is viewed as an essential communication tool for fostering social cohesion (Mwendia 2013; Lewis 2013; Howard 2009). This draws from the study's hypothesis that tribalism was an ideological driving force behind the establishment of the community radio stations with a transmission reach in the areas of Malamulele and Vuwani. It was claimed in the study's hypothesis that language domination in the operation of these radio stations was primarily driven by political ideologies, aimed at perpetuating tribalism, rather than fostering social cohesion between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people. It was also suggested in the hypothesis that the radio stations under inquiry should have been inclusive and equally represented the languages of both co-habiting ethnic groups to discourage tribalism, especially at the time when unity envisaged as the only solution to the demarcation impasse. From a policy perspective, this study explored the national legislation and broadcasting policies on languages to establish their ideological standing to determine if they foster social cohesion or perpetuate tribalism.

This study comprises three analysis chapters, this chapter being the first of the three and addresses the third research question, which could have been the first research question. The selection of this research question was based on its pertinence to the topic addressed in this chapter. The research question below, as already outlined, guided the analysis and discussion of findings:

Research Question 3

> Under which ideological beliefs were the ethnic-based community radio stations established in post-apartheid South Africa?

This chapter analysis draws its conceptual framework from the democratic and social cohesion theory, social responsibility theory of the media and political economy of media. The selection of democratic and social cohesion theoretical framework was informed by Cuellar's (2009) argument that the foundation for a stable democracy is social cohesion. The study's hypothesis referred to tribalism in community radio stations under inquiry as an ideological policy matter aimed at dividing the Vatsonga and Vhavenda in the areas of Malamulele and Vuwani along ethno-linguistic lines. Thus, the social responsibility theory of media was chosen to provide a conceptual understanding of the social responsibilities of community radio to determine whether the community radio broadcasting policies perpetuate tribalism or promote social cohesion. The political economy of media was applied to explain the community broadcasting language policies against the claim that language domination in these radio stations was primarily driven by political ideologies, aiming to divide Vatsonga and Vhavenda ethnic groups along ethnic lines for cheap political gains.

This chapter firstly presents an overview of the historical link between ideologies and policies within the framework of political economy of media to set a basis for understanding of the impact of political ideologies on media policies. The historical background in this sense presented empirical political contexts which detailed: (1) the connection between political ideologies and public policies, (2) the extent to which ideologies influence policy formulation and direction. The study briefly explored the historical context of the link, focusing on the colonial era and the apartheid period in South Africa. This was important to gain insights into the study's hypothesis and lay a foundation for analysis.

The chapter also offers a succinct synopsis of the methodological approach applied to in the investigation. It describes the methodology, the stages involved in carrying out the analysis, and the themes that emerged from it. The chapter goes on to describe the legislation and policies that were selected for examination. A key component of this chapter was the discussion of findings which was arranged according to the themes identified from the data analysis. The conclusions were given in accordance with sampled legislation and policies.

6.2 The historical link between ideologies and policies formulation

It is imperative to highlight that the issue of ideologies, as expressed in the study's hypothesis and the research question above, occupied centre stage in this chapter's analysis. The hypothesis emphasises the ideological position of language policy with regard to the language quota system, arguing that it promotes tribalism rather than social cohesion. It also suggests tribalism as an ideology linked to national language policies, including community broadcasting language policies. The hypothesis's position in this regard resonates with Harrison and Boyd's (2003) argument that ideologies significantly impact on the formulation of public policies. Historical analysis of ideologies and public policies reveals their historical connection to power structures, with politicians and legislators using ideologies to formulate policies (Harrison and Boyd 2003). Thus, the political power dynamics interplay between ideologies and power structures particularly at any given epoch in South Africa influenced policy formulation and implementation (Beham and Adenauer-Stiftung 2018; Alexander 2013; Hlophe 2013; Bevan 2008; Wasserman 2008; Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). Across the colonial and apartheid dispensations, ideologies have been defined by what Zajda (2014:2) refers to as the system of dominant ideas, and beliefs affecting every sphere of human social interaction and organisation, "be they political, economic, scientific, educational, and cultural".

During the colonial era, for example, the dominant ideology was imperialism, where the country's direct domination relied on foreign power holding state power (Oliver and Oliver 2017; Ocheni and Nwankwo 2012; Mhlauli et al.2015). During the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, Dutch (Holland) and Great Britain were the foreign powers that conquered South Africa. The Dutch arrived in South Africa in 1652 under Jan Van Riebeek's command, while the British settled under Lord Somerset's stewardship in early 1800 (Oliver and Oliver 2017; Mhlauli et al. 2015). The conquest was a crucial aspect of colonial-imperial expansion, driven by the capitalist development logic of many imperialists on a global scale (Alexander 2013). The imperialist objectives were premised upon achieving the global political, economic, and cultural domination and exploitation of the colonised (Ocheni and Nwankwo 2012). Colonial ideologies like capitalism and imperialism significantly influenced the planning and formulation of policies, including those relating to languages (Alexander 2013). Dutch and British colonisers implemented two distinct phases of language policy, varying in application depending on the ruler's reign (Alexander 2013). These policies were formulated against the

background that cultures of indigenous people were characterised by stubbornness, pride, unity, and resistance, and with such elements it would be difficult to achieve colonial ideological objectives (Odine 2013). The objective was subdued and render the languages, cultures, and identities of the dominated groups, specifically blacks, futile or non-existent (Odine 2013). Language policy became a fundamental colonial weapon envisaged to achieve the domination and exploitation of the colonised blacks (Alexander 2013). The first phase of language policy was referred to as the Dutch colonial language policy, which was formulated when Jan van Riebeek arrived at the Cape in 1652 (Orman 2008). The second phase was the British colonial language policy, formulated around 1806 after the British successfully seized the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch (Orman 2008).

However, the colonial language policies alone were insufficient in achieving the colonial ideological objectives. As matter of priorities, colonial linguistic policies had to be embedded in cultural strategies such as broadcasting in tandem with the economic and political goals (Odine 2013). Thus, radio was viewed as a crucial media form and a strategic cultural resource for achieving colonial objectives (Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). Radio was envisioned as a cultural resource strategy and a powerful communication tool to represent, propagate, and reinforce the languages and cultural identities of colonisers (Odine 2013; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). Radio language policy during colonial times was influenced by British imperial ideology, where English was a primary language of broadcasting- in line with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) (Olorunnisola et al. 2020). The aim was to spread English settlers' culture at the expense of Dutch settlers and marginalized indigenous people (Wigston 2001). The audiences during this era were categorised according to ‘A and B services’ transmission perking order- with English audiences being the targets of the former which is A-service and B-service being for Afrikaans audiences (Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli 1998; Olorunnisola et al.2020). The policy promoted tribalism between the English and Dutch whites- with the latter at the receiving end, while at the same time advancing racism between whites and indigenous blacks (Beham and Adenauer-Skiftung 2018; Bevan 2008; Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli 1989).

The same applied during the era of apartheid in South Africa. The apartheid era in South Africa was marked by apartheid’s ideological influence on political landscape and public policies (Beinart and Dubow 1995). Apartheid was a systematic ideology aimed at promoting racial

segregation through authorised government policies during this era (Beinart and Dubow 1995). Apartheid, a legalised system in 1948, relied on the marginalisation of blacks, despite claims that it existed in the colonial era before the National Party took power (Salva 1997). It was conceptualised and envisaged as an expansion of European colonialism that only became official policy after the election victory of Hertzog's National Party in 1948 (Mhlauli et al. 2015). It differed ideologically from colonialism because it only sought to champion the narrow political interests of the white Afrikaners and was the cornerstone in the establishment of Afrikaner nationalism (Mhlauli et al. 2015). The goal was to ensure that Afrikaners' cultural identity and supremacy were comparable to British ones, while countering the resistance of blacks to subordination (Beinart and Dubow 1995).

The apartheid ideologies that primarily sought to racially segregate black people also influenced planning and formulation policies, and among others were the Group Area Act in 1950 (James 2013) and the linguistic policy (Alexander, 2013). In the context of languages, language policy required Afrikaans to the official language for Black people, while at the same time placing it on par with English (Salva 1997). Salva (1997:4) argues that apartheid as an ideology was enforced through Afrikaans- "the language of bureaucracy and police force". Apartheid transformed into an ideology that influenced all policy planning, including broadcasting policy (Alexander 2004; Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). As demonstrated Chapter 2, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was used as an ideological platform to broadcast programs that promoted white supremacy while excluding black people. The SABC promoted Afrikaner nationalism, elevating Afrikaans alongside English as the prime languages of broadcasting (Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). Tribalism was conceptualised, regulated, and institutionalised as an extended hand of apartheid to weaken unity of e black people (Baloyi 2018). It was effectively enforced through the ethnic-based SABC African language radio (Lekgoathi 2009; Barnett 2000; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998).

Laying an analytic groundwork for the study in this chapter required a solid grasp of the historical link between the ideologies and policies to understand the genesis of study's phenomenon in the build up to the analysis. During the apartheid era, for example, the SABC operated based on apartheid ideologies that sought to promote racism (Hlophe 2013; Wigston 2001; Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). Nuttall (2021) posits that the historical background is significant in helping us to understand how events in the past made things the way they are

today. The author's argument is based on the premise that the past potentially informs the present. The implication is that if past ideologies influenced national policies, whether it's linguistic or otherwise, present-day ideologies will also do so. The author argues that with lessons learned from the past, we can develop the ability to avoid mistakes and create better paths for our societies. This means that that the current political leaders must ensure that national policies aimed to unite diverse people are non-discriminatory and inclusive. For instance, if the goal is to correct the linguistic disparities caused by the previous apartheid, the political leaders of today must take note of how this has caused divisions in society and use that knowledge to create inclusive policies that aim to bring people together despite their differences.

6.3 Findings from Analysis of Documents

This chapter draws data from analysis of documents. The application of this method, particularly in the analysis of community broadcasting language policies was premised on Bowen's (2009) methodological framework, as outlined in the research methodology chapter. This method combined qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis to collect data and conduct analysis from policy documents to understand the phenomenon of this study from a policy perspective. The chapter's objectives were to determine: (1) the current political ideologies in the establishment of the community radio in South Africa; (2) their influence on community broadcasting language policies; and (3) whether these language policies, as prescribed in the policy documents under inquiry, perpetuated tribalism or promoted social cohesion in the post-apartheid South Africa. The deconstruction of these policy documents was based on the need to investigate the hypothetical claims of this study within the context of research question 3. The chapter's objectives, as outlined above, assisted in locating the data pertinent in answering this research question. The following legislation and policies were sampled for the investigation of the phenomenon of this study within the context of the third research question:

- The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996
- The Use of Official Language Act, 2012
- Pan South African Language Board Act, 1995
- Broadcasting Act, 1999
- ICASA Community Broadcasting Services Regulations No. 439 of 2019

- ICASA Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Malamulele FM
- ICASA Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Vuwani FM

The process of analysing documents difficult because of the complexity of dealing with the text than humans and because it involved reading a lot of documents. Nevertheless, scanning and reading was meant to identify information pertinent to the first research question. The chapter's objectives have directed the analysis of data relevant to this research question. The scanning process was initiated to sift through the information required in the policy documents. This was done with a view to identify passages and texts of the documents with this information. However, it should be mentioned that difficulties were anticipated when it came to locating passages or texts with pertinent information during scanning process. This was due to the voluminous nature of the documents. With this in mind, it was not going to be an easy task to locate answers by merely scanning without any kind of aid in the entire analysis process. In this case, it was necessary to develop ‘clues strategy’ to assist in locating passages or texts that ordinarily were going to be hard to locate from the documents. The clues in this regard were based on what the research question under consideration For instance, since the research question under consideration was probing the ideological beliefs in the establishment of the ethnic-based community radio in the post-apartheid South Africa, the researcher developed ‘clue strategies’ using words such as ideology, language policy, culture identity, community radio, ethnicity, tribalism, and media ownership to locate headings and sub-headings with such words. This became the only way to identify the sections or passages within the documents that contained information which he could rely on for analysis purposes.

A thorough examination was the second method of data examination applied in the analysis to scrutinise the content of the texts. In this instance, the qualitative content analysis was applied specifically for the analysis of the content of selected texts, passages, and sections of the sampled documents. The selected texts identified by way of superficial examination were thoroughly read to identify information pertinent to the research question. All identified passages, texts and sections were highlighted by pen to distinguish them from those that seemed to have no pertinent information. A systematic and open reading of documents was applied, with an eye of identifying meaningful and relevant information within the identified passages, texts, and sections of the documents. This included thorough scrutiny on the notes compiled while reading the documents. The application of a thorough examination in this instance meant that the researcher had to repeatedly read through selected passages. This also

entailed a careful reading of every single word in the passages to derive codes. Through this process, the researcher was able to further select and separate pertinent information from that which was not pertinent. The process of coding in the analysis of the data was manually done and was essentially open coding. With open coding, diverse concepts and categories were explored in the data. Data was broken down into first level concepts (main headings) and second level categories (sub-headings) where necessary.

Generally, the codes were words and phrases taken verbatim from the selected texts, passages, and sections of sampled documents, which represented a single idea of the broader or overarching idea. Using open coding, the researcher extensively examined the sampled documents line by line and word by word looking for codes. The more he opened the passages, the more the codes were identified in the process. In the margins of each segment of the document he placed a representative code in the form of keywords or phrases. These keywords and phrases were assigned because they represented and described data in those segments. As the researcher was continuously going through data and notes complied, he was also manually writing an analytical memo that sought to explain what he was learning as he was analysing the data. The codes in this instance were mainly the keywords or phrases assigned to the text. He also tried to limit the development of too many codes by closing the texts, sections, or passages for analysis. Therefore, some codes were compared, and those that represented a single idea were later combined under newly developed codes called categories. In other words, a category in this instance meant a word or phrase that described a group of codes. The categories emerged after several codes, and codes which shared similar or the same properties, were grouped together. The categories were grouped into themes of analysis, as delineated in the following sections.

6.4 Linguistic policies of community radio in the Post-apartheid South Africa

The main goal of the study's policy analysis is to determine if community radio's language policies in South Africa foster social cohesion or uphold tribalism. Thus, the policies in this instance are analysed in relation to linguistic hegemony, principles of equality, and language. The findings in this chapter are presented based on five analytic themes, namely: (1) National policies' ideological inspirations: The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996; the Official Language Act of 1999; and Pan South African Language Board Act of 1999; (2) National language policies conundrum: Promoting all official languages but also a language

quota system; (3) Broadcasting policy: The Broadcasting Act of 1999; 4) Regulations: ICASA Community Broadcasting Service Regulations of 2019; 5) Licenses: ICASA Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM.

6.4.1 National language policies' ideological framework

Under this theme, the analysis specifically focused on unpacking the ideological framework which guided the planning and formulation of the national language policies in the post-apartheid South Africa. The analysis was in response to the study's hypothesis, as outlined in this chapter's introduction, that tribalism was an ideological driving force behind the establishment of the community radio stations with a transmission reach in the areas of Malamulele and Vuwani. According to the hypothesis, language domination in the operation of these radio stations was primarily driven by political ideologies, aimed at perpetuating tribalism, rather than fostering social cohesion between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people. Considering the premise that ideologies and policies are related and that the former influences the latter (Harrison and Boyd 2003), it was critical to comprehend the ideological stance on languages to determine the study's hypothesis. The study's hypothesis presents significant issues that warrant further discussion within the political-economic framework. Because it was claimed that politicians with ethnic divisive intentions may have used their ideological influence to promote language hegemony on community radio coverage of under-inquired stations to further perpetuate tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people. The implication was that language hegemony was not necessarily a policy matter, but a display of political interest by ethnic-based politicians with a keen interest to divide the two ethnic groups for a cheap political gain. It was, therefore, important to examine the national language policies within the context of political economy theoretical framework to determine their ideological position on languages. The analysis was conducted with a clear understanding that in any society, politicians often adopt a dominant political ideology for policy development. The politicians are seen as having the ideological power to inform, direct, and influence the thinking of people, including policy direction (Fourie 2001). Harrison and Boyd (2003) theorise the political power dynamics between ideologies and power structures, arguing that it plays a significant role in influencing policy direction.

However, in this chapter it is important to also mention that the national language policies were examined within the context of legislative framework. Burns (2001) argues that policies and

other laws in the country are informed by the national legislation. The legislation examined included: The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the Use of Official Language Act of 2012, and the Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995. It is imperative to highlight that, Legislation such as the Use of Official Language Act of 2012 and Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995 frequently reference the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), particularly on the issue pertaining to policy ideologies. In other words, there is a link connecting the three, with the Constitution being the guiding supreme law. Regarding the national policy ideological question, this study finds that the legislation was founded based on post-apartheid democratic principles of equality and inclusivity. Democracy in South Africa was a political ideology aimed at redressing the imbalances of the past (Southall 2000). This political ideology informed the foundation of post-apartheid legislation and all other national laws, including policies (Prinsloo and Huysamen 2018; Burns 2001). From a political economy perspective, it can be deduced that the legislation and national policies are based on the political ideologies of democracy. In the Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa No.108 of 1996 it is stated that the people of South Africa recognise:

> the injustices of our past; honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to: heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:1).

The preamble is situated within the democratic ideological framework of promoting social cohesion. It emphasises the importance of building an inclusive, non-racial society based on democratic values, ensuring equal protection for all citizens. The ideological democratic need for social cohesion in the legislation under review was summed up in the opening statement of the current South African Constitution's Preamble:

> We, the people of South Africa, recognise the injustices of our past; honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:1).

From the analysis, this study can conclude that the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, was designed in accordance with the democratic ideological principles of social cohesion, with a view to heal the divisions caused by the apartheid regime and unite people in their diversity. The unity in question was derived from upholding of democratic principles of equality. In fact, Section 1 of this Constitution under the Founding Provisions proclaims the Post-apartheid South Africa as one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the following democratic values:

(a) human dignity, the achievement of equality and advancement of human rights and freedoms;
(b) non-racialism and non-sexism;
(c) supremacy of the constitution and the rule of the law;
(d) universal adult suffrage, a national common voters roll, regular elections and multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:1).

Values in this regard are what Schwartz (2012) in Passin (2020) refer to as the ideologies or general beliefs about goals, worldview, and everyday behaviours that serve as guiding principles in one's life, varying in importance. The ideological values, as proclaimed in Section 3(1 and 2) of the Constitution under the Founding Provisions, appear to underpin a fundamental need to pursue a common South African citizenship where all citizens are:

(a) equally entitled to the rights, privileges, and benefits of citizenship; and
(b) equally subject to duties and responsibility of citizenship (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:2)

Patrick (1999) views democracy as a fundamental ideology aimed at uniting the nation in diversity, with equality as the goal. The author posits that in most democracies, the legitimate basis of power is derived from the collective body of citizens. He believes that citizens are the key to establishing democracy. His argument is rooted in Abraham Lincoln's definition of democracy which states conceives democracy as a government of people by the people for the people (Lincoln, cited in Epstein, 2011). Equality in this form of government underscores the fundamental rights of all citizens (Patrick 1999). In this instance, social cohesion serves as a basis for a stable democracy (Cuellar 2009). To achieve social cohesion though, a democratic state needs to pursue an objective of ‘common citizenship based on the principles of equality (Mouffe, cited in Patrick 1999), as set out in sub-sections 1 and 2 of Section 3 of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Social cohesion that is attached to any other ideology rather than democracy is non-existent. Therefore, the relationship between democracy

and social cohesion is inevitable in ensuring a stable democratic state. Cuellar (2009:5) asserts that:

> the relation between them is defined by the fact that the first aims for an equality denied by society to many citizens, and the second is a system of guarantees that allows citizens to exercise their freedoms in a political order of justice and tolerance (Cuellar 2009:5).

Social cohesion, as a unifying democratic ideology must be viewed in the interest to promote:

> equality denied by society to many citizens, and democracy is a system of guarantees that allows citizens to exercise their freedoms in a political order of justice and tolerance. While the democratic spirit aims to safeguard public well-being through the power of the people, the logic of social cohesion is to guarantee the well-being that allows the power of the people to exist (Cuellar 2009:5).

The post-apartheid South Africa's renowned Constitution strongly advocates for the adoption of social cohesion policies. Kriel (2003) argues that South African laws are democratic and inclusive, albeit that their implementation remain a challenge. Although Hlophe (2013) concedes that the premise that language domination in broadcasting is ideologically orientated to uphold tribalism, he also believes that the ideology is situated within the context of apartheid. Democratic South Africa denounces anything that has to do with racism and tribalism, while at the same time upholding any act that seeks to promote social cohesion, which is foregrounded on the principles of equality (Palmary 2015). However, linguistic domination in contemporary South Africa is embraced to promote ethnic divisions and tribalism (Lekgoathi 2014; Hlophe 2013). This has been a common thing in most democratic countries of the world where irresponsible politicians denounced repressive ideologies such as apartheid racism and tribalism with ulterior motives to divide society (Khan 2024). Reiterating Kriel's (2003) argument, Khan (2024) contends that there are always good national policies on social cohesion but the approach to social cohesion policies' implementation is problematic. Khan asserts that:

> Examples of this include politicians fuelling division…by engaging in so-called 'culture wars' for political benefits. Evidence indicates that 'culture war' debates can polarise society, increase conflict, contribute to disinformation, and undermine social cohesion (Khan 2024:15).

Based on the examination of the three national legislation- the Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995, the Use of Official Language Act of 2012, and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa No. 108 of 1996 this study concludes that democratic ideological principle, which placed a high value on promoting social cohesion formed the cornerstone of

South Africa's post-apartheid governance. This study further concludes that that the national legislation was designed to unite all South Africans, regardless of gender or ethnicity, in line with post-apartheid democratic ideals. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, which informs the entire legislation and policies (Burns 2001) embodies the ideological principles of social cohesion and promoting equality and a common South Africa. This affirms Ofusori's (2023) argument that South Africa's democracy is a diverse people-driven political ideology that shapes the political landscape, and policies aimed at fostering social cohesion.

6.4.2 National policies conundrum

Regarding the post-apartheid national language policy, Hlophe (2013) lauds the ideological underpinning of the current Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, particularly its the emphasis on the issue of linguistic equalities. He argues that the alignment and promotion of the 9 African languages, as part of the eleven official languages (of course, currently 12 with the addition of sign language) along English and Afrikaans in the new South Africa was ideologically envisaged to promote equality among diverse language groups despite their historical identification and classification. This was despite the author's criticism of disparities in the representation of the historically marginalised languages on public platforms like SABC, of which he views as an implementation problem rather than policy position. The author is in his assessment of language policies, particularly the adoption and promotion of linguistic parity for a diverse linguistic society such as South Africa. Section 6 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 guarantees equal recognition of the following eleven official languages:

> Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, and isiZulu (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:3).

This is also confirmed in Section 3 (a)(i) of the Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995 and in the preamble of the South African Official Language Act's (2012), whereby provisions are made for:

> the creation of conditions for the development and promotion of the equal use and enjoyment of all the official South African languages (Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995: 2).

.

The same is also expressed in Section 6(4) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), where it stipulated that:

> The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor the use of official languages…all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:4).
>
> .

The implementation of Section 6 (4) must be implemented without diverting from the provisions of Subsection 6 (2), which states:

> Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:3).
>
> .

To create conditions for all these official languages to enjoy parity of esteem and equitably treatment, Section 6 (4) provides that the state must first:

> take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of the historically marginalised indigenous languages, while pursuing an objective of an equal and equitable treatment of all official languages of South Africa (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:4).
>
> .

Hlophe (2013) contends that the recognition of the historically marginalised indigenous languages based on the principle of equality was an effort to satisfy a wide range of contending interests, aimed for the prevention of future conflict around the issues of language and ethnic identification.

The study also finds that there is inconsistency in the legislation regarding how these languages must be promoted, recognised, and distributed for communication service purposes. This inconsistency creates a policy conundrum, presenting two opposing sides of the same coin. One legislative side appears to promote equal recognition and promotion of all official languages, while the other seems to be condoning linguistic hegemony. While the legislation

on one hand appears to equally recognise and promote the historically marginalised languages- as outlined in most sections of legislation above. The study also finds that the legislation also condones linguistic hegemony through the application of language quota system. Mashau (2019) defines language quota system as proportional representation of languages mostly applied in inclusive territorial zones based on the principle majoritarianism. For instance, Subsections (2) (a),(b)and (c) of Section 4 of the Use of Official Language Act of (2012), as upheld by Section 6(3)(a & b) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, sanction that language policy adopted in terms of subsection (I) must-

> (a) comply with the provisions of Section 6(3)(a) of the Constitution.
> (b) identify at least three official languages that the national department, national public entity, or national public enterprise will use for government purposes;
> (c) stipulate how official languages will be used, amongst other things, in effectively communicating with the public, official notices, government publications and inter- and intra-government communications (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:3).
>
> .

Section 6(3) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 further states that:

(a) The national government and provincial governments may use any official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:3).
(b) Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:4).

It is based on Sections 6(3) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 and Subsections 2(a), (b), and (c) of Section 4 of the Use of Official Language Act of 2012 that some majority language groups in South Africa still enjoy linguistic privileges at the expense of minority language groups, especially in the inclusive territorial zones. Hlophe (2013) warns that the quota representational system promoted by the legislation's language policies based on majoritarianism significantly poses serious esteem and developmental challenges for minority languages. With most of these languages running the risk of facing extinction if they are not frequently used. Salawu (2006) notes that most African languages have ceased to exist because of the powerful dominant languages. This was mainly based on the common knowledge

assumption that dominant languages are of the majority, they are easy to understand, and that are spoken by many people in areas of communication (Piller 2015; Salawu 2006).

Evans (2015) believes that the quota system was legislated to promote dominant languages at the expense of the minority groups languages in all provinces. According to the scholar, this contradicts the democratic principle of equality, which is vital for social cohesion. Of course, Patrick (1999) views equality is a fundamental base for democracy and the rights of all citizens. Therefore, linguistic policies that do not uphold democratic principles of equality and protect minority rights are unlikely to foster social cohesion (Mijatović 2019). The post-apartheid South Africa's language quota system, as endorsed in the sections of the above-outlined legislation, cannot promote social cohesion. This is because it promotes of language hegemony, which undermines the democratic principle of equality. Stoop (2017) argues that most countries and their societies are multilingual, but also concedes that their information systems operate in only one or two languages. Stoop's (2017) argument mirrors South Africa's language policy conundrum, where the language policy seeks to promote equal representation of all official languages, while at the same time endorsing language hegemony as reflected in the above-outlined sections of the cited legislation. However, the question arises as to why South Africa's language policies provide for equal promotion of all official languages, while promoting the use of a selective few dominant languages for government communication services? Stoop (2017:3) identifies the issue within the context of South African education system as:

> the age-old misconception that national unity can only be built around a single language.

On the same note, Stoop (2017:3) laments that:

> using only one language and excluding many other languages causes divisions, inequalities, and inequities, since it means that millions of people around the globe are forced to learn (or to teach) through "unfamiliar" language in which they are not proficient.

Evans (2015) uses 2011 statistical report on the provincial language distribution to illustrate a deeper underlying connection between the language quota system and its imperativeness to promote language hegemony and marginalised the minority languages. The scholar argues that South Africa's language usage, which is largely based on provincial boundaries and

majoritarianism potentially fosters ethnic divisions and tribalism. The table below shows South Africa's official languages distribution across nine provinces, with at least one language spoken by 20% or more in each province (Census 2022 Statistical Release PO3014).

Table:1

Dominant languages by province (Census, 2022)

Eastern Cape	Xhosa 81,8% Afrikaans 9, 6% English 4,8 %
Free State	Sotho 72,3 % Afrikaans 10,3%
Gauteng	Zulu 23,1 % Sotho 13,1% Sepedi 12,6% Setswana 10,4% English 9,2% Afrikaans 7,7 Xitsonga 7,0% Tshivenda 2,4%
KwaZulu Natal	Zulu 80,0 % English 14,4%
Limpopo	Sepedi 55,5% Venda 17,4% Xitsonga 17,3%
Mpumalanga	isiSwati 30,5% isiZulu 27,8% Xitsonga 10.6% isiNdebele 9,9%
Northern Cape	Afrikaans 54,6% Setswana 35,7%
North-west	Setswana 72,0% Sesotho 5,9% Afrikaans 5,2%
Western Cape	Afrikaans 41,2% Xhosa 31,4% English 22, 0%

Based on Census Statistical Release PO3014 (2022:23), as illustrated in the table above, looking at the provinces and given our history of geographical disaggregation by ethnic and tribal backgrounds,

> it is expected that each province has a dominant spoken language. The results show that in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, four out of every five persons speak isiZulu and isiXhosa, respectively. Furthermore, more than 70% of the population in Free State and Northwest speak Sesotho and Setswana, respectively. In the Western Cape, two out of every five persons speak Afrikaans.

Table 1 shows that the majority languages in South Africa's nine provinces are more likely to become dominant, with minority speakers sometimes viewed as non-existent. In the worst-case scenario, minority languages often face discrimination based on their social standing or the proportion of speakers (Louw 2022). The table also shows Xitsonga (17.3%), Tshivenda (17.4%), and Sepedi (55.5%) as the three official languages in Limpopo province, with high chances of linguistic dominance (Census 2022 Statistical Release PO3014). The higher the percentages the more dominant is the language (Evans 2015). Sepedi is the dominant language in Limpopo (Census 2022 Statistical Release PO3014), and this may suggest that Sepedi has a higher chance of recognition than Xitsonga and Tshivenda, particularly in the realm of government communication services. There appears to be a slim percentage margin between Tshivenda and Xitsonga regarding provincial language domination, with Tshivenda having a slight edge. It also appears as if there is no outright dominant language between Tshivenda and Xitsonga, albeit the former is slightly ahead in terms of the numbers of speakers based on Census 2022 Statistical Release PO3014. As Mughovhani (2021) and Baloyi (2018) agree, traditionally the two ethnic groups coexisted for extended periods of time, and the dominance of one language over the other was based on who makes up the majority in areas of their coexistence. For example, in Malamulele and Vuwani under Vhembe District, the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people have been living together for a very long time (Mughovhani 2021; Baloyi 2018). Malamulele is an inclusive area which is cohabited by the Vatsonga who make the majority and Vhavenda as the minority group (Musitha 2016). Vuwani is cohabited by the majority Vhavenda speaking and the minority Vatsonga people (Baloyi 2018). Similarly, Xitsonga is the predominant language in Malamulele, whereas Tshivenda is the major language in Vuwani regions (Baloyi 2018). However, the representation of the two ethnic groups' languages is based on majoritarianism (Mashau 2019). The majority languages in South Africa are often considered to have territorial linguistic rights (Stoop 2017; Evans 2015). Section 3 (a)(ii) of the Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995 reveals that there were certain linguistic rights, which included the status of languages which at the commencement of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 appeared to have been restricted to certain regions. Implying that the discriminatory linguistic rights of South Africa's select few official languages existed even long before the establishment of constitutional democracy. Hlophe (2013) argues that the linguistic rights which position African languages as separate categories are rooted in the colonial and apartheid thinking of linguistic fixity. Their endorsement during the colonial and apartheid epochs was aimed at dividing the society along racial and ethnic

lines (Orman 2008). The discriminative linguistic rights were used to categorise languages and endorse their status based on their size and dominance within a particular geographical area (Orman 2008). These are the same rights upon which the post-apartheid language quota system is formulated (Hlophe 2013; Orman 2008). The problem with the language quota system, as prescribed in Subsections (2) (a), (b) and (c) of Section 4 of the Use of Official Language Act of (2012), and Section 6(3) (a & b) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, is that it only grants linguistic rights and status to a few languages based on their dominance (Evans 2015). This affects the development of the minority languages and positions them as victims of exclusion and tribalism even on the national scale (Evans 2015). The domination pattern of languages at regional, provincial, and national levels appears to be consistent. This may be seen by contrasting the national language domination table below with the province language domination table above. The dominant languages at the regional and provincial levels also have a dominant position at the national level. The following table displays language domination on the national level:

Table 2: Dominant languages nationally

Language	1996	2001	2011	2022
Afrikaans	14,5	13,4	13,5	10,6
English	8,7	8,3	9,7	8,7
isiNdebele	1,5	1,6	2,1	1,7
isiXhosa	17,9	17,6	16,0	16,3
isiZulu	22,8	23,8	22,7	24,4
Sepedi	9,2	9,4	9,0	10,0
Sesotho	7,7	7,9	7,6	7,8
Setswana	8,2	8,2	8,0	8,3
Sign language	-	-	0,5	0,02
SiSwati	2,5	2,7	2,5	2,8
Tshivenda	2,2	2,3	2,4	2,5
Xitsonga	4,4	4,4	4,5	4,7
Other	0,6	0,5	1,6	2,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

According to Census Statistical Release PO3014 (2022:22), the above table's results indicate that:

> isiZulu remained the most spoken language in the country, constituting almost a quarter (24,4%), followed by isiXhosa (16,3%) and Afrikaans (10,6%). The findings showed a downward trend in persons who speak Afrikaans (from 14,5% in 1996 to 10,6% in 2022), followed by isiXhosa speakers. The proportion of persons who speak English,

> Xitsonga and Tshivenda remained relatively stable. The results further showed that less than 1% of the population communicated using sign language in both Censuses 2011 and 2022. Sign language was promulgated as South Africa's 12th official language in July 2023. As such, it is recognised by law as one of the official languages.

Lepota et al (2005:133) reveal that isiZulu is widely spoken in areas where it coexists with other African languages, particularly in Gauteng South, where it has emerged as the predominant language or *lingua franca* among speakers of other African languages, including SeSotho, isiNdebele, Siswati, isiXhosa, and so on. Gauteng has become the second isiZulu-speaking region after KwaZulu Natal province, according to various censuses (Census 2022; Evans 2015; Census 2011; Lepota et al 2005). Not all isiZulu speakers from Gauteng have KZN roots (Lepota et al 2005), highlighting the influence of linguistic hegemony on minority language domination in inclusive areas.

The language policy's equitable implementation in the post-apartheid South Africa is problematic because the language quota system gives linguistic rights only to a selected few dominant language. This discriminatory arrangement where some languages were considered larger or smaller than others, resulted in the marginalisation of a few African languages, especially those which were regarded as minority African languages in the new South Africa (Orman 2008). However, to address the language quota system problem Section 3 (a) (iv) of the Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995 recommends for the promotion of multilingualism and the provision of translation facilities. Kriel (2003) views multilingualism as a solution to linguistic hegemony. The study reveals that multilingualism, as recommend in the Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995, aims to combat territorial and ethnic linguistic domination. Chibaka (2018) defines multilingualism as the regular interaction of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals with multiple languages in their daily lives. Although Kriel (2003) maintains that South Africa's multilingualism policies were well-thought-out, he acknowledges that the policies' implementation is impacted by language quota provisions, which run counter to provisions of multilingualism. Kriel (2003) asserts that multilingualism in South Africa is primarily confined to majority languages, with minority language groups being the only ones expected to learn and speak multiple languages. The author expresses concern over the policy's implementation, which favours majority language groups over minority ones, citing persisting monolingualism and bilingualism as an impediment to learning marginalised languages. The author argues that the successful

implementation of multilingualism necessitates the development of previously marginalised minority languages to compete with other majority languages in the country.

This study concludes that legislation does provide for the promotion of all official languages in the country in line with the objective to unite people of South Africa in their diversity. This is outlined in Section 6 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, Section 3 (a) (i) of the Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995, and in the preamble of the South African Official Language Act's (2012). However, the study also finds that there is inconsistency in the very same legislation regarding how these languages must be promoted, recognised, and distributed for communication service purposes. The inconsistency is reflected in the provisions within the legislation where it also provides for the promotion of language quota system, as reflected in Section 4 of the Use of Official Language Act of (2012), as upheld by Section 6 (3) (a & b) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, which seems to elevate dominant languages for official communication service at the expense of the minority languages. This resonates with an age-old misconception that national unity can only be built around a single language (Stoop 2017). This study therefore argues that the legislative conundrum in the legislation, as enforced by the provision of language quota system, set a basis for language hegemony and tribalism. The legislation lacks a basis for holding accountable institutions that may not align their language policies with social cohesion objectives.

6.5 Broadcasting policy framework: Analysis and findings

This analysis in the following sections addresses the third research question in the context of broadcasting policy, using the Broadcasting Act of 1999, ICASA Community Broadcasting Services Regulations of 2019, and ICASA Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM. The analysis aimed to understand the ideological basis of the broadcasting regulations in relation to community radio broadcasting policy's stance on language distribution. The analysis in this instance was based on the study's hypothetical claims that language domination in the community radio stations under inquiry was a matter of policy ideologically designed to promote languages of the dominant groups in inclusive zones, which to a certain degree promoted tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people in the areas of Malamulele and Vuwani ethnic; and that ownership of these community radio stations influenced the selection of content and languages for broadcasting. Part of the latter claim was that these community radio stations are managed by individuals who are serving as proxies for

powerful ethnic-based politicians who want to pursue separate ethnic developmental politics. Thus, the analysis in the following themes was primarily focused on establishing the underlining broadcasting policy objectives on language distribution and ownership in the new democratic dispensation. This had to be done to determine if the current broadcasting regulations and policies' ideological stance on language distribution and broadcasting ownership- in particular community broadcasting foster social cohesion or promote tribalism. It is also important to mention that analysis in the following themes was conducted within the theoretical perspectives of political economy, social cohesion and democracy, and social responsibility of media. It must be emphasised that policy issues around the ideological distribution and representation of languages on community radio formed the basis of this analysis, particularly with a view that this study is situated within the linguistic policy perspectives. The themes below were formulated from the following categories: Ideological broadcasting policies; community broadcasting services- ownership, and control; and community broadcasting licences- language distribution and quota system policies, and programming.

6.5.1 The Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999's ideological language policy

The Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999 was a law resulting from the democratic transformation of the broadcasting sector in post-apartheid South Africa (Burns 2001). The Act repealed the Broadcasting Act 73 of 1976. This Act was ideologically aimed at aligning the broadcasting system within the context of the democratic values enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 to enhance and protect the fundamental rights of the citizens (Burns 2001). The Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999, as outlined in Section 2(a), provides for a three-tier structure of broadcasting services in the Republic, which include the following: public broadcasting service, commercial broadcasting service and community broadcasting service. This study focuses on the community broadcasting service to address to research question 3 of this study. The ideological underpinning of the Broadcasting Act of 1999 is situated within the framework of social cohesion, which seeks to presents the democratic society based on the principle of equality. In fact, this is outlined in the Preamble of this Act where it is stated that the South African broadcasting system, which comprises public, commercial and community elements must make use:

> of radio frequencies that are public property and provides, through its programming, a public service necessary for the maintenance of a South African identity, universal access, equality, unity, and diversity (Broadcasting Act of 1999:1).

Further in the same Preamble is the recommendation that this broadcasting system must:

> reflect the identity and diverse nature of South Africa, is controlled, and managed by persons or groups of persons from a diverse range of communities, including persons from previously disadvantaged groups, and must reflect the multilingual and diverse nature of South Africa by promoting the entire spectrum of cultural backgrounds and official languages in the Republic (Broadcasting Act of 1999:1).

Cuellar's (2009) social cohesion and democratic theoretical input, particularly on issues of social cohesion and equality, is expressed in the first extracted passage from the Broadcasting Act's preamble. The preamble highlights how important South Africa's broadcasting system is to maintain the country's identity and advancing equality, diversity, unity, and universal access. Cuellar (2009) theorises on the importance of building a stable democracy based on social cohesion's ideological imperatives, underpinned by the democratic principle of equality. To do this, the preamble of the Broadcasting Act of 1999, which is described in the second excerpt above, suggests that the South African broadcasting system do the following:

> reflect the multilingual and diverse nature of South Africa by promoting the entire spectrum of cultural backgrounds and official languages in the Republic (Broadcasting Act of 1999:1).

Kriel (2003) discusses need to promote multilingualism in South Africa to address the linguistic imbalances of the past. The author 's argument was that for a country like South Africa to be a fully-fledged democracy, the historically marginalised languages, particularly African languages must be at par with other historically privileged languages for a resounding national unity. This was based on the premise that language can be used as a tool to unite people in their diversity if it is inclusively used. Banjara (2021:3) argues that:

> Languages are one of the tools for promoting social cohesion and inclusion. Lack of planning for addressing linguistic diversity in the minority communities is one of the major causes for social disharmony and tension (Banjara, 2021:3).

The Broadcasting Act of 1999 has extensively provided for community broadcasting service 's role in the development of many spheres of the communities in the post-apartheid South Africa. Section 32(4) of Broadcasting Act of 1999 states that the programming provided by a community broadcasting service must reflect the needs of the people in the community which

must include amongst others cultural, religious, language and demographic needs. To do so programming must:

> a) provide a distinct broadcasting service dealing specifically with community issues which are not normally dealt with by the broadcasting service covering the same area;
> b) be informational, educational and entertaining;
> c) focus on the provision of programmes that highlight grassroots community issues, including, but not limited to, developmental issues, health care, basic information and general education, environmental affairs, local and international, and the reflection of local culture; and
> d) promote the development of a sense of common purpose with democracy and improve quality of life (Broadcasting Act of 1999:20).

Of course, this can be done through a diversified programming aimed at reaching out to the population or communities through the language. The use of languages, particularly dominant languages in community radio stations under inquiry was cited in the study's hypothesis as the main cause for perpetuation of tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people in the areas of Malamulele and Vuwani. Therefore, it was important to understand the position of the community broadcasting policy through the Broadcasting Act of 1999 on how community radio should represent the community languages, particularly in inclusive community zones. Salawu (2006) suggests that local radio stations should use vernacular languages to provide messages to their audiences in their native languages. Nevertheless, the author does not mention the specific communities where these languages can be utilised. The question is whether these communities are inclusive, whether they are inter-ethnic, or multi-ethnic. The scholar does not explain how these vernacular languages should be used, especially in the inclusive spaces without perpetuating language hegemony, tribalism, and ethnic divisions. Against this background, this study had to establish, using the Broadcasting Act No. 4 of 1999, the broadcasting language policy's position within the community broadcasting service setting to ascertain whether it fosters social cohesion or tribalism. It is important to note that the Broadcasting Act of 1999 does not mention language policy specifically for community broadcasting services. In this regard, Section 32(4) stipulates that:

> the programming provided by a community broadcasting service must reflect the needs of the people in the community which must include amongst others cultural, religious, language and demographic needs and must-
>
> > (a) provide a distinct broadcasting service dealing specifically with community issues which are not normally dealt with by the
> > broadcasting service covering the same area;
> > (b) be informational, educational and entertaining;

> (c) focus on the provision of programmes that highlight grassroots community issues, including, but not limited to, developmental issues, health care, basic information and general education, environmental affairs, local and international, and the reflection of local culture; and
> (d) promote the development of a sense of common purpose with democracy and improve quality of life (Broadcasting Act of 1999:20).

However, the Broadcasting Act of 1999's preamble provides for broadcasting language policy for the entire South African broadcasting spectrum, with a view to foster social cohesion. The preamble states that the broadcasting system:

> must reflect the multilingual and diverse nature of South Africa by promoting the entire spectrum of cultural backgrounds and official languages in the Republic (Broadcasting Act of 1999:1).

There is also a provision on languages in Section 3(6) of the Broadcasting Act of 1999 for the entire South African broadcasting system, albeit that it appears inconsistent to the constitutional objective to equally and equitably promote all South African official languages. This section stipulates that:

> a range of programming in the Republic's official languages must be extended to all South Africans as circumstances permit (Broadcasting Act of 1999:10).

This section of the Broadcasting Act reflects a social cohesion call to promote multilingualism through broadcast programming based on the democratic principle of equality. This has been theorised by Cuellar (2009) in his explication of the relationship between social cohesion and equality, and how the two interplay in ensuring stable a democracy. However, the same section also suggests that the representation of these languages in broadcasting should be dictated by the circumstances, implying that broadcasters may use circumstances as basis to justify their stance for choosing certain official languages at the expense of others to reach out to their listeners. One may argue that the circumstances stated in Section 3(6) of the Broadcasting Act of 1999, as per above extract, are the same as those stated in Section 6(3)(a) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. As a reflection, Section 6(3)(a) of the Constitution states that:

> The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:3).

This study revealed such circumstances have the potential to perpetuate or promote language hegemony, tribalism, and ethnic conflicts in South African society. The circumstances may indirectly promote the discriminative language quota system in South Africa, where majority languages are promoted in inclusive territorial zones based on circumstantial justification. While section 3(6) of the Broadcasting Act of 1999 has inclusive provisions for the promotion of all official languages, it however contradicts itself where it appears to promote linguistic hegemony through the proposal of a language quota system. Section 3(6) of the Broadcasting Act of 1999 draws its legislative meaning from Section 6(3)(a) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, and Section 4(2)(b) and 4(3) of the Official Language Act.

Part of the analysis was to ascertain the study's hypothesis that ownership on the community radio stations under inquiry ideologically influenced the selection of content and languages for broadcasting. Central to the claim was that these community radio stations are managed by individuals who serve as proxies for powerful ethnic-based politicians who want to pursue separate ethnic developmental politics. As for media ownership, Hrvatin and Petković (2004) argue that the close interrelation of media, political and economic capital (sometimes in the hands of a single person) is a common feature in both developed and developing states of the world. Bringing light to their argument, Hrvatin and Petković (2004:10) claim that:

> Politicians use (and abuse) media for their own political purposes. Today it seems impossible to remain in power without the support of the media. On the other hand, media owners use their media to promote and disseminate their own political views and exploit politicians to achieve their own (corporate) goals. By answering the question of who owns the media we also answer the question of who holds the reins of power (Petković, 2004:10).

The authors' argument affirms the study's hypothesis which argued that politicians interfered with the editorial autonomy of the community radio stations by directing the content and the language of broadcasting for ethnic political gains. By answering the question of who owns the media we must also answer the question of who holds the reins of power. This implies that any decision that has to do with the media operation, be it radio or otherwise lies with the ownership. McQuail (2005) argues that those with the means of production have a power to control the production. The assumption by this author seems to suggest that the editorial autonomy of media is always undermined by those funding it since they are the ones who decide what the public must consume. The high costs of running community radio stations can potentially lead to them being captured by politicians for survival. Perhaps, an ideal ownership

of radio broadcasting in the hands of the community, as proposed in Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers (1998), is what the community radio in South Africa needs to survive and withstand the external political and capital influence. However, what could then be an ideal community radio ownership and who is eligible to it? Michel Delorme (1990), the then President of Amarc (the name of the world Association of Community Broadcasters) in Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers (1989) suggests that the community radio should be owned and controlled democratically by the population it serves, based on non-commercial relations with its audiences. He views this population as members of the community with democratic rights to fully participate in the management of the station as well as in the production of its programs. Michel Delorme's description of an ideal community radio is affirmed in the Broadcasting Act No 4 of 1999. In fact, this study finds that there is no provision in the Act that gives politicians a legitimate ownership power to run community radio business, as claimed in the study's hypothesis. Section 1 of this Act stipulates that community broadcasting service means a broadcasting service which:

> **a)** is fully controlled by a non-profit entity and carried on for non-profitable purposes;
> **b)** serves a particular community;
> **c)** encourages members of the community served by it or persons associated with or promoting the interests of such community to participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast in the course of such broadcasting service; and
> **d)** may be funded by donations, grants, sponsorships or advertising or membership fees, or by any combination of the aforementioned (Broadcasting Act 1999:7)

A non-profit entity in this regard could either be an organisation or individuals who are broadcasting license holders (Licensees) appointed on behalf of the community or the community radio serves, for management purposes (Michel Delorme 1990 in Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1989). In Section 32 (subsections 2 and 3), it is categorically outlined that:

> **2**) The licence of a community broadcasting service must be held by a licensee.
> **3**) The licensee referred to in subsection (2) must be managed and controlled by a board which must be democratically elected, from members of the community in the licensed geographic area (Broadcasting Act 1999:20).

From the above extract, one can deduce that the members of the community are the rightful owners of the radio stations and the custodians of the programming aired by these radio stations. On the issue of ownership, it has been claimed in the hypothesis of this study that the community radio stations under inquiry are in the hands of the individuals who are serving as proxies for powerful ethnic-based politicians who want to pursue separate ethnic

developmental politics. Although it is easily accessible and open for exploitation, Michel Delorme (1990) in Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers (1998) warns that community radio should not be used an expression communication tool of political power nor of capital, but only for the population it serves. This has also been emphasised in Section 1 of the Broadcasting no 4 of 1999, as depicted above, that the community radio must serve the interests of community.

However, the question arises as to what the sustainable mode of revenue generation for this form of broadcasting is, given that it is seen as a non-profit organisation which can easily be exploited by politics and capital (Mtimde et al.1998). It is given that financial challenges on broadcasting can lead to capture by capital and politics, which may create space for interference on the editorial autonomy of community radio stations in South Africa (Chauke 2021). In one of the selected briefings of Public Enterprises and Communication on community media on the 12 of February 2020 in the National Council of Province Parliament, the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) stated that community radio stations continued to struggle with their finances because there was a lack of advertising support from companies. MDDA (2020:1) concedes that:

> Most of the financial difficulties faced by community level media broadcasters were due to strict requirements for licensing with ICASA, expensive service fees from signal distributor Sentech, and tax obligations. Other challenges were attributed to an unwillingness of businesses to advertise on community broadcasting platforms. The Deputy Minister indicated she was lobbying National Treasury to enforce a 30% advertising quota on community radio platforms (MDDA 2020:1).

Chauke (2021) argues that political interference on media's editorial autonomy of remains a significant challenge in South African media landscape, as the media struggle financially to sustain themselves. The situation is worse with the community broadcasting media. Mtimde et al.1998 suggest that the community broadcasting policy which remains legislatively capped financially must be open to multiples modes of community radio revenue generations to address the issue relating to the political economy of media.

The study concludes that the Broadcasting Act of 1999 provides for the promotion of inclusive use of all South African official languages in community broadcasting. As matter of fact, the Act's preamble promotes the reflection of multilingual and diverse nature of South Africa by promoting the entire spectrum of cultural backgrounds and official languages in the Republic. However, the study also notes that there is language conundrum within the same Act, with one

side promoting all official languages and the other side conditioning this promotion to circumstantial permission. By implication, as already mentioned, the latter side of the conundrum underscores the same circumstances raised in the in Section 6(3)(a) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Broadcasters may use circumstances as basis to justify their selection of certain official languages at the expense of others to reach out to their listeners. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 talks about regional territorial circumstances, such as the linguistic needs of the regions, which may require, for example, the use of specific official languages for broadcasting purposes as per linguistic needs of a region. Even though the Broadcasting Act of 1999 promotes the recognition of all official languages in South African broadcasting programming, the study concludes that the language policy as affirmed by this Act can promote language hegemony and tribalism.

6.5.2 ICASA Community Broadcasting Service Regulations: Language distribution and broadcasting ownership

The analysis under this theme was aimed to establish regulations on the issue of language distribution and ownership, from the perspective of of ICASA's regulatory scope for community broadcasting to ascertain the study's hypothesis, as reflected under previous themes. With the former, the purpose has been to determine whether the regulations on languages assist in fostering social cohesion or they promote tribalism. The analysis is informed by the social cohesion and democratic and social responsibility of media theories. This is because the issue of languages, particularly their promotion in South Africa, has been viewed as an attempt to promote social cohesion (Hlophe 2013; Kriel 2003). Ehiane (2023) asserts that social cohesion alone may not suffice in maintaining societal unity in a society like South Africa without legislative oversight. The author refers to oversight role of the legislature role in examining, monitoring, and implementing government programs, actions, and strategies, including social cohesion policies. As for the language regulations, this study finds that there are no regulatory provisions within the ICASA Regulations for Community Broadcasting Service that appear to promote either language domination or linguistic equality. It is only Section 10 (3) (c) of ICASA Regulations for Community Broadcasting Service where it is recommended that the licensee must have policies dealing with programming matters that include, among others language policy. The regulations do not stipulate how languages must be distributed on programming for community broadcasting purposes.

It is important to highlight that the analysis of ICASA Community Broadcasting Service Regulations was also situated within the political economy theoretical perspective. The purpose was to establish the regulations regarding the ownership of the community broadcasting and the role thereof, against the study's hypothetical claim that the community radio stations under inquiry were owned by the politicians with ulterior motives to divide the Vatsonga and Vhavenda along ethnic or tribal lines. The focal area of analysis in this regard included issues related to the ownership, governance and management of the community broadcasting services. The issue of political influence and capital interests regarding how the community broadcasting must be run took precedence in the analysis, as it was presumed to be the major cause of ethnic conflict and tribalism. One of the fundamental issues raised in the hypothesis of this study was that the two community radio stations under inquiry are captured by the local politicians whose ideological mission is to sow ethnic divisions and perpetuate tribalism using language hegemony. Fourie (2013) argues that political interference and capital influence contribute to the capture of broadcasting and to a certain extent, compromise its mandate and editorial autonomy. He conducted a study on the public broadcaster- the SABC, in which he found that the corporation had lost its independence because of political interference. He attributed its demise to the Board, which largely consisted of the politicians, and for that matter, ruling party politicians. In light of his argument, the author proposes a broadcasting model which guarantees a complete editorial autonomy- the model that seeks to protect the broadcasting institutions from any form of interference, be it political or otherwise. Fouries's focus was primarily on the issue of governance and management, which he perceived as being the cornerstones of an independent media, which he also conceded to have been compromised by political interference. Even though his study was centred on the public broadcaster- the SABC, his views evoked a need to understand the issues pertaining to governance and management of the community radio within the context of political economy theoretical framework. This has also ignited a need to understand ICASA regulations on the issues of governance and management of the community broadcasting service at large. The highlighted issues in Fourie's (2013) article reflect political economic issues of fundamental importance for understanding the link between politics/capital and ownership, and the influence which the former has on the editorial autonomy of the community radio from the theoretical perspectives of political economy. It also helps this study to locate crucial regulatory issues of analysis in the ICASA Community Broadcasting Service Regulations, particularly on the issue pertaining to governance and management. Regarding community broadcasting ownership within the

context of community broadcasting service regulatory framework, Section 12 of ICASA Community Broadcasting Service Regulations outlines that:

> (a) Ownership of the community broadcasting licensee remains with the community being served;
> (b) Administrative control in the operations of the community broadcasting licensee remains with the board of directors and management;
> (d) A licensee retains editorial and programming control and independence (ICASA Community Broadcasting Services Regulations 2019:13).

Furthermore, section 13 of the regulations puts more emphasis on community-centred ownership of community broadcasting service. This emphasis demonstrates that the communities in which the community radio stations operate are the rightful owners of the of the same radio stations. Therefore, the ownership of the community broadcasting service should be defined and confined within the context of the communities they are servicing. For example, the following is the extract from section 13, detailing the Authority (ICASA)'s regulatory parameters regarding the issue of community broadcasting ownership:

> (1) Licensee must ensure that ownership of the community broadcasting licensee remains with the community;
> (2) A licensee must involve the community members in the management of the community broadcasting licensee;
> (3) A licensee must establish programming councils/committees to enable community members to participate in the selection and provision of programmes;
> (4) The programming councils/committees must be representatives of different interests groups within the community served, such as youth, women or people with disabilities;
> (5) A licensee must submit proof of community participation at every annual general meeting, and other forums that require community participation (ICASA Community Broadcasting Services Regulations 2019:13).

This extract dispels the misconception that the licensees are the owners of the community radio stations. In fact, the jurisdiction powers and roles of the licensee are unambiguously spelled out in the Section 32 of the Broadcasting Act:

> (2) The licence of a community broadcasting service must be held by a licensee.
> (3) The licensee referred to in subsection (2) must be managed and controlled by a board which must be democratically elected, from members of the community in the licensed geographic area (Broadcasting Act 1999:20).

In this section (Section 32 of the Broadcasting Act), it can be inferred that the licensee is not the owner of the community broadcasting, but a custodian or a manager who provides leadership in the selection of the board members and coordination of community participation

in deciding the content. Section 32 of the Broadcasting Act stipulates that the licensee must be managed and controlled by the board democratically elected from members of the community in the licensed geographical area. Implying that the community oversees the community broadcasting establishment.

One of the issues highlighted the hypothesis of this study was the exclusion and poor representation of minority languages within the inclusive territorial spaces or zones. This has been seen, as having the potential to perpetuate linguistic hegemony, tribalism and ethnic conflicts. However, Fourie (2013) argues that the problems that affect the broadcasting services and their audiences are situated within the governance and management of the broadcasting institutions. It can, therefore, be argued that equal representation of the diverse language groups within the councils or committees, which preside over broadcasting institutions, can assist in the evasion of the phenomena of linguistic hegemony, tribalism, and ethnic conflicts within the communities. The issue of inclusivity has been widely discussed in the outlined tenets of inter-ethnic communication concept in the theoretical framework chapter of this study. In this regard, section 13 of ICASA Community Broadcasting Services Regulations 2019, particularly subsection 3, emphasizes the establishment of programming councils/committees to enable participation in the selection and provision of programs. However, the most interesting part of section 13 is subsection 4 which mentions inclusivity in the establishment of these councils/committees. The section states that:

> The programming councils/committees must be representatives of different interests groups within the community served, such as youth, women or people with disabilities (ICASA Community Broadcasting Services Regulations 2019:14).

Section 13(4) can address ethnic community challenges in the inclusive territorial zones if it is applied properly and with a view to encourage social cohesion against and root out tribalism and ethnic conflicts. Even though this section does not specifically mention ethnic representation and their languages in the list of interest groups, it can also extend to ethnic groups as well. The bottom line is the interests of the diverse ethnic communities within the inclusive territorial zones can be fairly on their community radio stations provided there is an equal representation of diverse ethnic language groups in the selection of councils/committees of the community radio stations.

Again, the issue of political interference in the running of the community radio broadcasting service been raised in the hypothesis of this study. McQuail's (2005) critical political economy theory is critical of the political interference and capital influence in the daily operation of the media. Since the politicians and capital purportedly inject substantial amounts of revenue for the survival of these stations, Fourie (2001) argues that their powers are irresistible and overriding. They have the means of production to be able to influence the editorial decisions of the financially struggling media institutions. Fourie (2001) and McQuail (2005) concur with the notion that those with the means of production influence the content. The programming lineup always reflects capital and political interests (Chauke 2021). As for the purpose of analysis, the question in this instance has been to establish regulations around the issue of interference, which if not avoided can compromise the editorial autonomy of the broadcasting institutions. This included examining the regulations the prescriptive funding model in place for community radio in South Africa to protect it from capture and interference. Section 9 of ICASA Community Broadcasting Service Regulations prohibits the office bearers from playing any role in the board, management and staff of a community broadcasting service. Section 9 (1) of the regulations prohibit the following:

> (a) Members of Local Executive Committees of political parties, the youth and women affiliates of political parties, and any organisation that is in alliance with a political party;
> (b) Members of Regional Executive Committees of political parties, the youth and women affiliates of political parties, and any organisation that is in alliance with a political party;
> (c) Members of Provincial Executive Committees of political parties, the youth and women affiliates of political parties, and any organisation that is in alliance with a political party;
> (d) Members of National Executive Committees of political parties, the youth and women affiliates of political parties, and any organisation that is in alliance with a political party
> (e) Councillors;
> (f) Mayors;
> (g) Members of Provincial Legislatures; and
> (h) Members of Parliament (ICASA Community Broadcasting Services Regulations 2019:11).

Even though the regulations emphasise the issue of language policy consideration in the planning and the execution of the programming, they do not prescribe how the official languages must be distributed for community broadcasting purposes. Section 10(3)(a) states

that the licensee must have policies which deal with programming matter such as language policy among others.

6.5.3 ICASA Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM

It is important to mention that the study's analysis was focused on the community radio stations with a transmission reach in the areas of Malamulele and Vuwani in Limpopo province during the demarcation protests. However, since it was impossible to conduct this study because of issues related to resource and time constraints, the analysis has also been limited to a case study approach, focusing on two of the community radio stations within the transmission reach of Malamulele and Vuwani. The two-community, Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM, were selected to understand the research problem. The analysis in this regard focuses on the ICASA Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM. The decision to study the problem using the two stations was motivated by the understanding that their license conditions apply to all community radio stations in South Africa (Teklemicael 2004).

Community radio stations are required to operate within a clearly defined geographical setting. Therefore, the prescription of a license area in defining the community of interest is fundamentally important. The concept of community has always been a contentious and politicised one in South Africa. As explained in the background of this study, the concept of "community" has been often associated with ethnic boundaries, ethnic conflicts, and tribalism (Isik 2011; Lentz 1995). In this instance, the analysis needed to establish the licensed operational areas for community radio stations with the broadcasting range in the areas of Malamulele and Vuwani. The purpose was to determine the communities that radio stations were supposed to serve and to ascertain whether they were inclusive community audience (inter-ethnic community audience), or just an ethnic-centred audience (Vatsonga community audience or Vhavenda community audience). As for the area of operation, Clause 3 of Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Malamulele FM stipulates that:

> The licensee shall provide services to Malamulele in the Vhembe District Municipality in Limpopo Province as set out in the licensee's radio frequency spectrum licence.

On the other hand, Clause 3 of Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Vuwani FM stipulates that:

> The licensee shall provide services to Vuwani in the Vhembe District Municipality in Limpopo Province as set out in the licensee's radio frequency spectrum licence.

Both radio stations' frequency spectrum licenses do not specify the specific communities they must serve within their designated areas of operation. Whether they are inclusive (inter-ethnic community audience) or just ethnic- centred (Vatsonga community audience or Vhavenda community audience). Instead, they outlined in Clause 4 (4.1) of their operational licenses that:

> The Licensee shall provide services to a geographic community residing within the geographic coverage area specified herein.

The question arises is which communities receive the transmission of the two community radio stations and which ones do not receive their transmission signals? As already mentioned, both Malamulele and Vuwani are inclusive communities where Vatsonga and Vhavenda people co-exist (Baloyi 2018). It should therefore be expected that the community radio stations with transmission reach in these areas target inter-ethnic audience, which includes both Vatsonga and Vhavenda.

One other crucial aspect that this theme sought to address, which has been alluded to elsewhere was the study's thesis that language domination in the programming of the community radio stations under inquiry perpetuated tribalism rather than social cohesion between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda during the period under study. It was important to examine this claim through the Class Broadcasting Service Licenses granted to both Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM. The primary task was to understand the licence provisions in relation to language distribution in the operation of these radio stations. Findings from the study reveal that prescribed languages of broadcasting in both stations are not equally represented. For example, Clause 5.1.4 of the Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Malamulele FM stipulates on the distribution of languages on the station's programming, and it outlines that the languages would be distributed as follows:

(a) Xitsonga 54,2%
(b) Tshivenda 20,8%
(c) English 16,7%

(d) Others 8,3%

Whereas Clause 5.1.4 of the Class Broadcasting Service License Vuwani FM service licence stipulates that the languages of broadcast are as follows:

(e) 70% Tshivenda
(f) 20% Xitsonga
(g) 10% English

The study reveals that the distribution of languages in these radio stations promotes language hegemony, which to a certain extent may perpetuate tribalism rather that social cohesion. Social cohesion is built on democratic values such as equality (Cuellar 2009). To achieve balance between individual rights and collective responsibilities for sustainable democratic societies, issues of disparities, inequalities, and discrimination must be addressed (Cuellar, 2009). On the same note, the author further argues that democracy will be undermined in societies with growing gaps between societal groups. The distribution of languages for broadcasting purposes in both Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM, as confirmed in the Class Broadcasting Service Licences granted to the two stations does not conform to the democratic objectives of promoting social cohesion and uprooting tribalism.

Programming, on the other hand, was also at the centre of analysis in this theme because it expresses the issues pertaining to local content and the essence thereof within the context of a need to promote the cultural identity of diverse language groups in South Africa, especially the historically marginalised ones. The following claims have been the focal areas of analysis under this theme: (1) that programming was influenced by the politicians; (2) that the community radio stations under inquiry during the protests were biased and streamlined within the cultural context and language of the majority ethnic groups; and (3) as result, the community radio stations could not unite the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and Vuwani. Ascertaining these claims by examining the radio stations' broadcasting licenses was imperative.

Clause 4.2 of the community radio stations' broadcasting licence conditions states that the programming and programming policy formulation should involve participation of the members of the communities the radio stations serve. However, the reality in the two

community radio stations licence conditions regarding these issues were in stark contrast with the hypothetical claims outlined above. However, whether the hypothetical claim around programming and the political influence thereof is valid or not is the finding that could only be revealed in the next two chapters of this study.

Regarding the programming's language biased claim, the study revealed that the licence conditions of the two community radio stations under inquiry stipulate that the licensee, in reference to the holder of the licence for the operation of a community radio, shall provide programming as follows:

> Clause 5.1.1 Local News and Information:
>
> > The Licensee shall broadcast a news to a total of fifty (50) minutes per day which shall be broadcast in all languages of broadcast. Thirty-five (35) minutes shall be local news, ten (10) minutes shall be national news, and five (5) minutes shall be international news.

Clause 5.1.1 appears to be the only exclusive part of the license conditions where the issue of parity on use of languages in the programs has been raised. It can be argued that this contradicts these radio station's license conditions regarding language distribution, as outlined in Clause 5.1.4 of the Class Broadcasting Service License granted to the two radio stations.

As for programming's cultural context biased claim, the study does not detect any policy flaw or direction to that effect. The programming appears to be inclusive and towards the direction to uplift the lives of the members of society. Clause 8.1 of the service licence stipulates that:

> the licensee shall broadcast programmes that are aimed at uplifting or developing the community, children's programmes, health education on HIV/Aids and enhancing literacy.

From the above clause, it can be concluded that the broadcasting licenses of the two community radio stations do not provide for cultural identity endorsement of any specific cultural groups. However, it was imperative, to also examine the South African Music Content Regulations within the context of broadcasting licenses to ascertain the programming cultural context biased claim of the study's hypothesis. The decision to analyse these regulations was based on the argument that music is a cultural resource that also serves as "a powerful means of creating a sense of belonging, either to a particular ethnic group or to a place" (Gregory 1997:131). The academic study of music assumes that the sounds somewhat reflect or represent people's

identity (Frith 1996). From an African perspective, music can be regarded as a cultural activity through which groups of people living together build their own communal relationships (Frith 1996). In South Africa, each language group has its own kind of music that is sung in their languages, through which their cultures are expressed. For example, Chauke (2021:156) noted that:

> Masikandi is a music that represents Zulu cultural heritage and identity. In addition, the so-called Xigaza (‘Xibelani’ and ‘Makhwaya’ music) has been a music through which the culture and identity of the Vatsonga people are expressed and promoted.

As a powerful tool (Gregory 1997), music can affirm the cultural identity of a group of people (Frith 1996), while at the same time can be used as a tool for ethnic division. In fact, research on the role of music in conflict studies, for example, shows that:

> music can play a prominent role in the ability to form alliances as well as influencing emotional impact. Moreover, music has the potential to shape emotions and to positively express the sense of belonging to a specific group of people. It can also effectively communicate antagonistic attitudes towards other social groups (Grant et al 2010 cited in Chisa 2018:25).

Regarding music distribution, ICASA Regulations on South African Music published on 23 March 2016, as affirmed in ICASA broadcasting licence conditions for Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM, stipulate that:

> A holder of a community sound broadcasting service licence must ensure that after eighteen (18) months from the date of gazetting of these Regulations, a minimum of 60%, increasing by 10% annually to reach 80% of the musical works broadcast in the performance period consist of South African music and that such South African music is spread evenly throughout the performance period.

The study finds that ICASA broadcasting licence conditions for Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM recommend 80% of South African musical content. At the same time, there is no mention of any provision regarding its distribution along tribal or ethnical lines.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter revealed that language national and broadcasting legislations, as well as broadcasting regulations for community radio broadcasting, significantly facilitate tribalism. It therefore proposes its multilingual realignment in the following ways: (1) national language

policies that apply to community radio be revised to overhaul the language quota system that allow provision for the privileging of a few languages (2) broadcasting policy must require that broadcasting with language equality be applicable in all circumstances (3) ICASA regulations be revised to clearly detail language distribution so as to avoid ambiguity and language hegemony as a result of loopholes in regulations (4) community radio license conditions be based on multilingualism and not majoritarianism. Importantly, South Africa's community radio policies should promote multilingualism, recognising all languages as equally important for broadcast, despite varying majority and minority speaker statistics. Thus, South Africa's 100+ years of radio require a non-discriminatory, non-tribal multilingual approach to unify diverse ethnicities and tribes, moving away from the current majoritarianism model. The next chapter presents and discusses the data collected through qualitative content analysis of radio programs.

CHAPTER 7: COMMUNITY RADIO PROGRAMMING IN ETHNIC CONFLICT SITUATIONS

7.1 Introduction

Local language radio in Africa has faced criticism for broadcasting programs that exacerbate tensions and incite violence among different ethnic groups. The Rwandan genocide of 1994 and Kenya's 2007 post-elections killings set a good example of the harmful effects of locally based radio with programming embedded in the languages of the dominant ethnic groups to perpetuate ethnic violence and tribalism amongst members of diverse ethnic groups (Adeyanju 2018; Kurtis 2018; Pignatelli 2016; Arcan 2013; Howard 2009). Mwendia (2013) argues that this form of radio can also play a peace-making role in countering political tribal conflicts during and after conflicts. Within the context of community radio, the author suggests the use of an inclusive approach whereby local language radio can serve as an inclusive, participatory community engagement platform with programming for diverse opinions to unite people in their diversity during conflict and in post-conflict situations. Programming that includes talk shows broadcast in inclusive language may form better interactive programs for this type of radio (Mwangi 2017). However, the nature of these talk shows should be goal-directed and focused on an intended objective (Mwangi 2017). In conflict situations, goal-directed talk show programs should be aimed at achieving social cohesion, significantly influencing political change, structuring institutions, and educating the public on various political issues, such as peace-keeping missions (Hayat et al. 2015). These talk shows should foster community engagement, debate, and problem-solving by addressing local issues that cause conflicts (Mwangi 2017). However, Howard and Bolt (2005:27) propose that the talk shows should incorporate:

> diversity of opinions, clearly defined issues, balanced and courteous conversation, human interest and relevance to public opinion, attractive presentation and clear synthesis of what has been said, and more.

This chapter examines coverage of the community radio stations selected for this study to ascertain if they promoted social cohesion or tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people during the demarcation protests. The choice of these community radio stations as the focal point of analysis was based on their significant influence in the respective communities

and their potential to either exacerbate or mitigate inter-ethnic tensions. The analysis was based on the assumption that during these protests, these community radio stations fuelled tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people by using language domination in their programming. The study underscores the crucial role of community radio in fostering social cohesion and promoting peacebuilding efforts to avert the escalation of conflicts into ethnicism and tribalism. Equally, it emphasises the importance of customised programming to address and mitigate conflicts within inclusive community settings. However, it takes goal-directed programming to achieve these objectives. Mwangi (2017) and Howard and Bolt (2015) propose the use of talk show programs due to their inclination toward diversity, spontaneity, and flexibility, despite perpetuating conflicts.

This study specifically chose Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM as case studies to delve into the research problem. A single program from each community radio station was selected to gain a comprehensive understanding of their overall programming. The analysis of the programming was carried out within the theoretical frameworks of media social responsibility, inter-ethnic communication, and the media's role in ethnic conflicts. The theory of social responsibility of media was selected to elucidate the theoretical basis of socially responsible programs in conflict situations within community radio. This involves examining the conduct and ideological stance of programming anchors in running those programs. The theoretical framework of inter-ethnic communication was chosen to unpack the reasons for the success or failure of inter-ethnic communication in inclusive territorial zones. Finally, the theory of ethnic conflicts and media was applied to understand the link between the media, particularly ethnic-based media, and ethnic conflicts. The analysis has been conducted in response to research question 2, as outlined below:

> To what extent did the coverage of the demarcation protests by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM promote social cohesion or perpetuate tribalism among the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani?

It is important to emphasise that the probing research question limited the analysis to the violent protests against demarcation in both Malamulele (2013-2016) and Vuwani (2016-2022).

7.2 Coverage of demarcation protests on Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM

The analysis in this chapter solely focused on the coverage of the protests by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM. As mentioned in the Chapter 5 the qualitative content analysis approach was applied to examine the selected programs from the two respective community radio stations. Ten recorded shows from the selected program per station were analysed. The analysis relied on recorded shows because the study focused on past events. The transcripts, attached as an addendum, provide dates and extent of coverage of the selected shows. The focal areas of the analysis included the talk shows of the selected programs from the two selected community radio stations, the presenters' conduct during the shows, news features or content, and music content. The aim was to determine if the selected programs contributed to either promoting social cohesion or tribalism among the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people, given the nature of the protests in the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani. The data collected through qualitative content analysis on Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM, especially during protests, was presented for further analysis in the following sections to arrive at the findings that either support or refute the study's hypothesis. The two selected programs with respect to the two stations were specifically focused on coverage during the demarcation protests between 2013 and 2022. However, due to resource and time constraints, the analysis was confined to the specific period in which the shows of these programs were aired. The analysis of the programming on Malamulele FM focused on 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program (Community development'). On Vuwani FM, the 'Hot Time' (was there a Tshivenda translation?) program was chosen for analysis. As mentioned earlier, a total of ten shows were selected from each of the chosen programs at the respective stations. The chosen programs were aired for a duration of 3 hours, with shows on both stations from 12 pm to 3 pm. 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' was exclusively broadcast on Malamulele FM from Monday to Wednesday, while 'Hot Time' was on Vuwani FM from Monday to Friday. These programs were selected due to their emphasis on local developmental and service delivery issues, as well as their focus on protest-related issues. The selection considered the fact that the programs included talk chats, news bulletins, updates, and musical content. Talkshows hosted by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM also featured studio guests to discuss complex developmental issues affecting residents, including neighbouring areas during the Malamulele-Vuwani demarcation protests. This also included clarifying tribal and ethnic related issues attached to the demarcation protests. Another important aspect in the selection of the programs for analysis was their ability to engage the audience through phone calls, allowing listeners to interact with the anchors and studio guests on daily topics. Malamulele FM's shows were primarily presented in Xitsonga language, while Vuwani FM's dominant language was Tshivenda. For the benefit of their listeners, translation was provided

in cases where the studio guests and other callers spoke languages other than the two languages commonly used by the respective radio stations. Mr. Lucky Tinyiko Ngobeni presented Malamulele FM's 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program, while Nemadimahulu presented 'Hot Time' with Vuwani FM.

7.3.1 Malamulele FM Coverage of the demarcation protests

This section presents data obtained through qualitative content analysis to address research question number 2. The analysis sought to ascertain the social cohesion role of Malamulele FM during the demarcation protests. The analysis specifically focused on ‘Hluvukiso wa va aki’ shows broadcast in 2015. Considering that the violent protests in Malamulele were situated along ethnic lines (Baloyi 2018), it should be assumed that Malamulele FM could serve as a channel to achieve social cohesion objectives, prevent tribalism, and potential ethnic conflicts between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda throughout the Vhembe District. Its relevance to the call for social cohesion should have been emphasised by the fact that it was established in Malamulele, arguably for the inclusive population of the area. Wigston (2001) highlights the importance of understanding community composition in defining the communities for community radio broadcasting. Howard (2009) suggests that the only time community radio can foster social cohesion and integration in ethnically divided communities is when it understands diversity and the complexities thereof. It should be anticipated from a social point of view that Malamulele FM would use both Xitsonga and Tshivenda, given that Malamulele is an inclusive community that co-habits both Vatsonga and Vhavenda (Musitha 2016). The radio station could have been motivated by social cohesion to use the languages of the two co-existing ethnic groups, given the fact that the protests were influenced by ethnic sentiments (Baloyi, 2018). Against this backdrop, the issue of language assumed a central role in the analysis of the ‘Hluvikiso wa va aki’ program.

7.3.1.1 Hluvukiso wa va aki: The program’s shows and the language of broadcasting

This theme aimed at assessing some few of the recorded ‘Hluvukiso wa va aki’ program’s shows to ascertain if Malamulele FM's community radio programming promoted social cohesion or tribalism between Vatsonga and Vhavenda people during the conflict over Vatsonga's right to secede from Thulamela Municipality. This study revealed that throughout

the period under consideration, all the selected shows' segments were broadcast in Xitsonga. The fact that they were only aired in the Xitsonga language suggests that the community radio station was ethnically aligned with the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. The media is inherently ethnic if it is produced in the language of the specific ethnic group for whom it is intended, therefore strengthening the audience's or reader's connection with that group (Konstanty Gebert 2009 in Pignatelli 2016). Xitsonga's dominance on the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program appeared to exemplify the radio station's ideological strategy to advance the linguistic dominance of the Vatsonga people within monolingualism. Ellis (2008) defines monolingualism as using one language for communication, where the chosen language does not compete with any other language. Monolingualism is influenced by the antiquated belief that a single language is the only foundation upon which national unity can be established (Stoop 2017). Malamulele FM mostly use Xitsonga language to on the program 'Hluvukiso wa va aki'. The absence of the Tshivenda language on the program contradicts the study's hypothetical claim of Xitsonga's linguistic hegemony, as there was no language to dominate. Linguistic hegemony in South Africa ordinarily occurs when there are disparities in the distribution of languages for official communication services (Hlophe 2013). While there seems to be a nuanced distinction between linguistic hegemony and monolingualism in the scholarly discourse, Suarez (2003:3) concedes that monolingualism is inspired by linguistic hegemony, whereby "linguistic minorities believe in and participate in the subjugation of the minority language to the dominant, to the point where just the dominant language remains". Simply put, all official languages, regardless of their majority or minority, can be represented, but in a disproportional manner. Therefore, this study argues that linguistic hegemony in radio can only occur when there are disparities in terms of language distribution or representation for broadcasting purposes. Even though the concept is mostly defined within the setting of monolingualism, it cannot apply in instances where there is linguistic exclusion, as was observed in the case of Malamulele FM's monolingual use of Xitsonga during the broadcasting of 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program. The inference to draw from the analysis is that Malamulele FM, particularly for the period under review, employed monolingualism to cater only to the linguistic interests of the Vatsonga people, underscoring the linguistic exclusion of the Vhavenda people of Malamulele. However, one may argue that the monolingual approach by Malamulele FM, as in the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program, may have set a basis for the promotion of Xitsonga's linguistic hegemony over Tshivenda in the community areas of Malamulele, where the Vatsonga-Vhavenda cohabited during the demarcation protests. This may have, to a certain degree, promoted the perception that the Xitsonga language was the only language of the people of Malamulele. It is important

to stress that Tshivenda is the second major language in Malamulele and after Xitsonga (Musitha 2016). Therefore, its absence on Malamulele FM programming could have deprived the Vhavenda people of their voice during the protests, possibly leading to self-isolation and dissociative inter-ethnic behaviour. The exclusion of Tshivenda language on Malamulele FM programming underscores the persistent prevalence of institutional inequity in post-apartheid South Africa. Kim (2005), cited in Lee (2012), argues that the consequential impact of institutional inequity is the disassociated interethnic behaviour. The author suggests that individuals in this instance may be less likely to act associatively if they perceive unfair rules or practices targeting their own ethnic group. The exclusion of Tshivenda on Malamulele FM programming also underlines the ethnic and cultural distance between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people, despite their co-existence. Kim (cited in Lee, 2005) argues that the ethnic and cultural distance is normally experienced whenever there is high level of heterogeneity among co-existing ethnic groups, and this can also lead to dissociative interethnic behaviour. The author further argues that the only time to achieve associative interethnic behaviour is when there is a high level of homogeneity among members of the interethnic community. The monolingual use of the Xitsonga language in the programming of Malamulele FM was a sign that the station was not inclusive, nor did it see the two ethnic groups as homogenous or one group with a common objective during the protests. Kim (cited in Lee,2012) also talk about dissociative interethnic behaviours that occur when ethnic groups have separate goal structures. Malamulele FM's monolingual use of Xitsonga in the broadcasting of the 'Hluvukiso was va aki' program during the demarcation protests was also a clear demonstration of the exclusive identity nature of the station and its orientation towards the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. The fact that the station completely excluded the Tshivenda language from its programming implied that it failed to associate the two ethnic groups as one or a homogenous group fighting for a common objective. The associative interethnic behaviour of Malamulele FM to unite the two could have been achieved by its inclusive identity orientation, which includes the equal use of Xitsonga and Tshivenda languages in the broadcasting. Kim (cited in Lee 2012:30) argues that:

> The more inclusive (exclusive) the communicator's identity orientation, the more associative (dissociative) his or her interethnic communication behaviour.

This study highlights the complex task of distinguishing between linguistic hegemony and monolingualism when analysing Malamulele FM's broadcasting language usage. The analysis

of Malamulele FM's use of broadcasting language seems to blur the line between the two concepts, as they have been used interchangeably. The complexities in distinguishing them exist because they complement each other in their definitions. In the case of Malamulele FM, language exclusion, as in the instance of the exclusion of the Tshivenda language in their programming, could have been used to promote the linguistic hegemony of Xitsonga in the community of Malamulele, where the Vatsonga people are the majority. The implication is that the Vhavenda, who were in the minority, could eventually start using Xitsonga as the dominant language in Malamulele. This situation could promote the exclusive use of Xitsonga and further endanger the existence of the Tshivenda language. Salawu (2006) points to two possible scenarios of linguistic hegemony and monolingualism in inclusive territorial zones, namely, (1) where the speakers of well-represented languages may consider their languages important and disparage speakers of underrepresented languages; and (2) where disadvantaged language groups are forced to assimilate themselves in the languages of the dominant groups, which may be the path to the extinction of their languages. The two scenarios fit the analysis's description of the Malamulele situation during the protests. The first scenario represents the ethnocentric behaviour of Malamulele FM's listeners, who happened to be Vatsonga, during the open call session during the broadcasting of the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' shows. The listeners were observed affirming their cultural identity as the only identity for the people of Malamulele during the phone-in sessions. The affirmation was nothing short of ethnic stereotypes and tribal remarks levelled against the Vhavenda people in general. The ethnocentric expressions of Malamulele FM listeners from selected shows of 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' are listed below (with English translation):

> Hina hi Vatsonga, Vona i MaVenda.
> (**English translation:** They are the Venda people, and we are the Tsonga).
>
> Hi lava ku ti nyungubyisa hi ririmu ra hina na ndhavuko wa hina leswo saseka hi radio ya hina. A hi ncini Xigombela hina, hi ncina makhwaya na xibeleani.
> (**English translation:** We want to take pride in our beautiful language and culture as Vatsonga-Machangana through our radio. Our culture is manifested through Makhwaya and Xibelani dances instead of Tshigombela).
>
> I radio ya Vatsonga-Machangana, ahi ya MaVenda.
> (**English translation:** Our radio is intended for the Tsonga people and is not targeted towards the Vendas).
>
> Yi haxa hiririmi ra hina ku komba leswaku I radio ya Vatsonga.
> **(English translation:** It broadcasts in our language to indicate that it is intended for the Vatsonga people).
>
> Vhavenda va na Xihlawuhlawu.

(**English translation:** Venda-speaking people are tribalists)

Hi lava masipala wa hina tani hi Vatsonga-Machangana va ka Malamulele.
(**English translation:** We, the Vatsonga people of Malamulele, demand our own municipality);

I khale hiri ehasi ka tshikelelo wa Vhavenda ene sweswi hi karhele.
(**English translation:** The Venda-speaking people have dominated us for a long time now; we are tired of this).

The cultural identity affirmation that was observed throughout 'Hluvukiso wa va aki's selected shows appeared to have been a deliberate effort by the listeners of Malamulele FM to strengthen and ignite the togetherness and solidarity of the Vatsonga people, whom they claimed to be the victims of tribalism under Thulamela- the municipality purported to be associated with the Vhavenda communities. The cultural identity affirmation of the Vatsonga people, as reflected in this program, was a representation of the cultural exclusionism of the Vhavenda people. Crowther (2003) explains two familiar basic forms of cultural exclusion as the explicit and tactic modes. One may argue that Salawu's (2006) second scenario above finds expression in Crowther's (2003) explicit mode of cultural exclusionism. Crowther's (2003:121) explicit mode of cultural exclusionism involves:

> practices that affirm the superiority of one cultural group over others and either excludes those others from full and equal participation in society or allows inclusion only to the degree that the participants give up the practices that are basic to their identity in favour of those of the ruling culture (Crowther, 2003:121).

This shows that the cultural exclusion of the Vhavenda people was not only made possible by the monolithic affirmation of the cultural identity of the Vatsonga people on Malamulele FM's 'Hluvukiso wa va aki', but also by the monolingual use of Xitsonga. Odine (2008) sees language as a cultural resource for an exchange of cultural values and norms among members of specific social groups. There is a clear link between language and identity. Alshehri (2023) argues that identities and thoughts can be transmitted by using our language. It is also crucial to note that many listeners, as observed during the call-in sessions of selected shows, used the station to affirm their cultural identity while at the same time using it as a platform to express how the Vatsonga people were victims of tribalism under Thulamela Municipality. On many occasions, the listeners would refer to Vhavenda people as "tribalists", which naturally falls within their strong belief that Thulamela Municipality was biased in favour of the Vhavenda people in terms of service provision. One can attribute identity phrases such as "Vona

Vhavenda or Vhavenda lava" (translated as ‘these Vendas’) to listeners’ attitudes toward maintaining tribalism and ethnic differences between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people, the latter being the victims. The listeners' refusal to acknowledge their tribalistic conduct was one illustration of the long-standing, widely disregarded ethnic divides between the two coexisting ethnic groupings. A long-standing ethnic feud that was deliberately concealed for a very long time under the preconception that they ‘always have a good history of co-existence’, which includes the perception that ‘most of them are the products of their inter-marriages from this co-existence’ to avoid being perceived as opposing communities (Ntsako 2016; Tau 2016). Even though Ntsako (2016) affirms the co-existence of the Vatsonga and Vhavenda, the writer, however, concedes that their main integrational concern was their cultural identity rivalry. According to him, this created conditions for tribalism and cultural/linguistic hegemony to escalate in the areas where they coexisted. Ntsako (2016 posits that the tribal conflicts, which were silently fought through cultural identity ticket of ‘who we are and who they are’ between the two ethnic groups, existed for ages and, thus, were only awaiting the right cracks to spring out. From this assessment, one can argue that the ongoing protests in Malamulele were symbolically the cracks through which the hidden ethnic divisions between the two ethnic groups could emerge. These ethnic divisions, as Ntsako (2016) contends, were only expressed through cultural identity codes, such as:

> ‘Shumela Venda’ (**English translation:** Working for Venda) and ‘Hi MaGaza Matsonga-Machangana, Swihluke swa Nghunghunyani’ (**English translation:** We are the Gazas, the Vatsonga-Machangana, the descendants of Chief Ngunghunyani).

It can be argued, based on the analysis of ‘Hluvukiso wa va aki’ program that the Vatsonga people of Malamulele also used Malamulele FM to effectively take their fight against what they purported to be the Venda-aligned municipality of Thulamela, taking advantage of the fact that the radio station was aligned to their cultural identity and language. In this instance, they presented themselves as the victims of tribalism rather than as the perpetrators thereof. Through this radio program they could be observed on number of occasions asserting their importance and right to self-determination. While at the same time rejecting an inclusive interethnic approach to the protest, viewing it as a struggle only of the Vatsonga people of Malamulele against the “Venda-aligned” Thulamela Municipality. According to Freeman (1999), self-determination has traditionally involved the right to break free from various forms of dominance, such as the struggle against racist rule in South Africa. For the people of Malamulele during these protests, it could signify their right not to be subjected to tribal or

ethnic domination by the Vhavenda. The interaction between the presenter and listeners during the programming revealed that self-determination was frequently expressed within the context of using tribalism as the main reason for demanding their withdrawal from Thulamela Municipality. However, the study also revealed that while they were decrying tribalism, they were also tribalistic in their remarks against the Vhavenda people as they put forward their reasons. For instance, the following were the self-determination comments made by the audience, who were observed to be denouncing tribalism while at the same time seemed to perpetuate it against the Vhavenda people in general:

> Hina hi lava leswaku vanhu vaka hina vati fuma hi voxe; hi karhele ku fumiwa hi Vhavenda; Swina nkoka kuri Machangana maka hina ma tifuma; Swa antswa va hi hlanganisa na Machangana maka hina eka greater Giyani Municipality.
> (**English translation:** It is essential for us Shangaans to be independent and to better connect with our people in the Greater Giyani Municipality. We want our people to govern themselves, and we are tired of being dominated by the Venda people.).
>
> Vhavenda vana xihalwuhlawu swinene ehehla ka rixaka ra Vatsonga
> **(English translation:** Venda people are tribalists)
>
> Xana swibihile kwihi loko vanhu va ka hina va vula kuri ava na vukorhekeli eka Thulamela na swona va koxa masipala wa vona. Vatsonga va le ku hluphekeni eka Thulamela.
> (**English translation:** Our people are tired of being under the Vhavenda-aligned municipality of Thulamela. They demand their own municipality to represent their interests).
>
> Kahle kahle leswi swihi kwatisaku iku xihlawuhlawu exikarhi ka Machangana na Vhavenda xa hatele. Vhavenda lexi va xilavaka iku fuma Machangana.
> (**English translation:** Tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda in the Thulamela Municipality is still prevalent, with the Vhavenda people enjoying more privileges).
>
> Leyi I mhaka ya xihlawuhlawu lexi nga kongomisiwa Machangana. Vhavenda va bihile timbilu na swona ava hi rhandzi hina machangana; va ti rhandela ku hi vona hi vatirhela onge hi mahlonga ya vona.
> **(English translation:** The Venda-aligned municipality is segregating us based on ethnicity, with Venda people enjoying seeing us work for them).

Most callers, in the selected shows of 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' argued that the only time the Vatsonga people of Malamulele could achieve their self-determination and proper service delivery would be the time they exited Thulamela Municipality, which they fiercely accused of giving Venda communities priority when it came to service delivery. It was also interesting that monolingualism did not only set a platform for the canvassed tribalistic self-determination of the Vatsonga people during the selected shows but by far rendered the reunion of the two ethnic groups irrevocable. The compromise made by Malamulele FM to permit one-sided

debates that excluded the opinions of the Vhavenda people of Malamulele and the surrounding areas using the Xitsonga language was another glaring incongruity with the social cohesion effort. The exclusion of the Vhavenda listeners from the shows jeopardized the station's expected role in fostering social cohesion between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people during the protests. Exclusive use of the Xitsonga language made the radio station seem tailored for the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. Gebert (cited in Pignatelli 2016:128) suggests that the media consistently possess an ethnic quality by being created in the language of a particular ethnic group. This unavoidably reinforces the audience's or reader's connection with that specific group. The monolingual use of the Xitsonga language at Malamulele FM presented challenges in fostering social cohesion and embracing diversity. The radio shows did not demonstrate an intention of inclusivity, which is defined by Tomko (2006) as being part of the community, feeling welcomed, and embraced as a valued member. The exclusive use of Xitsonga led to social exclusion and hindered social cohesion. This one-sided representation created an ethnic boundary, impacting the self-identification and interaction of the two ethnic groups involved. This supports Rudwick's (2006) claim that language serves as a tool to distinguish internal and external boundaries. Central to the author's argument is the premise that language can be used to protect the ingroup while isolating the outgroup. From both ends of the linguistic boundary are identification words like 'Us' and 'Others'. In the case of the Malamulele protests, as observed on the talk shows analysed, Vatsonga people often referred to themselves as 'Us' while also using the term 'Others' to describe the Vhavenda people. This exclusion based on ethnic identity is similar to Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, where the Western world marginalized people they considered to be on the periphery (Moosavinia et al. 2011).

The consistent use of linguistic boundaries, particularly the exclusive emphasis on monolingual Xitsonga during a majority of the shows, played a significant role in shaping and perpetuating ethnic and tribal stereotypes that specifically targeted the Venda-speaking community. These stereotypes were reinforced and propagated by Xitsonga-speaking listeners of Malamulele FM. The listeners expressed these stereotypes to show their frustration as they claimed their demands for a municipality were not heeded by the relevant authorities. Below are a few of these stereotypical utterances gathered from various conversations of different shows:

> 'Mavenda varhandza ku fuma Machangana; lava hala ndhaka Ribvubwe; Lave a hi Ma South Africa, kambe Mashona eSouth Africa; lavo tshama titshaveni; Hi karhele ku

> fumiwa hiva Tshigombela na Swingondo hina, vanhu lava va na xihlahlawu. A va fambe vaya tshama na va makwavo va vona va Shona eZimbabwe'.
> (**English Translation:** The Vendas, who live on the other side of the Levubu River, take pleasure in controlling the Vatsonga people. They are not South Africans, but an extension of the Shona people of Zimbabwe in South Africa. They must go back to Zimbabwe. They are also known as the people who live next to mountains).

Based on the 10 shows that were examined on the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program, it can be deduced that Malamulele FM programming, by using Xitsonga as the only language of transmission, both directly and indirectly perpetuated tribalism and ethnic discrimination tribalism against the Vhavenda people in Malamulele and surrounding areas. The study refutes any presumption of the application of linguistic hegemony where a language quota system was applied to the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program to promote disproportional representation of Xitsonga and Tshivenda based on majoritarianism. The study, however, concedes only to the monolingual application of Xitsonga in this program. Based on the assessment of this program, it, therefore, concludes that Malamulele FM, for the period under review, applied monolingualism for its entire programming. The study also concurs with the theoretical assumption that monolingualism can be inspired by linguistic hegemony where the dominant languages remain (Saurez 2003). It equally so posits that the non-existent of the Tshivenda language in Malamulele FM, based on an assessment of the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program, may have contributed to its exclusion in the areas of communication, while placing the Xitsonga hegemony, as the only important language.

7.3.1.2 Hluvukiso wa va aki: Critiquing Presenter's role in the shows

This study also examined the role of presenters on Malamulele FM during the demarcation protest using the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program as a case study. It looked at the different roles the presenters played in this program, particularly during the time when the communities of Malamulele were embroiled in demarcation protests following their demand for a new municipality. The analysis was conducted against the study's hypothesis that the Malamulele FM presenters perpetuated tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele by the application of language hegemony in their programming. During this critical period, the community of Malamulele had to unite, as the demarcation protests were irrevocably spiralling into detrimental ethnic conflicts and tribalism. Since this study used the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' as a case to study the entire station's programming, the analysis of the program presenters' role was also important in understanding the study's problem, particularly

from the perspectives of research question number 2. In this instance, the analysis has focused on the presenter's ideological stance in relation to broadcasting languages and their usage on the selected shows of the program to determine whether it encouraged social cohesion or promoted tribalism between the two ethnic groups- the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and surrounding areas. Lewis (2015) argues for impartial language inter-change by the presenters/hosts of radio stations in radio programming as a solution to address linguistic disparities within the inclusive society. He argues that this must be done to ensure that all members of a diverse society are equally represented to avoid conflicts.

After closely analysing ten shows of the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program, this study found that Mr. Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni was the sole presenter, delivering the program in the Xitsonga language. This study deduced that the program targeted the Vatsonga listeners in the areas of Malamulele. The presenter was often observed, in the reviewed shows, introducing the topics to the listeners, including welcoming them in the Xitsonga language. The following was his trademark introduction throughout the reviewed shows:

> I nhlekanhi lowunene eka vayingiseri va Mala FM. Ndzi mi amukela na kambe eka nongonoko wa 'Hluvukiso wa vaaki' lowu wu vaka kona Musumbhunuku ku fika Ravunharhu (From 12pm to 3pm).
> **Summary of the comment translated in English:** Good afternoon to all the listeners of Mala FM. You are cordially welcomed to Hluvukiso wa va aki program, airing live three days a week from Monday to Friday, from 12 pm to 3 pm.

However, it is important to mention that this study also found that in the programming of the shows analysed the presenter did not use the Xitsonga to promote tribalism. The presenter was observed reprimanding listeners for making ethnically denigrating comments about the Vhavenda people and, on several occasions, discouraged such tribalistic comments on the shows:

> "Ani voni kuri tani hi xitichi hi xera mavonele manwina. Hikuva tirho wa hina iku minyika platform yo tisa mavonele manwina lama ma nga lavekeki kuri matisa ku nyanyisa tisa ku avana exikarhi ka tixaka letimbirhi. Anita kombela kuri loko va yingiseri va fona va swi papalata sweswo".
> **Summary of the comment translated in English:** The speaker urged the audience to avoid making tribal and ethnic remarks that would further divide the Vatsonga and Vhavenda communities. Instead, they should express their opinions distinctly while discouraging tribalism and ethnic discrimination.
>
> "swina nkoka leswaku vayingiseri vativa leswaku vuhaxi lebyi hi byi nyikaka eka xitichi xa hina abyi na xihalwuhlawu kumbe ku promoter xihlawuhlawu eka vayingiseri

> lavanga Matsonga na Vhavenda vandhawu ya hina. Tivani kuri hina hitiva vanhu vaka Malamulele (Vatsonga na Vhavenda) vari vona va lwelaku masipala".
> **Summary of the comment translated in English:** it is important for listeners to know that the broadcasts we provide on our station are not biased or promote discrimination against the Tsonga and Vhavenda audiences in our areas. Know that we know the people of Malamulele (Tsonga and Vhavenda) are fighting for the municipality.
>
> "Na ha tiyisisa leswaku tirho wa hina tani hi va haxi iku kumeka hi minyika platform yo vulavula ta le mbilwini hikuya hi topic ya siku. Hambi swiri tano, itirho wa hina kukumeka hi nga pfumeleli mbulambulo lowu tisaku xihlawuhlawu exikarhi kari xaka ra Vatsonga/Machangana na Vhavenda va ndhawu leyi hambi swikoxo leswi swiri karhi switwala swinene.
> **Summary of the comment translated in English:** "I still make sure that our job as broadcasters is to be available and give you a platform to discuss the day's topic. However, it is our duty to be found not to allow any discriminatory speech between the Tsonga/Machangana and Vhavenda communities of the area, even though these demands are very valid".

The monolingual use of Xitsonga in the program undermined any potential effort the presenter could have to integrate the two ethnic groups, the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele, during the demarcation protests. Therefore, he could not, through the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program, promote social cohesion between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele. Lewis (2015) argues that for community radio to achieve the social cohesion goal, it needs to apply the multilingualism approach, which allows the use of different languages in one program. Regarding this approach, Lewis (2015:7) further argues that:

> These multilingual programs seek to make the concerns of their language community understandable for a much broader audience – a crucial step in the direction of genuine exchange between majority and minorities (Lewis, 2015:7).

The author uses the Hispanic programming of Vancouver Co-op Radio of Canada as an example of applicable multilingual programming in inclusive community radio. In this instance, the scholar further illustrates the applicability of this approach by using a scenario of this radio where two presenters were simultaneously addressing three language groups- the monolingual and bilingual listeners in their programming. In his accounts, Lewis (2015:7) states that:

> to retain the interest of each group, the presenters maintained a lively inter-change which avoided exact translated repetition of each other's contributions so that monolinguals were never left too long "on their own" and the bilinguals were not bored (Lewis, 2015:7).

The scholar also points out that strengthening multicultural relations where radio programs are a collective production decision by diverse members of an inclusive community must be a primary consideration in ensuring social cohesion. Therefore, working together:

> can be a means of establishing situations based on an equal footing." The point is confirmed by the experience of Radio Salaam Shalom, in Bristol, UK, where the two founding producers/presenters agree that the benefits for the two communities are more significant and far-reaching in the research and planning that go into a programme than the resulting on-air broadcast, important though that may be for listeners (Lewis 2015:7).

The 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program delved into aspects of political economy, where it became apparent that the listeners had significant influence over the content and structure of the show. On multiple occasions, the audience was observed pushing the presenter to change scheduled topics to ones related to protests. One instance involved the interruption and forced change of topic. This occurred when the presenter was hosting an official from the municipality for a discussion on animal health. Despite the presenter's insistence on editorial autonomy and justification for including the topic in the program, he was compelled to agree to address the protests and the reasons behind the struggle of the people of Malamulele. One of the comments made by one of the listeners of the program, which underscores the listeners' programming decision power, was:

> "Leyi I radio ya hina na swona hina lunghelo ro langha ti topic. Topic leyi ayi fambelani na xiyimu lex inga eka Malamulele. Hina vanhu va ka Malamulele hi lava masipala. Hi lava masipala wa hina. Vhavenda a va hi rhandzi na switsngo. Masipala lowu wa Thulamela I wa Vhavenda. Hina hi lava masipala wa hina wa ka Malamulele wa Vatsonga/Machangana. Hi lava ku hambana na Vhavenda. Yes, ta vurimisi ha ti twa na nkoka wa tona. Kambe shutdown I ririmu leri vanhu lava va fumu vatwaka rona".
> **Summary of the comment translated in English:** "This is our radio. Our community radio provides us with the opportunity to discuss various topics. However, the current topic is not relevant to the situation in Malamulele. The people of Malamulele need a municipality that represents their interests. The Venda community does not support us, as the Thulamela municipality is predominantly Vhavenda. We are advocating for our own Tsonga/Machangana municipality in Malamulele. While agriculture is important, the issues affecting the people of Malamulele, especially the Vatsonga community, should be the focus of today's program."

There was also the issue of political influence on the shows, which ultimately undermined the editorial autonomy of the radio station. On numerous instances, the presenter was heard during his shows announcing unplanned visits from the Malamulele Task Team, a group representing the people of Malamulele in demarcation protest matters. This occurrence also underlines the irresistible power that the political structures have on community radio. On these occasions, it

appeared, as observed, that the presenter did not have authority over the program. There was a particular occasion when the presenter unexpectedly invited the Malamulele Task Team to the studio to provide an update to the community about the protests and the leadership's plans:

> "Na kambe hina vayeni eStudio ku hi vhakachela kuta nyika ti updates that protest na leswi Task Team ya ka Malamulele yi nga bizi hi swona. Tani hi leswi hi switivaku kuri va aki va ka Malamulele va hari emigingirikweni yaku lwelwa masipala".
> **Summary of the comment translated in English:** Today in the studio, we have unannounced studio guests from the Malamulele Task Team. They are here to give us updates regarding the protests and discussions taking place behind closed doors. As we all know, the people of Malamulele are still protesting for their own municipality."

The question arises as to who made editorial decisions on Malamulele FM, judging by the above-outlined extract. Was it the editorial team, the community, or the local political structures? From the analysis, the community, as represented by the listeners and the local politicians, appeared to wield power and control of Malamulele FM. Delorme (cited in Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers, 1998) posits that community radio must be controlled democratically by the population it serves based on non-commercial relations with its audiences. Equally so, he (as cited in Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998) further argues that the community members are responsible for the station's management and production of its programming.

In summary, this study concludes that Mr. Lucky Tinyiko Ngobeni, the presenter of the 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program, exclusively used the Xitsonga language throughout the period of the reviewed shows, demonstrating monolingualism in his broadcasting. The exclusive use of Xitsonga in the program weakened the presenter's efforts to promote social cohesion and integrate the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele. This was especially evident during the period when the demarcation protests were escalating into tribal events. Despite attempts to address tribal remarks against the Vhavenda people during the shows, the study argues that the effort was not effective because the exclusion of the Vhavenda language undermined everything. According to Lewis (2015), media programs should embrace multilingualism, with a single program being broadcast in multiple languages simultaneously. The ability of listeners and the Malamulele Task Team to alter and interrupt scheduled topics demonstrated that neither the presenter nor the station had editorial control over their programming.

7.3.1.3 Malamulele FM News and Reporting: Language distribution and ideology

The objective of this theme was to ascertain whether news coverage and reporting on Malamulele FM contributed to social cohesion or tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people during the demarcation protests in Malamulele. News presented in vernacular languages typically represents the concerns, experiences, and histories of ordinary people and their communities, providing a platform for representation and expression that is often lacking in more established news organizations (Wahl-Jorgensen and Boelle 2023). Salawu (2006) considers the introduction of vernacular language radio as a progressive step in broadcasting, as it gives a voice to the voiceless and provides access to news in their own or native languages. Hence, the author recommends the use of local or indigenous languages in African media. However, Salawu does not explain how these languages, with their diverse nature, should be utilized to effectively reach their target audiences. Additionally, there is no specification regarding whether the media's intended audience is mono-ethnic or inclusive (inter-ethnic/multi-ethnic). For instance, Malamulele FM operates within the inclusive community spaces of Malamulele. Hence, it was supposed to draw its audiences from the two ethnic groups, the Vatsonga and Vhavenda, with the goal of ensuring equal representation of their languages. This study found that the station only used Xitsonga for news and reporting, neglecting Tshivenda, the second major language. The following are a few chosen news bulletin instances in the Xitsonga language; none of them were in Tshivenda. (The English translations and summaries of these news bulletins are detailed in the transcripts attached as addendums):

> **Show 1 News bulletin:** I hlekanhi vayingiseri va Mala FM, lawa I mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi lawa mi hlayeriwaka hi Eric Ncindhani. Hungunkulu: Task Team ya ka Malamulele yi tsandzeke ku fikelela ntwanano na Ndzawulo ya mindzelekano eka swikoxo swa masipala wa vona. Hi kuya hi muvulavuleri wa Task Team Tatana Manganyi, leswi swi vula ntsena leswaku shut down yi ya emahlweni ka Malamulele. Ndzawulo ya dyondzo yi vilerisiwa hileswi shut down leyi yi alelaka migingiriko ya dyondzo ku ya emahlweni himfanelo.
> **[English Translation]:** Good afternoon, to the listeners of Mala FM. This is the twelve o'clock news with Eric Ncindhani. The Malamulele Task Team has been unable to reach an agreement with the Demarcation Board of South Africa regarding the demands for a new municipality for the people of Malamulele. According to the Task Team's spokesperson, Mr. Manganyi, the decision by the board means that the shutdown will continue.
>
> **Show 2 News bulletin:** I hlekanhi eka vayingiseri va Mala FM. Mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi mi hlayeriwa wona hi Judas Mabunda. Eka mpundzu wa namuntlha ku kumekile ntlawa wa vanhu lava a va khomile tinhundzu to tala ta vhengele ro xavisa mpahla. Swi tikomba ntlawa lowu wu ri wa vanhu lava a va suka eka ntshungu wa vanhu lava a va ku nenge hansi nenge henhla va koxa masipala wa ka Malamulele. Munhu wun'we eka vona u khomiwile hi maphorisa loko lavan'wana va pane sikisi.

Ku tivisiwile leswaku vavanuna lava va ta va eka huvo yak u avanyisa eka Malamulele mundzuku na mixo.
[English Translation]: Good afternoon to the listeners of Mala FM. This is the twelve o'clock news with Judas Mabunda. A group of men has been arrested after they were found in possession of stolen goods from retail shops. It is alleged that these men always posed as part of a group of protesters. It has been reported that they will appear in court tomorrow in Malamulele.

Show 3 News bulletin: Mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi mi hlayeriwa hi Tracy Nobela. Hungunkulu, MEC wa Ndzawulo ya mindzelekano u vula leswaku leswi vaaki va ka Malamulele va swi endlaka va ta tionhela hileswi va onhaka tinhundzu ta mfumo masiku hinkwawo. Hi marito ma yena aku: "Eka tiku ro fana na South Africa ra xi democracy, vanhu hikwavo va na ti fanelo ta vona. Ti nwana ta ti fanelo ta vona ilunghelo ro kombisa ku vilela. Hambi swiritano vanhu ava fanelanga ku onha nhundu ya vona hambi kuri ku ti onhela miako". Eka rinwana ra mahungu, President Jacob Zuma u tshembhisa ku vhakela vaaki va ka Malamulele ku ta va nyika nhlamulo ya xiko xa masipala ku nga ri khale.
[English Translation]: Good afternoon to the listeners of Mala FM. This is the twelve o'clock news with Tracy Nobela. The MEC responsible for demarcation in Limpopo Province condemns the shutdown and violent protests by the residents of Malamulele. This is what he had to say: "In a democratic country like South Africa, everyone has the right to express their concerns. However, we cannot express our concerns by destroying our own infrastructure and torching buildings."

Show 4 News bulletin: I nhlekanhi vayingiseri va MALA FM, Mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi mi hlayeriwa hi Rhulani Mzamani. Hungu leri ri rhangeke emahlweni, task team ya ka Malamulele a yi hlanganile ni muvulavuleri wa ndzawulo ya mindzelekano laha swi tikombaka ku ri ni nhlanga leyi yi lavaka ku huma ngati. Swi tikomba Ndzawulo yi sungula ku tekela enhlokweni xikoxo xa masipala hi vanhu va ka Malamulele. Matsalani wa task team wa hlamusela: "Hi kotile ku hlangana na demarcation board hi twanana leswaku nhlamulo yi ta fika na president ku nga ri kutani shutdown yi ta yirisiwa ku tshamisekisa swiyimo swa vaaki na vana va xikolo".
[English Translation]: Good afternoon to the listeners of Mala FM. This is the twelve o'clock news with Tracy Nobela. The Malamulele Task Team met with the spokesperson from the Demarcation Board at the provincial level to discuss the issues affecting the people of Malamulele. The secretary of the Task Team confirmed that they met with the Board to address the issues. However, he stressed that the people would be happier if the president of the country could address this issue.

Show 6 News Bulletin: I nhlekanhi vayingiseri, lawa I mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi lawa mi tiseriwaka wona hi Rhulani Judas Mabunda, I mahlanga. Xungeto wa ku sungula ka shutdown I wukulu endzhaku ka ku tsandzeka ka demarcation board ku endla switshembhiso swa vona swa ku nyika nhlamulo eka vaaki va ka Malamulele mayelana na swikoxo swa masipala. Task Team yi ri yi nyika demarcation board vhiki ntsena, loko va nga hlamulanga shutdown yi ta sungula nakambe.
[English Translation]: Good afternoon to the listeners of Mala FM. This is the twelve o'clock news with Rhulani Judas Mabunda. The people of Malamulele have threatened to continue with the shutdown in order to push the government to attend to their demands for a new municipality. The Task Team has given the Board an ultimatum to respond to the demands. If they fail to do so, the Task Team will proceed with the shutdown.

Show 7 News Bulletin: Mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi eka MALA FM mi hlayeriwa wona hi Rhulani Judas Mabunda: Vaaki va ka Malamulele va pfarile magondzo yo nghena no huma edorobeni, ve ri va lava leswaku task team yi cinciwa kumbe yi tirha ntirho wa yona hi ku hetiseka. Ku kumbeteriwa nileswaku task team yi le ku xaviweni ku sukela migingiriko yo lwela swikoxo swa masipala.

[English Translation]: Good afternoon to the listeners of Mala FM. This is the twelve o'clock news with Rhulani Judas Mabunda. Malamulele residents have blocked all the roads to and from Malamulele Town in demand of the new municipality.

Show 8 News Bulletin: Lawa I mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi lawa mi hlayeriwaka hi Rhulani Mzamani. Vaaki va ka Malamulele vo tala va sungula ku hehla task team hi ku vula leswaku onge va xaviwa hi va demarcation board ku tshika swikoxo swa masipala. Task Team yona yi bakanyela kule swihehlo sweswo hi ku vula leswaku mhaka yo xaviwa a yi kona na swintsongo.
[English Translation]: Good afternoon to the listeners of Mala FM. This is the twelve o'clock news with Rhulani Mzamani. The residents of Malamulele have accused the Task Team of being sellouts. They feel that the Task Team is compromised and aligned with the intentions of the Board to block the establishment of the new municipality.

Show 9 News Bulletin: Inkomu ku siyeriwa nkarhi, mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi mi hlayeriwa wona hi Tracy Nobela. Ku tsandzeka ka president Jacob Zuma ku fika stadium xa ka Malamulele, swi vangile madzolonga lamakulu. Vaaki va sungule ku toyatoya hi matimba nakambe. Ku vuriwa leswaku shutdown ya vuya nakambe. Vaaki va lemukisiwa leswaku eka doroba ra ka Malamulele a ku ngheni munhu nakona a ku humi munhu. Task Team yi kombela vaaki ku lehisa timbilu.
[English Translation]: Good afternoon to the listeners of Mala FM. This is the twelve o'clock news with Tracy Nobela. President Jacob Zuma's failure to arrive at Malamulele as he promised has worsened the violent protests. The residents of Malamulele have vowed that there will be no movement in the town and communities until the president shows up.

Show 10 News Bulletin: I nhlekanhi vayingiseri, mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi mi hlayeriwa hi Rhulani Mzamani, Hungunkulu, Ku tlhakisiwa ka n'wana hi mutirhela mfumo wa xisati swi endle leswaku vaaki va le ka Xikundu va hlundzuka swinene. Shutdown yi ya emahlweni ka Malamulele. Eka rinwani hung uku vuriwa leswaku vadyondzi va swikolo eka Malamulele ku vuriwa leswaku va salele ndzhaku hikokwalaho ka shutdown ya swikoxo sw masipala hi va aki.
[English Translation]: Good afternoon to the listeners of Mala FM. This is the twelve o'clock news with Rhulani Mzamani. The abduction of a child by a civil servant has angered the residents of Xikundu, outside Malamulele town. In another news bulletin, it is reported that schools in Malamulele are still behind due to the impact of a shutdown that has kept learners out of classes for a long time.

The monolingual application of Xitsonga in Malamulele FM news meant that the station's news targeted the Vatsonga people in Malamulele and neighbouring areas. In South Africa, the concept of promoting indigenous languages in media, as suggested by Salawu (2006), has the potential to cause ethnic divisions and tribalism among the nation's historically marginalized language groups, especially if there are disparities regarding how their languages are represented. The representation of the Xitsonga language in Malamulele FM news presentation, as demonstrated in the extracts above, speaks of a media whose objective was to maintain a tribal or ethnic approach by presenting news in the Xitsonga language for the benefit of the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. Although the news reflected what was happening on the ground during the protests, it did not stand a chance to unite the two ethnic groups, the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele, since it was presented in the Xitsonga language. There

was also a subjective and biased approach in selecting news items for broadcasting where reporters only focused on the plight of the Vatsonga, excluding the Vhavenda people of Malamulele. In several reports of 'Hluvukiso wa va aki,' the journalists only interviewed the Vatsonga people. There were no news reports where journalists interviewed the Vhavenda people to hear their side of the story in the protests. All the interviewers, as observed, identified themselves as the Vatsonga people. Again, the interviews were conducted exclusively in the Xitsonga language, and all seemed to target the perspectives of the Vatsonga people on the protests. This was one of the news reports on 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' in which Xitsonga was used for interviews, focusing on the views of the Vatsonga people of Malamulele during the protests:

> **News Reporter, Mr Bishop Baloyi**: Hina muyingiseri, tatana Mabasa ku suka kwala eka Mphambo ku ta hi nyika mavonelo ya vona hi migingiriko yaku lwela masipala. "Minga ni byela xana shutdown yi vula yini eka va aki va ka Malamulele, tani hi loko hi vona ti service ta vutomi ti yimile"
> **(English translation):** Standing with me is Mr. Mabasa from Mphambo village. He will share his views on the use of shutdowns in their protests for their own municipality. I will ask Mr. Mabasa to explain why shutdowns are their chosen form of protest.
>
> **Mabasa:** "Hina tani hi va aki va ka Malamulele, especially hina Vatsonga shutdown yi vula kuri ku hava chumu wu faneleke wu endliwa until swirilo swa hina Vatsonga swa masipala swi hlamuriwile. Swifanerile leswaku ku yiwa emahlweni na shutdown ku fikela laha fumo wa Vhembe District wu hi yingisela leswaku ahi lavi kuya emahlweni hi hlupheka emavokweni ya Vhavenda lava tshikelelaku Vatsonga-Machanga eka Thulamela Municipality va hi chucha hita va na masipala wa hina eka Malamulele.".
> **English translation:** The shutdown means that there is no movement in our area until our demands for the municipality are met. We feel it's right to continue with the protests to force the leaders at Vhembe District Municipality to meet our demands for our own municipality for the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. They are suffering from tribalists Venda people in Thulamela Municipality, and we want to address this issue.

The monolingual use of Xitsonga in Malamulele FM in news reporting did not potentially position the station and its reporters as the agents for social cohesion, given the volatile tribal situation in Malamulele during the protests. Instead, it inadvertently promoted tribalism. The Vhavenda people were sidelined by the dominance of the Xitsonga language in news reports and interviews. Their opinions were not considered in the news program, as evident in the chosen shows for review. Howard and Bolt (2005) argue that broadcasters have a responsibility to present diverse viewpoints to mitigate ethnic conflicts and foster social cohesion. Therefore, the failure to include the perspectives of the Vhavenda people in news reports inadvertently positioned Malamulele FM as a promoter of tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people during the demarcation protests in Malamulele. The monolingual approach by Malamulele FM in the news presenting and reporting, as observed, entirely positioned the

station as an agent advocating for the promotion of tribalism rather than social cohesion. The situation in Malamulele was volatile, and urgently needed a community radio that would be inclusive with information. While Steyn (1998) argues that language has historically been used to divide society, he also concedes that if it is used representatively, it can also be a tool to unite diverse language groups. This study suggests that to promote social cohesion through language, Malamulele FM presenters and reporters should have utilised Lewis's (2015) multilingual programming approach, allowing for the simultaneous use of diverse languages within a single program.

7.3.1.4 The Role of Music in Conflict Situations: The Case of Malamulele FM

From an African perspective, music can be seen as a cultural activity that reflects a community's shared relationships and experiences (Frith 1996). It can also serve as a powerful tool for fostering a sense of belonging, whether to a specific ethnic group or a particular place (Gregory 1997:131). The academic study of music has been limited by the assumption that the sounds somewhat reflect or represent people (Frith 1996). However, in conflict situations, music can play a role in uniting ethnic groups living together in inclusive territorial zones. It can be understood by a diverse audience, regardless of language (Saglam and Kayaoğlu 2010). Research on the role of music in conflict studies shows that it can form alliances and influence emotional impact in conflict situations (Chisa 2018:25). However, if the content does not represent all social groups within an inclusive space, it may only convey a sense of belonging to a specific group of people. This can effectively communicate antagonistic attitudes toward other social groups (Chisa 2018).

The analysis under this theme aimed to establish the representation of music content at Malamulele FM during the demarcation protests to determine if it promoted social cohesion or perpetuated tribalism between the two groups that are the focus of this study. The analysis sought to ascertain the extent to which the music selection equally represented the cultural identity of the two ethnic groups. In this case, musical content has been analysed against its distribution as observed during the selected shows. The songs below have been listed according to three categories, coded as ‘Xitsonga songs, Tshivenda songs, and Others’ played on the selected shows of the ‘Hluvukiso wa va aki’ program on Malamulele FM. There was no order or pattern of listing these songs since random listing was preferred in this case. Musical content played under these categories is as follows:

Xitsonga Music:

> Jeff Maluleke, Vusiwana; MG Ntlemo, Ndzi dyiwe Xivongo; Thomas Chauke and Shinyori Sisters, Makhelwani; Team Shirimani, Nwana wa ku rila; Thomas Chauke, Yehovha; Eckson Maluleke, Xipapilani; General Muska, Hi wena ungati lovola; Colbert Mokwevho, Na Ku rhandza; Obed Ngobeni, Hovhorolo; Rebecca Malope, Khinsamani; General Muzka, Taxi driver; Thomas Chauke, Mavholovholo; Percy Mfana, Umanji, Nwa Mawillie; Ni lo bebula; Joe Shirimani, wa rila Nwana; Macingelani, Vana va Sesi; Peta Teanet, Maxaka; MD Shirindza, Ndlati; Tshetsha Boys, Tshetsha; Patric Nkuna, Ku rhula; Patrick Nkuna, Munhu wa misava; MD Shirindza, He Mijaji; MC Mabasa na Shigombe Sisters, valala; Mbuyangwani, Dyondzo; Prince Rhangani, Xiwitsi; Themba Chauke, Wani tolovela; Penny Penny, Milandzu; Goerge Maluleke, Honci; Thomas Chauke, Buku; HW Makhubele, Mhana Sbongile; Paul Ndlovu, Kombo ra mina; MD Shirindza, Xihangalasi; Khatisa Chabalala, Mfundhisi; MG Ntlemo, Hostela; Umanji, Salani; George Maluleke, Xirhandza thyaka; Thomas Chauke, Yehovha; Comrade Xigevenga, Swa boha; Doctor Sithole, Tava mbirhi; Chicco, Mjaji; Elias Baloyi and Mamba Queens, Hlayisa xaka; Conny Nwa Xinyori Chauke, Bulldozer; Sunglen Chabalala, Beer 3; Florah Chauke, Xivundza; Joe Shirimani, Juliah; Eckson Maluleke, Xipapilani; General Muzka, Wansati. I think it would be more beneficial to talk about the actual songs played on radio and if possible, give some lyrics from the songs and also give the English translation. As for the musicians you can just explain whether they were Xistonga or Tshivenda musicians. My take

Tshivenda Music:

> Tshivenda songs were not featured in all the selected shows or rather shows under review.

Other Music:

> Caiphus Semenya, Matswale; Ringo Madlingozi, Sondela; Stimela, I hate telling lie; Jabu Khanyile, Bayethe; Brenda Fassie, Mama; Deborah Fraiser, Mbambanani; Ringo, Intombi yam; Oliver Mtukudzi, Meria; Michael Jackson, Flight; Robert Kelly, I believe I can fly; Winny Mashaba, Ke rata Wena; Oliver Mtukudzi, Wa sakara; Stimela, Unifinished story; R Kelly, the storm is over; Caiphus Semenya, Nomaliso; Mzwake Mbuli, Africa; Sello Twala, We miss you Manelo; Jabu Khanyile, Bayethe; Avante, Iyeza.

Table 3: Number of songs played during the broadcasting of Malamulele FM's 10 selected shows of 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program.

	Xitsonga Music	Tshivenda Music	Others
Songs played	47	0	19

7.4.1 Coverage of Demarcation Protests on Vuwani FM

In this section, the study delved into a comprehensive analysis and discussion of the data collected through qualitative content analysis. The primary objective was to establish a solid foundation for comprehending the phenomenon under study from the vantage point of research question 2. The study sought to examine the impact of Vuwani FM on social cohesion between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga communities in Vuwani from 2020 to 2022. It considered the concern that the radio station's language hegemony may have perpetuated tribalism between the two ethnic groups. The violent protests in Vuwani began in 2016 and ended in 2017 following the establishment of the Collins Chabane Municipality when residents agreed to temporary placement under Vhembe Municipality as part of a mediation process. In 2020, the Vuwani demarcation protest transitioned from a violent nature to a civil resistance approach. In this case, the resistance had to be a nonviolent civilian-based tactic. This is when a conflict can be waged through social, psychological, economic, and political means without the threat or use of violence (Stephan and Chenoweth 2008). It must be noted that Vuwani protests embraced the violent tactic when it began in 2016, with the residents of Vuwani violently protesting their incorporation into Collins Chabane Municipality. In 2017, the group surrendered the violent tactic after agreeing to their temporary placement in the Vhembe district municipality (Phakgadi 2017). The worsening service delivery situation in Vhembe district led to divisions over boycotting the new municipality, resulting in their abstention from the 2019 national elections. In 2020, Vuwani residents agreed to integrate with Malamulele people for service delivery (Tau 2020). There was still a strong ethnic division and tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda groups in Vuwani and the neighbouring areas, even after the demonstrations' violent aspect subsided. It is noteworthy to point out that the protests that took place in Vuwani bear similarities to those that occurred in Malamulele in that both instances resulted from disagreements over demarcation matters (Risimati and Rankoana 2023; Baloyi 2018). The residents of Vuwani, for instance, were demanding their return to the Makhado Municipality. The demonstrations in Vuwani, like in Malamulele, sparked tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people (Mugovhani 2023). Furthermore, the study's hypothesis maintained that Vuwani FM perpetuated tribalism between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani.

With a closer look at Vuwani FM’s ‘Hot Time’ programming, this study paid attention to the recorded shows broadcast from 2020, the year in which the station started operating to 2022.

The year 2020 was also the year when the residents of Vuwani took a decision to accept services from the newly formed municipality of Collins Chabane. The initial plan was to analyse the ‘Hot Time’ program’s shows from 2016, when the protest began, until the year 2022, when it was learned that the demarcation board had revised its decision and the people of Vuwani would be re-incorporated into Makhado Municipality. However, the focus had to be shifted to between 2020 and 2022, as 2020 was the year in which Vuwani FM started operating. There were nine ‘Hot Time’ recorded shows collected for analysis all from 2020. The selection of shows was a deliberate process, taking into consideration that the station was on air for the first time in 2020. The year 2020, as already outlined, marked the transitional period of the protests from violent clashes to a more peaceful and civil form of resistance. It also marked the period when the people of Vuwani were temporarily and voluntarily placed under the Vhembe District Municipality to avoid being part of the Collins Chabane Municipality. The programming review of ‘Hot Time’ also included shows that were broadcast when the Vuwani residents agreed to be part of Collins Chabane, the municipality that they outrightly rejected at an initial stage. The protests in Vuwani and neighbouring areas continued beyond 2020, even though they were non-violent. The year 2020 was also the period when the residents of Vuwani made a collective decision to opt for services provided by Collins Chabani Municipality. This monumental decision stemmed from their dissatisfaction with the services provided by the district municipality, which were reportedly intolerable. The aim of this study was to investigate the assertion that Vuwani FM exacerbated tribalism and ethnic rifts between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga communities in Vuwani and the neighbouring areas by favouring one language over the other during the Vuwani demarcation protests. This entailed confirming the belief that the local radio station failed to foster unity between the two ethnic groups. In this section, the analysis delved into several key themes applied in the analysis of Malamulele FM’s ‘Hluvukiso wa va aki’: the language of broadcasting in the program's shows, critiquing the presenters' role in the shows, language distribution and ideology in news presenting and reporting, and the role of music in conflict situations.

7.4.1.1 Hot Time: The program’s shows and the language of broadcasting

Under this theme, the main goal was to analyse ten of Vuwani FM's 'Hot Time' programming shows. Only nine of these shows were analysed, with the tenth show being identified as a corrupted audio file. The analysis revealed that the station placed significant emphasis on

promoting the hegemony of the Tshivenda language in its programming. This was reflected in its deliberate efforts to steer the direction of topics and discussions, highlighting the influential role of the language in shaping the content and dialogue. This approach differed from Malamulele FM's monolingual strategy, which exclusively used Xitsonga in its programs. Vuwani FM's approach differed in that it implemented a language hegemony using a language quota system based on the principle of ethnic majoritarianism. From the reviewed shows, it was observed that Tshivenda was the most used language, while Xitsonga was featured less frequently in some segments of the shows. The following are a few cited examples taken verbatim from the introductory and welcoming remarks by Mr. Nemadimahulu, the presenter of Vuwani FM's 'Hot Time' show. These examples demonstrate the use of the Tshivenda language hegemony in all nine of the shows (English translation provided)

> Ndaa, ndikho vha tanganedza vhathetshelesi kha mbekanyamushumo ya vuwani fm ndi masiari, namusi rikho sedza khaedu dza ndeme dzine dza kwama masipala muhulwane wa tshitiriki tsha vhembe, hutshi katelwa na vhadzulapo vha vha vuwani rikho livha kha khetho dza mivhuso yapo husikale.
> **[English Translation]** Hello and welcome, Vuwani FM listeners. Good afternoon. Today, we are discussing important topics related to service delivery in the Vhembe district municipality and the preparedness of Vuwani residents for the upcoming local elections. Your opinions are highly valued in this program.
>
> Ndi masiari kha vhathetshelesi, hanefho hothe hune vhavha hone umona na Vuwani na kha mashango othe a tsini kha mbekanya mushumo yashu ya duvha na duvha,Hot Time. Tshau thoma nauto thoma rido humbela pfarelo khau kundelwa uvha na muambeli wa Pro-Makhado Task Team Vho-Nsovo Sambo kha situdio tshashu, sa zwe ra fulufhedzisa zwone risathu khunyeledza na mbekanya mushumo yashu yau fhedza.
>
> **[English Translation]** Good afternoon to all our listeners in Vuwani and neighboring areas! We want to start by apologizing for not having Pro-Makhado Task Team Spokesperson Mr. Nsovo Sambo in our studios, as we had promised at the end of our last show.
> Namusi rina nduni dza khasho rina vho mulaudzi, muhulwane wa kale wa tshi iwiswa tsha pro Makhado task team, huna uri zwazwino hu na u sikiwa huswa ha Vuwani service delivery task team. Vho mulaudzi, ndi masiari vho tanganedziwa nduni dza khasho. Vha tshinga ribvisela khagala kha muvhigo u ne vhadzulapo vha vuwani vha khou u fhandekanyiwa nga zwitereke zwa masipala wa collins chavhane.
> **[English Translation]** Today, we have Mr. Mulaudzi in our midst. He is a former treasurer of the Pro Makhado Task Team and is now with the newly formed Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team. Good afternoon, Mr. Mulaudzi, and welcome to our studios. Please share with us the reports that indicate the division among the residents of Vuwani regarding the boycott of Collins Chabane.
>
> Ahungavhi na vhueni nduni dza khasho namusi. Ri do livhisa mbekanya mushumo iyi kha vhathetshelesi vhashu . Rikhou lavhelela uri vhane vhadovha vho thetshelesa vhadori founela vhari vhudzavho nga mihumbulo yavho nga ha tshenzhemo ye vhavha nayo nga murahu ha musi vho kona u dzhia tsheo yauri vhado tanganedza tshumelo ine yakhoubva kha masipala wa Collins Chabane.
> **[English Translation]** There won't be any studio visitors today. We'll make it a listeners' show instead. We anticipate that those who are listening will give us a call and provide their initial thoughts on their experiences after deciding to accept services from the Collins Chabane municipality.

Ndi masiari Vhathetshelesi vha vuwani fm namusi nga musumbuluwo wavhudi, ndikho vha tanganedza kha mbekanyamushumo ya hot time hune ridovha rothe khaino mbekanyamushumo awara tharu dzothe, huna zwazwino rikhdo fara nyambedzo na muambeli wa masipala wa Collins chabane vho Robert mathe, rikhodo lavhelesa u fhatiwa ha robotho vuwani , khathihi nau vulwa ha mi makete Vuwani.
[English Translation] Good afternoon, everyone. I'm excited to welcome you to the show where we will be spending three hours together. Today, we have Mr. Robert Mathe, the speaker of the Collins Chabane municipality, joining us in the studio to discuss the opening of markets and the installation of robots in Vuwani.

Mbekanyamushumo vhoi diselwa nga murahu ha mugwalabo une wakhou humbulelwa uri vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vhakhou lila vhari masipala wa Collins Chabane ukhou kundelwa u swikelela dzinwe dza dzi pfulufhedziso dze vha masipala vha ita sa u pangiwa ha mavhone, u thogomela dzibada nau engedza mbalo ya dzigoloi dzau endedza vhalwadze (ambulances).
[English Translation] This show came at the backdrop of the alleged complaints by the residents of Vuwani that the municipality of Collins Chabane was failing to meet a few of their promises, such as installation of lights, maintenance of the roads and increasing the ambulances.

Ndaa! Ndi masiari ndi khou vha tanganedza kha mbekanya mushumo , vho sedzheni.Huna dzi mbilaelo malugana na tshivhalo tsha zwiito zwavhugevhenga tshine tshavha ntha vhukuma fhala vhuponi ha Vuwani, na ndila ine tshitshavha tshono shanduka fhethu hune vhathu vhakhoudi dzhenisa kha zwiito zwa vhutshinyi na vhugevhenga nga vhunzhi.Hu khou pfala huna mavhengele o vhalaho ano langiwa nga vhabvannda ane onodi hombokiwa.
[English Translation] Greetings and welcome to the show, Sergeant. There are complaints about Vuwani's high crime rate and how the region has turned into a haven for criminal activity. Many foreigners' shops have allegedly experienced thefts. Speaking under the pseudonym, a Somali national said that a group of armed men were robbing foreigners at gunpoint of their belongings while they were in their shops. Do you know this?

Kha vhari ndi tanganedze muthetshelesi wau thoma, Ndaa, ndikhouvha tanganedza kha mbekanya mushumo yashu masiari a duvha la namusi.
[English Translation] Let's answer the first call. Hello and welcome to our show this afternoon. Why did you cast your ballot for the ANC- the party that doesn't pay attention to your issues?

The above extracts illustrate the extent to which Tshivenda has hegemonically dominated Vuwani FM programming at the expense of the Xitsonga language. The extracts were simply the collated introductory and welcoming remarks the presenter, Mr. Nemadimahulu, expressed in Tshivenda language in all nine shows under review. These remarks, as they underscored the linguistic direction of the shows, indicate that the radio station was ethnically aligned with the Vhavenda people of Vuwani. Tshivenda's linguistic hegemony in these shows not only served the linguistic interests of the Vhavenda people of Vuwani but also underlined the linguistic disparities between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga communities of Vuwani, with the latter at the receiving end. Hlophe (2013) argues that linguistic disparities in an inclusive society affect minority language groups and subsequently position them as the victims of tribalism.

Milikowski (2000) alludes that social barriers such as tribalism can be effectively fostered by the media when they are linguistically defined and organized along ethnic lines. Therefore, viewing radio as a channel for effective access to information using the dominant language for inclusive audiences may aid in the narrative of tribalism (Hlophe 2013). It could be argued that Vuwani FM employed language dominance by using Tshivenda, assuming that the inter-ethnic community members of Vuwani, which is inclusive of the Vhavenda and Vatsonga, could effectively communicate and access information in the dominant language, Tshivenda. Stoop (2017) argues that millions of people in nations with significant linguistic differences are forced to learn and understand dominant languages in which they are not proficient, as it is believed that these dominant languages are easy to comprehend. It is a well-established fact that language comprehension on the radio greatly facilitates effective communication between the sender and receiver (Sirbu 2015). Language comprehension should be defined within the context of Lewis's (2015) multilingualism conceptual framework, where diverse languages can be simultaneously used in a single radio program. The accomplishment of this objective involves ensuring that a wide range of languages are equally distributed and represented. Salawu (2006) makes a compelling point about the importance of accurately representing individuals through their own languages. The scholar advocates for creating media content in the languages of the target audience as a solution to linguistic hegemony, emphasising the importance of providing easily accessible information to everyone and preserving minority languages from facing extinction. However, he does not explain how these languages should be distributed in broadcasting space without promoting linguistic hegemony. In South Africa, for example, the promotion of historically marginalized languages has always been affected by the linguistic hegemony phenomenon expressed through the quota distribution system (Hlophe 2013).

Tshivenda's hegemony was largely evident also in the interviews conducted by the presenter with the studio guests, as well as during the open lines with the listeners. Of course, the following selected open-line interactions between the presenter, Mr. Nemadimahulu, and the show's listeners affirm this hegemony (English translation is provided to facilitate readers' comprehension of the message):

> **Presenter, Nemadimahulu:** "Zwino rikhou nyaga udivhesa uri ndingani vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vho nanga uvhewa ngaa fhasi ha tshitiriki tsha Vhembe ufhira uwana tshumelo kha vhurangaphanda vhuswa ha masipala wa Collind Chabane. Rikhuouya uvula thingo thendeleki yashu nga u tavhanya rivha tendele vha tahise mbuno dzavho kha fhungo heli. Rido tama u tutuwedza avho vhane vhavha kha vhurangaphanda ha

Pro-Makhado Task, arali vhatshinga kona, vhari founele urifha vhutanzi kana uri bvisela khagala kha fhungo helinoni".
(**English Translation:** We are eager to understand why the residents of Vuwani have chosen to be part of the Vhembe district municipality instead of receiving services from the newly formed Collins Chabane municipality. We will soon open the lines to allow you to share your views on this topic. Additionally, we encourage the leaders of the Pro-Makhado Task Team to reach out to provide clarity on the issue.
Caller: Zwine rakhou lwela zwone ndi mbofholowo ya vhadzulapo vha Vuwani. Ro khakha naa rari hofuna vhothoma u amba narine vhapfa vhupfiwa hashu musi vhasathu dzhia tsheo hei. Ezwi asi zwaha vhadzulapo vha Vhavenda vha Vuwani vhane vhakhou hana utanganywa na Vatsonga. Fhedzi ndiu shaya u na nyambedzano kharine sa vhathu vha Vuwani. Ndingani vhatshi bvisa vhathu afho kha masipala vhane avhongo gungula uri ngahau diselwa ha tshumelo. Ro ima ro khwatha kha nndwa yashu. Athi vhoni zwotea udisa u khethekanya ha tshaka –ari Vhavenda kana Vatsonga, mara ri vhadzulapo vha Vuwani.
(**English Translation:** All we are fighting for is justice for the people of Vuwani. Are we wrong to say that they should have consulted us for our opinion before they made such a decision? It is not about the Vhavenda people of Vuwani being unwilling to integrate with the Vatsonga people, as suggested. It is simply the lack of consultation on our part as people of Vuwani. Why remove people from the municipality when they never complained about service delivery? We remain resolute that our fight is genuine and legitimate. I do not think it is fair to bring tribalism into this. We are not Vhavenda or Vatsonga, but people of Vuwani.

Presenter: Ndi zwone nah u amba uri vho hana Masipala nga mulandu wa u khethekanywa ha vathu zwi tshi ya nga dzitshaka?

[English Translation] Is it true that you rejected this municipality because of tribalism?

Mulaudzi: Rine ri khou vha khethekanya nga ndila de? Vhavenda na Vatsonga vha Vuwani ndi vhone vhathu vhane vha khou hana Collins Chabane Municipality.

[English Translation] In what way are we tribalists? The Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani are the ones who refused to be part of Collins Chabane, not just the Venda-speaking people.

Presenter: Zwi khou divhalea uri vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vho tendelana uri nga nwaha wa 2019 vha nga si dzhenele khau nangiwa u nwalisiwa vho humbuka uri vho pulana u di bvisa kha dzikhetho dza muvhusowapo nga nwaha wa 2021. Vha kha di dipfa hani nga hazwo?

[English Translation] "It is well-known that the residents of Vuwani declared in 2019 that they would not participate in voter registration drives, suggesting that they planned to abstain from local government elections in 2021. Do you still feel the same way about it?"

Mulaudzi: Ro vha ri tshi fara ho vhula vhuimo, fhedzi ri tshi sedza tshiimo tshi kondaho tshe vhathu vhashu vha dzula khatsho iwa tshifhinga tshilapfu u bva tshe ra thoma u gwalaba, ro mbo di da ra shandukisa mihumbulo. Ri tenda zwa uri vhathu vha vho rine vha tea u vha vha tshi khou neiwa naho ri tshe ro Lindela dzinwe tsheo. Ee, ri khou zwidivha uri vhanwe vha vhathu vho no tenda kha uri ri khou thoma u dzhiela vhasi vhukondi. Naho ri songo to ralo, vhathu vhahashu vha toda thuso ngauri vho kondelela u tambula zwo lingana. U bva a fho, nga u nanga ri fulufhela u amba thaidzo dzine dza ri kwama. Ni nga si ambe uri muvhuso a u kho ita tshithu nga u hana u dzhenelela kha mushumo wa matshelo. Ri khou humbela uri tshivhalo tshinzhi tsha vathu vhashu vha nange u humela kha Makhado tshifhingani tshi daho.

[English Translation] We used to hold that position, but considering the hardship our people have endured since we began protesting, we have subsequently changed our

minds. We believe that our people need to be served even while we wait for decisions. Yes, we are aware that some individuals already believe we are downplaying the difficulty. Although we are not, our people need assistance because they have endured enough suffering. Therefore, by voting, we hope to have a say on the problems that affect us. You cannot say the government is doing nothing by refusing to participate in such activities tomorrow.

Rendani: Ndi zwavhudi u vha fhano, ndi khou livhuwa. Ndi kale ri tshi khou ita dzitsheo dzi si dzavhudi u bava tshe rat homa u gwalaba. Vharangaphanda vhane vha se divhe mishumo ya vho ndi vhone vhane ra tea u pomokedzela vhone zwothe hezwi. Sa vhathu vha Vuwani ro fhedza ro fara kuitele kwa r inga si nange lwa tshiphirini nga nnda ha musi zwe ra amba uri khou zwi toda zwo itiwa. Ro da ra zwi wana nga murahu uri ri khou tea u nanga. Vhanwe vha vhathu vha nga fhedza vha tshi khou fhuriwa ka dzinwe ndila dzine dza do ita uri mishumo yashu I dzhieliwe fhasi. Kha dzikhetho dzi da hon di do tendela vha nangi/vhakhethi vha Vuwani vha tshi nangela tshiphirini. Ri do takusa maipfi ashu nga u sa dzhenelela.
[English Translation] It's a pleasure to be here and thank you. We have been making erratic decisions since the start of our protests. The leadership, who don't appear to know what their duty is, is mostly to blame for this. As Vuwani people, we initially held the attitude that we would not cast a ballot unless our demands were satisfied. We find out later that we are going to vote. Some people might be getting bribes or other forms of inducement to undermine our efforts. In the upcoming municipal elections, I oppose allowing voters in Vuwani to cast ballots. We will be raising our voice by not participating.

Elliot: Zwazwino ri fhasi ha ndango ya tshitiriki tsha Vhembe District masipala. Zwazwino ni khou toda ri tshi nanga kha dzikhetho. Ndi inwe ya dzindila dza gwalaba. Zwino mulandu ri tshi tea u nanga? Ri tshi khou itela mini? Mikhou toda Collins Chabane tshi tanganedza dzikhetho dzashu? Zwezwo zwi nga si konadzee. Ri nga si tanganisiwe na vathu vhane vha kovhekana muhumbulo muthihi na lushaka lwa ha Malamulele.
[English Translation] We are currently under the jurisdiction of the district municipality. You now want us to head to the polls. This is another form of protest. So, why must we vote? For what purpose? Would you like Collins Chabane to receive our votes? That is not possible.

There may be concerns about whether Vuwani FM, during the period under review, may have implemented a language hegemony using a quota system, as indicated in the preliminary findings of this investigation, or applied monolingualism as in the case of Malamulele FM. This study confirms that Vuwani FM applied language hegemony using a quota system approach based on ethnic majoritarianism. However, there were occasional instances during which the Xitsonga language was used in a limited capacity during the ‘Hot Time’ shows for news reports and sports coverage, challenging the assumption of monolingualism in the station. The limited use of this language in the ‘Hot Time’ program was also inconsistent. There were shows that could be run without it, underscoring the ideological impact of language hegemony in the distribution of languages in Vuwani FM. Hlophe (2013) asserts that language hegemony is an ideology rooted in the desire to achieve media representation through dominant languages. The scholar attributes this predisposition to a justified assumption of insufficient media space

for all languages. The Vuwani FM case poses a different scenario compared to Hlophe's (2013). First and foremost, there was no space problem to equally represent the linguistic interests of both ethnic groups co-existing in Vuwani and neighbouring areas. Particularly at the time when demarcation protests were taking tribal or ethnic slant. This study argues that the situation in Vuwani and neighbouring areas was volatile and needed a crucial mitigative intervention. Instead, the station continued with a quota system approach, resulting in the solidification of Tshivenda language hegemony and the Vhavenda people of Vuwani's ethnocentric behaviour. Of the nine 'Hot Time' shows analysed there were only three instances in two shows where Vuwani FM used use Xitsonga language, and that was in relation to news and sports reports. This can be confirmed by the following excerpt, which is part of a selective analysis of recorded audio clips from the 'Hot Time' program:

> **News Reporter, Fihleko Baloyi:** Eka Malamulele, xiyimo xikahle na nswona aku na madzolonga. Vanhu vakarhi va gingirika vati endlela swa vona. Ni kumekile ni vulavurisana na va aki va ka Malamulele hi xiyimo xa la Vuwani ehenhla ka ku ri va aka tik ova ndhawu leyi va kuma vu korhekeri eka district municipality wa Vhembe ematshanweni ya Collins Chabane. Vo tala va kombisile leswaku vanhu va le Vuwani vo ka vanga lavi ku fumiwa hi Vatsonga leswi swinga xihlawuhlawu xa ririmu. Hambi switetano, va nwana va kombisile leswaku vanhu va le Vuwani ava na xihoxo na swona ava kombelanga masipala na switsongo.
> **[English Translation]** In Malamulele, everything seems calm, and people are going about their everyday lives. To find out what the inhabitants of Malamulele thought about the situation in Vuwani, I spoke with several of them. Many said that the people of Vuwani, especially the Pro Makhado Task Team, are pushing the tribal agenda as payback for the Malamulele people's rejection of the Thulamela Local Municipality. They argue that tribalism, not the provision of services, was the root of the Vuwani residents' grievance with the Collins Chabane Local Municipality. Still, some argue that the inhabitants of Malamulele, not the people of Vuwani, were the ones who requested a municipality, and they have a point.

There was also one instance in the nine reviewed 'Hot Time' shows where the Xitsonga language was used during a sports presentation (English translation provided by the researcher).

> **The sport presenter, Norman Maluleke**: Ndaa Vho Nemadimahulu. Eka vayingiseri va Vuwani FM hikwakwako laha minga kona. Hi karhi hi langutisa eka mitlangu ya bolo eka Dstv Premiership. Laha hingata languta eka defending champion Sundowns leyi ya ha riku emahlweni hi mikutlunya leyi tsongo yi landeleriwa hi Kaizer Chiefs na Pirates eka xikundla xa vunharu. Leyi I league leyi ekarhi wa sweswi yi langutekaka yi ri ya mani na mani...
> **[English Translation]** "Hello to all Vuwani FM listeners! Today, we are discussing the latest football matches in the DStv Premiership. Currently, defending champions Sundowns are leading by a few points, with Kaizer Chiefs and Pirates following closely in third place. It seems like this is a very competitive league where any team could come out on top."

Vuwani FM was in an ideal position to use programming in both Tshivenda and Xitsonga to forge their unity and discourage tribalism. Lewis (2015) suggests what could have been an ideal solution to the tribal or ethnic situation in Vuwani during the protests from the community radio's perspective. The author proposes the adoption of a balanced co-presenting approach to programming, where presenters should be members of diverse communities. In this instance, the presenters, as he alludes, must employ a language interchange tactic, which allows an equal use of languages, of course, without repetitions. This is because, as he argues, repetitions may be monotonous to bilingual listeners.

The use of language hegemony based on a quota system approach not only affirmed the linguistic interests of Vhavenda speaking people during the shows but also silenced the voices of the Vatsonga people of Vuwani. The Tshivenda hegemony in the 'Hot Time' program, based on the reviewed shows, positioned Vuwani FM as the community radio aligned with the Vhavenda ethnic group. The language dominance also prevented any potential effort that the radio station could play in forging the unity between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani, especially in those difficult times. Instead, the station inadvertently perpetuated tribalism and ethnic divisions. There were many instances of 'Hot Time' shows where the linguistic domination of Tshivenda appeared to affirm the Vhavenda people as the only official cultural group in defining the listenership. This appeared to have set the basis for tribalism to the detriment of the Vatsonga people of Vuwani. Judging by the open-line interactions between the presenter, studio guests, and listeners, the Vatsonga people were excluded from the program by virtue of Tshivenda dominance- suggesting that the station catered to the monoethnic interests of the Vhavenda communities in Vuwani. This is similar to that of Malamulele FM, where the station's audiences comprised only the Vatsonga people. Gerbert's argument, that "the media are always ethnic, in the sense that, being produced in the language of a given ethnic group, they unavoidably strengthen the audiences'/readers' identification with that group" (cited in Pignatelli, 2016:128), is relevant with regards to Vuwani FM 'Hot Time' program during the demarcation protests.

The predominant use of Tshivenda language in the chosen shows seemed to have also reinforced the sense of identity among Vhavenda listeners, and their display of that identity "otherised" the Vatsonga, who were not present in the audience during the period under examination. The assertion of the Vhavenda's cultural identity and the "otherisation" of the

Vatsonga through Tshivenda language hegemony during the selected 'Hot Time' shows contributed to setting the basis for a further perpetuation of tribalism between the Vhavenda and the Vatsonga people living in the entire Vhembe District, of which Vuwani was a part. The following were some of the tribalistic remarks and ethnic-cultural stereotypes expressed by the listeners in the Tshivenda language during the shows (English translation is provided to facilitate readers' comprehension of the message):

> **Caller** : Mudavhidzani wa Vhuna: Ringasi rangiwe phanda "Tshibelane"(Tshiambaro tsha sialala tsha vhaTsonga tshiambareswaho nga vhafumakadzi). Avhavha na masipala wavho vhavhothe usina rine. Ringa namba raya makhado. Uvha ha vhaTsonga ulwela uvha na masipala hoyu zwiou sumbedza uri vhakhou nyaga tshumelo itshi isiwa kha vhaTsonga fhedzi vha Ha-Malamulele. Ritea uzwi divha futhi uri Vuwani ndiha vhaVenda nahone ra roluga nga fhasi ha masipala wa Makhado. Ringasi rangiwe phanda nga VhaTshangana vhane vhatou divha u tshina "Tshibelane" fhedzi.
> **[English Translation]** "We do not want to be governed by those who wear the 'Xibelani' (Xitsonga traditional outfit popularly worn by women). They can have their own municipality without us. We would rather go back to Makhado. The fact that the Vatsonga people fought to have this municipality shows that they want service delivery to be prioritized for the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. Also, Vuwani is for Vhavenda people, and we were contend under Makhado. We do not want to be governed by the Shangaan people who only know how to dance 'Xibelani'."
>
> **Anonymous Caller:** Ari vhoni uvha tshipida tsha masipala wa vhaTshangana zwitshi dovha zwavhudi kha vhadzulapo vha vhaVenda vha Vuwani. Vho luga vho ralo vhasina rine. Avha tendele vho rapolotiki vhatshi rihumisela murahu Makhado kana vharilitshe roralo kha tshitiriki tsha masipala wa Vhembe zwazwino.
> **[English Translation]**: "We do not believe that being part of the Shangaan municipality is beneficial for the Vhavenda people of Vuwani. They are doing well on their own without us. Please have the politicians either return us to Makhado or leave us under the Vhembe District Municipality for the time being."
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> **Anonymous Caller:** Zwine rakhou humbela zwone ndiu humiseliwa murahu kha masipala wa Makhado kana lwa tshifhinga nyana rivhe rifhasi ha masipala wa wa tshitiriki tsha Vhembe khau diseliwa ha tshumelo musi vhatshivha vhakhouda na thandululo kha thaidzo dzashu. VhaTshangana vha Ha-Malamulele ndi vhakhethululi nga tshaka
> **[English Translation]**: All we are asking for is to be reintegrated to Makhado or temporarily remain under Vhembe District Municipality for service delivery while they find a lasting solution to our problems. The Shangaans of Malamulele are tribalists.
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> **Anonymous Caller:** Mudavhidzani wa Vhusumbe (7): Redio ya vhupo yo iteliwa vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vhaVhavenda, nahone rikhou nyaga u lugisa fulu lashu nga ndila yashu-kana vhaya zwivhidza u khethulula nga tshaka ndi thaidzo yavho.
> **[English Translation]** This community radio is meant for the Vhavenda people of Vuwani, and we want to discuss our own plight, our own ways- whether they call that tribalism is their own problem.
>
> **Anonymous Caller:** Mudavhidzani wa Vhumalo(8): Roto mangala vhukuma uwana uri huna luta lwa mafhungo a TshiTsonga. VhaVenda ndivhone vho livhanyiswaho na mafhungo na tshititshi ndi tshavho. Rito mangala naha u vhalivha ha mitambo nga TshiTsonga. Rikhou tea u mafhungo nga TshiTsonga naa? Hai ringasi kone

[English Translation]: We are even surprised that there is a slot for Xitsonga news. Vhavenda people are the rightful target audience and owners of this station. We also wondering why sports news is presented in Xitsonga. Do we have to receive information in Xitsonga? No, we cannot.

Anonymous Caller: Nyimbo dza sialala dza VhaVenda dzitea u tambiwa ngauri dzi bvisa vhupfiwa naudi tongisa zwine VhaVenda vhavha nzwo kha luambo lwavho nan a sialala sa tshigwada tsha sialala. Tshinwe tshifhinga ari pfesesi uri dingani ritshi tea u kombetshedziwa u thetshelesa muzika wa TshiTsonga nga ndila ine rikhou kombetshedziwa u u languliwa nga Collins Chabane une wavha wa VhaTsonga vha Ha-Malamulele- vhathu vho tutshelaho masipala wa Thulamela nga ndavha yau khethulula nga tshaka vhane vha nyala u tanganiswa na VhaVenda vha Thohoyandou.
[English Translation]: "Tshivenda cultural music should be played as it reflects the pride that the Vhavenda people have in their language and culture as a cultural group. Sometimes we do not understand why we are forced to listen to Xitsonga music, just as we are forced to be serviced by Collins Chabane, which is for Vatsonga people of Malamulele. These are the people who left Thulamela Municipality because they are tribalists who disliked mixing with Vhavenda speakers of Thohoyandou."

Takalani: Naho ndi tshi zwivhenga uri rikhou tangana na vhathu vhau khethulula vhane vhabva ha Malamulele fhasi ha masipala wa Collins Chababane , ndipfa uri vhathu vhashu vhono pfeledza nga migwalabo heyi.
[English Translation] Although I hate going to mix with the tribalists from Malamulele under Collins Chabane Municipality, I feel our people had enough of these protests.

The identity expressions, such as “VhaVenda ndivhone vho livhanyiswaho na mafhungo na tshititshi ndi tshavho” or “VhaTshangana vha Ha-Malamulele ndi vhakhethululi nga tshaka (This station belongs to the Venda people of Vuwani, not the tribalist Shangaans from Malamulele), which appeared to ‘ingroup’ the Vhavenda people and ‘otherise’ the Vatsonga people of Malamulele, were sufficient for one to draw the conclusion that there were deeper ethnic divisions between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga in general. The ‘Otherisation’ of the Vatsonga people and the lack of their linguistic representation on the ‘Hot Time’ program was also sufficient proof that Vuwani FM was not on a mission to promote social cohesion between the two ethnic groups. Rather, it aided in the perpetuation of tribalism, using language hegemony. There were several tribal stereotypical comments other than the ones that have been outlined in this section, which did not find space in this discussion due to the delimitations set by this study. These comments are detailed in the summarized transcripts of nine 'Hot Time' shows, which are attached as addendums. These comments were also expressed along ethnic and tribal lines in the Tshivenda language.

It should be mentioned that these comments did not appear to be part of the station's agenda setting but were solely the expressions of the listeners who were the audience of the station. There was no instance on selected 'Hot Time' shows where the station, through the anchor,

appeared to have directly perpetuated tribalism or ethnic conflicts between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani and other respective areas. However, it can be inferred that the application of the Tshivenda language hegemony on Vuwani FM programming, based on the analysis of the 'Hot Time' program, inadvertently aided in perpetuating tribalism between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani, especially at a crucial time of the protests when the unity was all the two ethnic groups needed. The station should have at least applied the multilingual approach based on the perspectives of Lewis (2015), in which a single radio program can simultaneously employ multiple languages for the sake of accommodating diversity.

7.4.1.2 Vuwani FM's Hot Time: Critiquing Presenters 'role in the shows

This study also examined Vuwani FM presenters' role during the Vuwani demarcation protests using the 'Hot Time' program as a case study. As with Malamulele FM, it looked at the role played by presenters in this program, particularly at the time the communities of Vuwani were divided along tribal lines following the protests demanding against the new municipality of Collins Chabane. The program under inquiry comprised talk shows- with phone-in programmes, news, reading and reporting dramas, and music. Each segment of the program had presenters, with the program anchor being the main presenter. In this instance, the analysis focused on the main presenter's ideological and linguistic stance on the selected program to ascertain whether they encouraged social cohesion or promoted tribalism between the two ethnic groups- the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani and surrounding areas. The study reveals that the linguistic stance of the main presenter/host in representing the two ethnic groups on the program was questionable. The presenter/host always and exclusively, for the reviewed shows, spoke in Tshivenda- which suggests that the programming was intended for Vhavenda or Tshivenda speakers of Vuwani. There was no instance during these shows where the presenter/host expressed an opinion in Xitsonga nor encouraged the Vatsonga-speaking people to partake in the shows' topics. Although his presentation style and engagement with the audience were good, all the efforts were undermined by the fact that language usage was not cognisant of the fact that the Vatsonga people of Vuwani were legitimately part of the station's audiences. It is also imperative to highlight that there was not a single instance in the selected shows where the presenter/host, in his presentation of the program, used words advertently or inadvertently that sought to perpetuate ethnic divisions or tribalism between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani and the neighbouring areas. Because there was no

language neutrality in terms of representation, this study concludes that the 'Hot Time' program was incapable of uniting the diverse people of Vuwani- the Vhavenda and Vatsonga communities during the demarcation protests. There were many instances of language domination during the reviewed shows where the presenter constantly used Tshivenda language to introduce the programming topics and welcome the listeners or audience to the 'Hot Time' program. A few of these instances are outlined in the following excerpts, as articulated in the Tshivenda language (Translation was providedfor readers not proficient in Tshivenda):

> **Presenter:** Ndimasiari kha vhathetshelesi, hanefho hothe hune vhavha hone umona na Vuwani na kha mashango othe a tsini kha mbekanya mushumo yashu ya duvha na duvha, 'Hot Time'.
> **[English Translation]** Good afternoon to all our listeners in Vuwani and neighboring areas. Welcome to our daily program, 'Hot Time'.
>
> **Presenter:** Ndaa, ndikho vha tanganedza vhathetshelesi kha mbekanyamushumo ya vuwani fm ndi masiari, namusi rikho sedza khaedu dza ndeme dzine dza kwama masipala muhulwane wa tshitiriki tsha vhembe, hutshi katelwa na vhadzulapo vha vha vuwani rikho livha kha khetho dza mivhuso yapo husikale. Namusi Ridovha na Vho Mr mulaudzi muthusa mudzulatshidulo wa tshigwada tsha pro makhado ndi vhane vhadori dalela nduni dzashu dza khasho hune rakho do lavhelesa nau haseledza ngaha nyimele ya vuwani ,ine ifhasi ha masipala wa tshitiri tsha vhembe khathihi na nzudzanyo dzavho dza khetho dzapo dzinokho tevhela. Rikho livhuwa u daleliwa vho Mr Mulaudzi.
> **[English Translation]** Hello to all the listeners of Vuwani FM. Good afternoon and welcome to the show. Today, we will be discussing some important issues including service delivery in the Vhembe district municipality and the readiness of Vuwani residents for the upcoming local elections. Your input is greatly appreciated. We are honoured to have Mr. Arnold Mulaudzi, the deputy chair of the Pro Makhado Task Team, in our studio to talk to us about the situation in Vuwani, which falls under the Vhembe district municipality, and their preparedness for the next elections. Thank you for being here, Mr. Mulaudzi.
>
> **Presenter:** Ndimasiari. Namusi rina nduni dza khasho rina vho mulaudzi, muhulwane wa kale wa tshi iwiswa tsha pro Makhado task team, huna uri zwazwino hu na u sikiwa huswa ha Vuwani service delivery task team. Vho mulaudzi, ndi masiari vho tanganedziwa nduni dza khasho. Vha tshinga ribvisela khagala kha muvhigo u ne vhadzulapo vha vuwani vha khou u fhandekanyiwa nga zwitereke zwa masipala wa collins chavhane? Arali vha tshi ngari bvisela khagala u tshivhangi tshi nga vha tshifhio kha vhathu vhe vha vha vha tshi tshilisana u bva murahu. Zwi khou itisiwa nga u sikiwa ha Task Team inwe ntswa?
> **[English Translation]** Good afternoon. Today, we have Mr. Mulaudzi with us, a former treasurer of the Pro Makhado Task Team, who is now part of the newly formed Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team. Good afternoon and welcome to our studios, Mr. Mulaudzi. Can you please explain the reports about the division among the residents of Vuwani regarding the boycott of Collins Chabane? What has caused this division among the previously united residents? Is it due to the formation of the new task team, of which you are a part, or is there another reason?
>
> **Presenter:** Ndimasiari. Ahungavhi na vhueni nduni dza khasho namusi. Ri do livhisa mbekanya mushumo iyi kha vhathetshelesi vhashu . Rikhou lavhelela uri vhane

> vhadovha vho thetshelesa vhadori founela vhari vhudzavho nga mihumbulo yavho nga ha tshenzhemo ye vhavha nayo nga murahu ha musi vho kona u dzhia tsheo yauri vhado tanganedza tshumelo ine yakhoubva kha masipala wa Collins Chabane. Zwino kha vhari ndi fhindule muthetshelesi washu wau thoma. Ndi masiari ndi khouvha tanganedza. Ndi zwi fhio zwine vhono zwivhona? Naa vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vhakhou wana tshumelo ibvaho kha masipala wavho muswa?
> **[English Translation]** Good afternoon. Today on our program we won't have any studio visitors today. We'll make it a listeners' show instead. We anticipate that those who are listening will give us a call and provide their initial thoughts on their experiences after deciding to accept services from the Collins Chabane municipality. Now, let's answer our first call. Greetings for the afternoon. What do you observe on the ground? Are the residents of Vuwani receiving services from the new municipality?

The exclusive use of Tshivenda language during the introductory and welcoming remarks of the shows, as seen in the above excerpts, suggested that the station was targeting only the Venda-speaking audience. This study concludes that the main presenter of 'Hot Time,' Mr. Nemadimahulu, did not effectively include different languages in his approach as the program director. His decision to continue presenting the program solely in the Tshivenda language not only favoured the Vhavenda people but also discriminated against the Vatsonga people of Vuwani and the surrounding areas.

The program incorporated open lines for listeners to engage with the hosts and studio guests, highlighting the station's function as a platform for community involvement and participation (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1998). However, this interaction and participation were limited to the Vhavenda audience. Throughout the analysed shows, the host, Mr. Nemadimahulu, consistently interacted with listeners in the Tshivenda language during the open-line sessions. The presenter's intention to connect with the audience in their native language was evident during open-line sessions in the Tshivenda language, as highlighted in some of the reviewed shows:

> **Presenter:** Vhanga rifha vhutanzi uri naa ndingani vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vho nanga uvheiwa nga fhasi ha masipala wa tshitiriki tsha masipala wa Vhembe ufhira uvheiwa nga kha vhurangaphanda ha Collins Chabane, une watovha tsini na vhupo ha Vuwani ufhira ro kwakwanyisa na masipala wa Makhado.
> **[English Translation]** Could you please explain why the residents of Vuwani chose to be part of the Vhembe District Municipality instead of being served by the newly established Collins Chabane municipality, which is equally close to Vuwani as compared to Makhado Municipality?
>
> **Caller:** Ri khwine musi ringa fhasi ha tshitiriki tsha Vhembe naho zwitshi amba usa wana tshumelo. Ringa namba ra tambula nga fhasi ha masipala wa tshitiri ufhira u tanganiswa na vhathu vha Ha-Malamulel vhano khethulula nga tshaka.

[English Translation] We are better off under the Vhembe District, even if it means not receiving services. We would rather endure the district municipality than be integrated with the tribal people of Malamulele.

Caller: Tshauthoma,ari tutuwedzi u khethekanya nga tshaka nahone futhi ria zwiiledza nga ndila inwe na inwe. Vhathu vhatea uzwi divha uri kha la Vuwani huna Vhavenda na Vatsonga. Zwine rakhou lwela zwone ndi mbofholowo ya vhadzulapo vha Vuwani. Ro khakha naa rari hofuna vhothoma u amba narine vhapfa vhupfiwa hashu musi vhasathu dzhia tsheo hei.

[English Translation] Firstly, we are not tribalists and we condemn it in every possible way. People should know that in Vuwani, there are Vhavenda and Vatsonga people. All we are fighting for is justice for the people of Vuwani. Are we wrong to say that they should have consulted us for our opinion before they made such a decision? I think this is significant and deserves a brief discussion as it is a deviation from the majority of extracts.

Caller 3: Mudavhidzani wa Vhuraru: Ari myagi uvha tshipida tsha masipala hoyu nauri vhathu vhatea uzwi thonifha. Kani vhakhou nyaga uri vhidza vhakhethululi nga tshaka, izwo ndizwavho zwine vhangato funa. Rina vhaTsonga vhane vhakhou dzhenelela mugwalabo hoyu narine. Muambeli wa Pro-Makhado Task Team vho-Nsovo Sambo ndi muTsonga. Zwino vhakhou amba nga mini. Rine ri vhakhethululi nga tshaka? Nndwa yashu asi yakha vhaTsonga mara kha khoro ya masipala , ine yo dzhia tsheo isongo thoma yapfa vhupfiwa hashu sarine vhadzulapo

[English Translation] We do not want to be part of this municipality, and the people must respect that. If you want to call us tribalists, that's your own judgement to make. We have the Vatsonga people in this area who are participating with us in these protests. The spokesperson of the Pro-Makhado Task Team, Mr. Nsovo Sambo, is Tsonga. So, what are you talking about? Are we tribalists? Our fight is not against the Vatsonga people, but against the municipality board, which took a decision without consulting with us on the ground.

There were no instances during the reviewed shows where the presenter engaged with the Vatsonga listeners or encouraged them to be part of the shows. It is not clear from the analysis why there were no Vatsonga listeners. However, this study concludes that the dominance of Tshivenda language during the shows linguistically discriminated against the Vatsonga listeners. The issue of a language barrier could have been the impediment. Tshivenda was the primary language of broadcasting during the shows, positioning the radio as the Vhavenda people's radio. There has never been a single day of sampled shows where the presenter used tribal comments or cultural stereotypes against the Vatsonga people. At one point, he went to the extent of threatening to cut off air listeners who perpetuated tribalism against the Vatsonga people:

Presenter: Ri tenda kha la uri ri a lwa na ndila dzothe dza u lwa na nzulele kana lushaka lwa vhathu zwo katela na u thaseliwa ha lushaka lwa Vhatsonga kha la Vuwani. Arali vhudifari ho tou raliho ha bvela phanda, ri do ita uri ri vha bvise muyani. Nga u tou humbela/ nga u tou di tukufhadza, kha ri thonifhane. Ndi zwa ndeme u divha uri khasho

> yashu i katela vhathu/ tshaka dzothe isa dzhii sia. Naho zwo ralo ri a fha vhadzulapo tshikhala tsha u amba nga ha zwithu zwine zwa vha kwama.
> **[English Translation**] We strongly condemn all forms of tribalism and ethnic attacks against the Vatsonga people in Vuwani. If this behaviour continues, we will literally take you off the air. Please, let's respect each other. It's important to note that our station maintains a neutral stance on the protests. However, we provide a platform for community members to discuss the issues that affect them openly.

Despite his apparent understanding that the primary language of broadcasting at the radio station was Tshivenda, he consistently and adamantly discouraged tribalist expressions on the shows. The presenter seemed to recognize the importance of unity between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani, but his perspective was limited. He focused solely on reprimanding tribal stereotypes and derogatory ethnic remarks against the Vatsonga people, seemingly unaware of the impact of language hegemony on perpetuating cultural stereotypes and derogatory ethnic remarks. The presenter frequently criticized tribalism during the shows while at the same time inadvertently promoting it through language hegemony. The presenter also appeared to lack an understanding of the impact of language hegemony on the inter-ethnic community.

There were instances where the presenter acknowledged the presence of Xitsonga as one of Vuwani FM's broadcasting languages during his interactions with Mr. Norman Maluleke, the Xitsonga sports presenter. He was observed using a broken Xitsonga language, which was a sign that he was not proficient in the language: 'Minjhani buti va ka hina- Vho Maluleke, ha mi amukela'. He recognized the significance of Xitsonga as one of the broadcasting languages on the radio, especially when welcoming Mr. Norman Maluleke to present the Xitsonga sports news and when interacting with Mr. Fihleko Baloyi for Xitsonga news updates. However, this study concludes that the presenter Mr Nemadimahulu's application of Tshivenda hegemony on the Vuwani FM compromised the station's position as the community radio to foster social cohesion between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani, especially at the time when the two ethnic groups needed unity. The disparities between the Tshivenda and Xitsonga languages had the potential to create further ethnic divisions and tribalism between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people in the area. The study suggests that for Vuwani FM to promote social cohesion, it should have advocated for multilingualism to bridge the gap between the two ethnic groups within the community. This is because the media has a social responsibility to promote diversity (Fourie 2001). In case the presenter is unable to speak a certain language,

such as in the case of Nemadimahulu, co-presenting, as suggested by Lewis (2015), would have been an ideal solution to mitigate this issue.

7.4.1.3 Language distribution in Vuwani FM News

Most of the news delivered by Vuwani FM, based on the Hot Time's reviewed shows, was in Tshivenda. There was also a language hegemony in the presentation and reporting of news by the station, leading to the massive exclusion of the Vatsonga people as part of the audience along with the Vhavenda people. The Vatsonga people appeared to have been excluded in the presentation of the news, as in other segments of Vuwani FM's programming, because they were a minority group, and could adopt the language of the majority. Stoop (2017) addresses this predisposition in his argument that in nations with linguistic disparities, minority groups are expected to be informed in the languages of the majority. The Xitsonga language, based on the analysis of the 'Hot Time' program, was excluded mainly in the main news bulletins and reports, leading to a situation when it could be expected that they would only receive the news about what is happening in their surrounding in Tshivenda language, which was the language of the majority. This was a pure practice of linguistic hegemony since the Vatsonga listeners could only receive a large part of the news in the Tshivenda language. Suarez (2003:3) perceives this form of linguistic hegemony as infectious and dangerous to the survival of minority languages, as it can lead to a situation where "linguistic minorities will believe in and participate in the subjugation of the minority language to the dominant, to the point where just the dominant language remains". The reasons for linguistic discrimination of minority groups when it comes to accessing information. Luphondo (2005) points out the issue of linguistic hegemony and the ultimate desire to achieve monolingualism, where only one language exists as the primary reason for linguistic discrimination of minority groups.

Likewise, the linguistic hegemony of Tshivenda on Vuwani FM news, as demonstrated by a few chosen 'Hot Time' shows, which appeared to have linguistic prejudice and bias against the Xitsonga language. While only two of the twelve news bulletins were presented in Xitsonga on selected 'Hot Time' shows, ten were presented in the Tshivenda language. The disparities in the distribution of languages on Vuwani FM news, with Tshivenda getting a nod, positioned the station as an ethnic-based radio station committed to serving the linguistic interest of the Vhavenda people of Vuwani and the neighbouring areas. Vuwani is an inclusive area where

the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people live side by side (Baloyi 2018). Given that Vuwani FM operated within such a space, it is logical to think that its audiences should have been drawn from both the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of this area. With the lingering shadow of tribalism in the region after the demonstrations, one hopes that using both languages in its news programs would have helped bring the two ethnic groups together. The two ethnic groups in Vuwani needed to be informed in their own languages for easy access to the information. Salawu (2006) argues that accessing information in your own language addresses the issues of language barrier. However, the station continued broadcasting news predominantly in the Tshivenda language, leading to a situation where the Vatsonga people had to be informed in language they might not have been proficient in. This study asserts that the Tshivenda dominance in news entertained the linguistic interests of the Vhavenda people. The protests in Vuwani were reflected conflict that had reached its boiling point. There was a need for objective media at community level that would not only inform or update the communities about what was happening on the ground, but also educate them about the need for social cohesion to confront the phenomenon of tribalism. Reuben (2009) argues that news can shape the public's attitudes about a given issue, such as conflict, and it can also influence a resolution to the conflict. Vuwani FM news bulletins divided the two ethnic groups because it was presented in Tshivenda, the language in which the Vatsonga people were presumably not proficient in. In the following excerpts, a few news bulletins were selected to demonstrate the extent of linguistic hegemony of the Tshivenda language on Vuwani FM news, with reference to selected shows (English translations provided by the author)

> **Show 1 News bulletin:** Mapholisa vha tshilwavhusiku vha Kati na fulo lau todana na vhahumbulelwa vhevha thuntsha vha vhulaha mulinda wa tsireledzo vhaita nau shavha nga modoro wawe wa mushumo ngei Madombidzha zone 4 nga sondaha. Muambeli wa mapholisa vunduni la limpopo Lieutenant General malesela ledwaba vhari mapholisa vho swika afho he tshiwo tshaitea vha wana mulindi wa tsireledzo o taluswaho sa vho Vincent sivhada vho risiaVho ledwaba vhari modoro wa khamphani ya mulindi wa tsireledzo yo wanala yo dzumbiwa nga musumbuluwo ngei vhukati ha muvhundu wa tshiozwi na Madombidzha. Mapholisa vho vula mulandu wa bulayo nau tangula.
> [**English Translation]** The police are still searching for the suspects are also associated with the murder of a security guard from the Madombidzha Zone 4 village on Sunday. Limpopo Police Speaker Lieutenant General Malesele Ledwavha said the incident occurred at around 10:30 pm local time (10:30 pm GMT). Mr Ledwavha said the company motor vehicle, which was driven by the security guard was found hidden in the Tshiozwi area on Monday. The police have opened a case of murder.
>
> **Show 2 News bulletin:** Vhadzukapo vha Vuwani nga nwaha wa 2019 vho fulufhedzisa ugwalabela vhanangi vho nwalisaho vhane zwa zwino vho tendelwa u dzhenelela kha dzikhetho dzamuvhusowapo dza nwaha wa 2021. U yan ga ha tshikimu tshama Pro-Makhodo Task Team, dzibada dzo vhalisalaho, u shothelwa nga madi zwo vha ita uri

vha dzhihie tshipida kha dzikheto. Varhangaphanda vha Task Team vha khou koedzana uri vhadzulapo vhothe vha bve vha ye kha dzikhetho dza mavhusowapo dza nwaha wa 2021 vha di nangele dzitshumelo dzavho zwi sin a ndavha uri vha kha divha fhasi ha masipala wa tshitirikini tsha Vhembe. Tsheo ya dzikhakhathi uri vhadzulapo vha nange a i ngo to dzula zwavhudi na vhanwe vhadulapo vhane vha tenda uri vhanwe vha varhangaphanda vhane vha khou rengisa u kondelela.
[**English Translation**] Vuwani residents, who had vowed to boycott voter registration in 2019, have now decided to participate in the 2021 local government elections. According to the Pro-Makhado Task Team, the poor condition of roads and lack of water have prompted them to take part in these elections. The Task Team's leaders are urging all residents to fully participate in the 2021 local government elections and vote for improved services, despite still being under the jurisdiction of the Vhembe district municipality. However, not all residents support this decision, as some believe that certain leaders are betraying the community's struggle.

Show 3 News bulletin: Vhanwe vhadzulapo vha vuwani hanefha kha tshitiriki kha vhe be hanefha Limpopo vha khou takalela u tanganedza tshumelo ino bva kha Collins Chabane local municipality nga murahu ha musi vho hana tshumelo ini bva kha municipality wonoyo. Vhadzulapo vho hana iyo tshumelo lwa minwedzi nga maandesa vhadzulapo vho no dzula hanefho vhuponi ha Vuwani. Vhadzulapo vhari vho neta nga uri vho tambula lwa tshifhinga tshilapfu na u kondelela nga tshumelo ye ya vha ikhou disiwa murahu mathomoni ha musi oyu masipala utshi Thoma u takutshedza. Zwino vha ri vho no lugela uri tshumelo i de khavho habe. Vhathu vha khou ri vho tambula lwo lingana habeha zwe vha vha vha khou Toda ndi tshumelo.
[**English Translation**] Some residents of Vuwani in the Vhembe District Municipality of Limpopo are now open to receiving services from the Collins Chabane Local Municipality. This comes after a period of rejecting services from a municipality that the community had refused to recognize for several months. The Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team, which was recently established, stated that the community, especially those in Vuwani Township, has endured enough and is now ready for service delivery to commence. They emphasized that the boundary issue has caused significant suffering, and all they want is for the local residents to have access to necessary services.

Show 4 News bulletin: Thendelano vhukati ha thanganelano ya mivhuso, muhasho wa vhathu na ku dzulele na muhasho wa zwa mvelele (Coghsta), MEC Vho- Basikopo Makamu, masipala wa Collins Chabane na tshigwada tsha Pro Makhado Task yo sainiwa , hu u tendela uri masipala u thome u disa tshomedzo kha vhupo. Tshigwada tsho imelaho vhadzulapo vha Vuwani tshi khaditea u wela fhasi ha masipala wa Makhado une u fhasi ha mutsiko une wo vhangiwa nga shothodzo ya disedzo ya tshumelo nau dovha hafhu wa tenda tshumelo inobva kha masipala wa Collins Chabane. MEC Vho-Makamu vho dovha hafhu vha vula ofisi dza masipala dzare ngei Vuwani u itela uri masipala wa Collins Chabane u dise tshumedzo tshitshavhani. Vho-Makamu vho saina lunwalo lwaudi nekedzela vha na tshigwada tsha Pro-Makhado Task u humbela bodo ya u khethekanya vhupo yaha masipala uri i humbule nga hau todulusisa, u humbula hafhu ha mikano ya masipala. Mudzula tshidulo wa tshigwada tsha Pro-Makhado Task Vho- Takalani Mukhudi vho khwathisedza uri vho saina thendelano yau vhuedzedza hafhu tshumelo, fhedzi vho vha vhasakhou latedza muhumbulo: tshipikwa tshi hulwane tshau humiselwa kha masipala wa Makhado. “Ro tendelana na muvhuso uri rido shumisana na masipala wa Collins Chabane kha disedzo ya tshumelo.”
[**English Translation**] An agreement has been reached between the Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs (Coghsta) MEC Basikopo Makamu, the Collins Chabane Municipality, and the Pro-Makhado Task Team to allow the municipality to begin providing services to the Vuwani area. The task team, which has been advocating for Vuwani residents to remain under the Makhado Municipality, has decided to accept services from the Collins Chabane Municipality due to a lack of service delivery. As a result, MEC Makamu has reopened the Vuwani municipal offices

> to facilitate the provision of services by the Collins Chabane Municipality. Additionally, Makamu has signed a commitment letter with the Pro-Makhado Task Team to request the Municipal Demarcation Board to investigate the redetermination of municipal boundaries. While the Pro-Makhado Task Team chairperson, Mr. Takalani Mukhudi, confirmed the agreement for the restoration of services, he stated that they are not abandoning their mission to return to the Makhado Municipality. He emphasized, "We have agreed with the government that we will cooperate with the Collins Chabane Municipality in delivering services."

The linguistic hegemony of Tshivenda on Vuwani FM was confirmed by the least representation of the Xitsonga language. This nullifies the assumption that Vuwani FM may have also pursued the practice of monolingualism, as was the case of Malamulele FM during the demarcation protests in Malamulele. Although the representation of Xitsonga was minimal, this study can affirm that it was represented, affirming the extent of language hegemony in Vuwani FM. It is important, though, to mention that the Xitsonga language was only and minimally represented in two shows of the nine selected shows for analysis- this was in news updates and sports news. The following is a news report by Fihleko Baloyi where the Xitsonga language was represented (**English translations provided by the author**)

> **News Reporter, Fihleko Baloyi:** Eka Malamulele, xiyimo xikahle na nswona aku na madzolonga. Vanhu vakarhi va gingirika vati endlela swa vona. Ni kumekile ni vulavurisana na va aki va ka Malamulele hi xiyimo xa la Vuwani ehenhla ka ku ri va aka tik ova ndhawu leyi va kuma vu korhekeri eka district municipality wa Vhembe ematshanweni ya Collins Chabane. Vo tala va kombisile leswaku vanhu va le Vuwani vo ka vanga lavi ku fumiwa hi Vatsonga leswi swinga xihlawuhlawu xa ririmu. Hambi switetano, va nwana va kombisile leswaku vanhu va le Vuwani ava na xihoxo na swona ava kombelanga masipala na switsongo.
> [**English Translation**] In Malamulele, everything seems calm, and people are going about their everyday lives. To find out what the inhabitants of Malamulele thought about the situation in Vuwani, I spoke with several of them. Many of them said that the people of Vuwani, especially the Pro Makhado Task Team, are pushing the tribal agenda as payback for the Malamulele people's rejection of the Thulamela Local Municipality. They believe that tribalism, not the provision of services, was the root of the Vuwani residents' grievance with the Collins Chabane Local Municipality. However, some argue that the inhabitants of Malamulele, not the people of Vuwani, were the ones who requested a municipality, and they have a valid point.

The following was the only sports report in the Xitsonga language covered by Norman Maluleke in the analysis of the nine 'Hot Time' shows, explaining the extent of the language hegemony in Vuwani FM news programming (English translations provided by the author)

> **The sport presenter, Norman Maluleke:** Ndaa Vho Nemadimahulu. Eka vayingiseri va Vuwani FM hikwakwako laha minga kona. Hi karhi hi langutisa eka mitlangu ya bolo eka Dstv Premiership. Laha hingata languta eka defending champion Sundowns leyi ya ha riku emahlweni hi mikutlunya leyi tsongo yi landeleriwa hi Kaizer Chiefs na Pirates eka xikundla xa vunharu. Leyi I league leyi ekarhi wa sweswi yi langutekaka yi ri ya mani na mani...

> [**English Translation**] "Attention Vuwani FM listeners, no matter where you are tuning in from. Today, we're discussing the DStv Premiership football matches. Currently, the defending champion Sundowns is leading by a few points, followed by Kaizer Chiefs and Pirates in third place. It seems like everyone has a chance in this league at the moment."

There is no denying the fact that Vuwani FM, was linguistically aligned with the Vhavenda people in any form of broadcasting. This study argues that considerations should have been taken for linguistic impartiality, where the languages of the two ethnic groups could have been equally represented to prevent protests from blossoming into ethnic episodes. It is argued that news shapes public opinion on issues happening in society (Reuben 2009). From the analysis of the 'Hot Time' program, it is evident that the news presented by Vuwani FM was linguistically subjective and biased against the Vatsonga people of Vuwani. It only favoured the Vhavenda people, who could easily access it in their own languages. The ethnic violence that led to the genocide in Rwanda and the 2007 election killings in Kenya should be good examples of the harmful effects of biased news, particularly where language is used as a discriminatory tool(Adeyanju 2018; Kurtis 2018; Pignatelli 2016; Arcan 2013; Howard 2009). The demarcation protests between 2016 and 2022 divided Vhavenda and Vatsonga, along tribal lines (Baloyi 2018). Most importantly, they turned into ethnic events for ethnic violence between the two groups (Baloyi 2018). With the situation on the ground, it should have been logical to think that Vuwani FM should have tried to be linguistically neutral in their reports about the protests and other newsworthy stories of that period to avoid being regarded as a biased community radio attached to Vhavenda ethnic group. They should have applied Lewis's (2015) programming multilingualism approach, where the two ethnic groups' languages should have been used interchangeably to avoid bias and apparent prejudice that could lead to ethnic violence and the killing of so many innocent people based on ethnolinguistic disparities. The study reveals that the news bulletins and reports of the station were factual and relevant to the issues fought by the people of Vuwani. However, they were biased in the sense that they were presented predominantly in the language of the majority groups- the Vhavenda-speaking people of Vuwani. The Vatsonga people of Vuwani were inexorably left out due to the Tshivenda language's linguistic predominance in the news. Salawu (2006) reiterates on the need for local language radio to use the language of their audiences. Even though Vuwani FM mostly broadcasts news in Tshivenda, this study contends that the station did not consider the Vatsonga people's existence as a part of the Vuwani community while using the language. It believes that the station favoured the predominant use of Tshivenda over Xitsonga, which featured less in broadcasting. This study concludes that Vuwani FM failed to foster social

cohesiveness between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people due to the predominance of Tshivenda in the programming of their news, as it was the case in with other segments of their programs.

7.4.1.4 The Role of Music in Conflict Situations: The Case of Vuwani FM

Vuwani FM's 'Hot Time'' was a talk program that included music content. As was the case with Malamulele FM, music content in this section formed part of the analysis of this chapter. In this chapter, particularly in the analysis of Malamulele FM, this study examined the academic discourses on the function of music in society to get an understanding of the potential role that music can play in ethnic conflict situations. One of the roles that music plays is to give a sense of belonging to ethnic groups (Gregory 1997). The sense of belonging for the co-existing Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani could have been when the two ethnic groups accepted each other as part of one community in their diversity. However, the sense of belonging goes deeper than just a scientific explanation or demarcation decision. It is entrenched in the politics of social disparities, where the sense of belonging within a social space is determined by the hegemony of one's group of association. Rudwick (2006) unequivocally deliberated on the concept of a 'sense of belonging,' implying one belongs to either 'in-group or out-group,' with the latter being the victims of exclusion. South Africa has a history of unifying its people in their diversity through music (Ludemann 2021). The situation in Vuwani demanded any mitigating form of effort to prevent it from becoming a divisive ethnic event. Vuwani FM was an ideal community radio station to shape public opinion through its programs in the areas of Vuwani, given that it was established for the communities of Vuwani. It was supposed to diversify programming in an inclusive and representative manner. Programming in music could have played a major role in solidifying the sense of belonging to the two ethnic groups. This could have been achieved if the music was inclusive and representative of the two ethnic groups. The music was supposed to play a role in unifying the two groups in their diversity, lest their union disappear through tribal and ethnic cracks. This study, therefore, examined all songs played during the selected 'Hot Time' program, particularly for the period under review. After studying all the songs, this study concludes that most songs featured failed to foster social cohesion between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani. It largely reflected only the linguistic interests and cultural identity of the Vhavenda people. Chisa (2018) posits that music must be representative of all social groups

within an inclusive space to express the sense of belonging of diverse ethnic groups. The author argues that music, if it is not expressively representative, can effectively communicate antagonistic attitudes toward other social groups. The representation of music in this station, based on the reviewed 'Hot Time' shows, was biased toward Vhavenda's cultural identity while partially representing the Vatsonga people. The distribution of music content in this radio station largely promoted tribalism and solidified ethnic divisions between the two ethnic groups.

The following is the list of all songs played for the reviewed shows:

> Kokovha, Tshikiri poto; Makhadzi, Shumela Venda; Jekete, Rwani Lende; Lucky Dube, Ohh my son; David Mmumbi, Mukegulu; DJ Mfundhisi, Kwala ka tolo; Colbert Mukwevho, Ndikho vhuya nae; Celin Dion, Love doesn't ask why; Prefix, Funanani; Gusba banana, Mashonzha; Dalom Kids, Vhana vhanga; Celin Dion, I love you; Dr Bishop Madzinge, rido ima; Mahlathini and Mahotela Queens, Gaza; Maiwangu tshilombe by Naledzani Netshirembe, Ndido mulwela by Worth Vee, Ohumbula murahu by Meskay, Bivhili by Rev Mugeri, Mmbya yanga by Ntshengedzeni Maphodo, and Original roots by Tshenge; Mahulu wanga by Sankambe, Ntodiseni by Takie Special and Takalani Band, Mafhungo a vhukuma by Vendaboy Poet, Mitodzi by Mizo Phyll, Mukosi by Bonus, Ndo riwa by Ras Canly x Mizo Phyll, Muvenda by DJ Thabz x Wizzy Low x Young King Emo, and Ndono zwidowela (rmx) by Razie Kay x Ramzeey x Profox; Fhumulani by Makhadzi, Kondelelani by April Ramufhi, Nne na inwi by Colbert Mukwevho, Dza Vhavenda by Lee Muvenda, Thoman ga nne Murena by Worship House, Ndi a Mufuna by Ramzeey, Tshira Tsha Muthu Ndi Mbilu by Paul Mulaudzi; Zwivhuya by Makhadzi, Babe by King Kruize, Muvenda ngani by Paul Mulaudzi, Hafha by Esther Badzhi, Nwari by Tedious Matsito, Nwana o ngalangala by Adziambei, Zwoluga by Lufuno Dagada; lucky Dube, ohh my son; David mmbi , mukegulu; Colber Mukwevho, nga mu fara (Ha nga dovhi); Makhadzi, Shumela Venda; Ramzeey, Ndi a Mufuna; Paul Mulaudzi, Tshira Tsha Muthu Ndi Mbilu; Bonus by Mukosi, Funanani by Prefix, Vhana vhanga by Dalom Kids, I love you by Celin Dion, Rido ima by Dr Bishop Madzinge, Gaza by Mahlathini and Mahotela Queens.

During the selected shows, a total of sixty-seven songs were played. Out of these, fifty-seven were Tshivenda songs, three were Xitsonga songs, and the remaining seven were songs in other languages. This analysis suggests that Vuwani FM prioritizes Tshivenda cultural music over Xitsonga and other languages. Many of the songs played were in Tshivenda, which may hinder the station's ability to promote social cohesion between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani. To address the issue of tribalism and ethnic divisions in Vuwani and neighbouring areas, Vuwani FM should consider representing both ethnic groups equally in its programming, including through music.

Table 4: Number of songs played during the broadcasting of Vuwani FM's 10 selected shows of the 'Hot Time' program.

	Tshivenda Music	Xitsonga Music	Others
Songs played	57	3	7

7.5 Conclusions

The study concludes Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM portrayed a picture of a community radio that was founded on ethnolinguistic lines to serve audiences that are exclusively of one ethnicity. The two community radio stations were set up, accordingly, in the inclusive areas where Vhavenda and Vatsonga people coexist. Considering the seriousness of the protests and ethnic divisions and tribalism they were sowing in both Malamulele (2013-2016) and Vuwani (2016-2022), it was logical to argue that the two community radio stations should have portrayed an associative inclusive identity of these co-existing ethnic groups on their programming by employing multilingualism in their programming (Lewis, 2015). This should have been done with a view to unite the two groups at those trying times irrespective of their number. Kim (cited in Lee 2012) argues that the inclusive identity orientation serves as a cognitive and motivational basis of associative behaviour which is integral in unifying diverse people within inclusive spaces of the society. Both stations, although founded in inclusive communities, failed in their attempts to associate, and bring together the Vatsonga-Vhavenda interethnic communities of Malamulele and Vuwani during their separate demarcation protests. The two stations effectively disassociated the two ethnic groups by employing linguistic hegemony and monolingualism in their respective programming. Kim (cited in Lee, 2012:31) also perceives the exclusive identity orientation as a basis for a dissociative behaviour- which is "closely linked to a more rigid differentiation of oneself from ethnically dissimilar others". The study reveals that the dissociative behaviours of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM were linked to their ethnic identification with dominant ethnic groups in the inclusive zones of Malamulele and Vuwani. It is important to note that Malamulele FM monolingually used Xitsonga language in Vatsonga-dominated Malamulele areas, while Vuwani FM primarily used Tshivenda in Vuwani, where Vhavenda were the dominant ethnic group. The separate ethnolinguistic identification of the two stations with two ethnic groups- the Vatsonga and Vhavenda respectively can be located within Gebert's argument, that "the media are always ethnic, in the sense that, being produced in the language of a given ethnic group, they

unavoidably strengthen the audience´s/reader's identification with that group" (in Pignatelli 2016: page 128). The use of linguistic monolingualism and hegemony respectively in both stations undermined their effort to promote social cohesion and integration of the two ethnic groups during the demarcation protests. It must be noted that one of the crucial social responsibilities of media is that the independence of media should be emphasized in relation to their responsibility towards society. Crucial to this responsibility is the mandate that:

> the media collectively should represent all social groups and reflect the diversity of society by giving people access to a variety of viewpoints and the right to react to these viewpoints; society is entitled to expect high professional standards, and intervention is justifiable if the media fails to meet these standards (Fourie 2001:272).

Instead, they continued to perpetuate tribalism and ethnic divisions through language hegemony, as this could be perceived by the dominance of Xitsonga and Tshivenda, respectively, on the selected programming for analysis. This study concludes that that Malamulele FM's monolingual approach and Vuwani FM's language hegemony quota system approach contributed to the sustainment of ethnic conflicts and tribalism in the communities of Vuwani and Malamulele, respectively, during the demarcation protests.

CHAPTER 8: THE ROLE OF RADIO PROFESSIONALS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION: MALAMULELE FM AND VUWANI FM PERSPECTIVES

8.1 Introduction

Many of the challenges currently faced by Africa revolve around conflicts (Odine 2012). The root of these issues lies in the belief that media professionals play a significant role in perpetuating conflicts for various reasons. This study reviewed numerous research papers on the role of media professionals in conflict situations. The findings suggest that media professionals indeed play a substantial role in fuelling conflicts for political and financial motives (Adeyanju 2018; Kurtis 2018; Pignatelli 2016; Arcan 2013; Howard 2009). In many cases, politicians influence media professionals to settle political scores. These conflicts often manifest along ethnolinguistic lines, resulting in significant loss of life. Notable examples include the 1994 Rwanda genocide, the post-2007 Kenyan election massacre, the Biafra conflicts in Nigeria, Kurdish-Turkish ethnic conflicts, Belgian linguistic conflicts, and the Balkan conflict, among others (Adeyanju 2018; Kurtis 2018; Pignatelli 2016; Arcan 2013; Howard 2009). Howard and Rolt (2005) describe the negative role of media professionals in conflict situations as a professional problem, largely due to a lack of knowledge or motivation to meet market demands. The authors argue that broadcasters and producers may lack a full understanding of the potential harm caused by insensitive reporting on conflict topics. In their pursuit of increased listenership, broadcasting outlets frequently host guests with divergent viewpoints to participate in intense debates, aiming to captivate audiences and appeal to advertisers. Nevertheless, the insensitive handling of these conflicts can inadvertently exacerbate them if not carefully managed. Scholars argue that broadcasters often lack the necessary skills to effectively identify and address these conflicts. Understanding conflicts requires specialised professional skills and proper training to prevent perpetuating them (Howard and Rolt 2005). While recognising the advanced understanding of conflicts developed by diplomats, negotiators, and social scientists, Howard and Rolt (2005) express concern about the limited knowledge of conflicts among journalists and presenters. Shedding light on the argument, Howard and Rolt (2005:6) state that:

> Journalists make news reports on violent conflict as it happens, and presenters talk about it on the air, often without an appreciation of root causes, knowledge of the different kinds of conflict, or awareness of how it can end…that is like describing an

> illness without reporting on what causes it and without reporting on what causes it and without reporting on the medicines that can cure it (Howard and Rolt 2005:6).

Professionalism is also cited among the reasons why media professionals are unable to inspire solution in conflict situations. From a professional point of view, media workers must always be objective. Nel (2005) suggests that the claim of objectivity by media professionals has been a way of countering interference:

> In order to counter meddling by publishers and advertisers, journalists have declared that they needed to tell their stories objectively. When politicians and other powerful voices in society complained about the way news was reported, editors and journalists retorted that they were merely telling things the way they were; they were being objective (Nel 2005:53).

Media professionals are expected to maintain objectivity in their work, yet they often face criticism for failing to offer solutions in conflict situations or for completely neglecting to cover them. Media professionals hold a crucial social responsibility to abstain from disseminating information that could incite crime, violence, or social disruption, as well as content that may offend ethnic or religious minorities (Fourie 2001). Meanwhile, when operating in conflict environments, they are confronted with the challenge of balancing their duty to help alleviate tensions with the risk of being perceived as taking sides, as they are also impacted by the conflicts as members of the involved communities. Often, when media professionals objectively cover sensitive topics, they are accused of being insensitive or not being aligned with the objective of social cohesion. Alternatively, if they choose not to cover these topics because of their sensitivity, they are still accused of impeding people's right to information. The former SABC Chief Operation Officer, Mr. Hlaudi Motsoeneng, was once accused of censoring the state broadcaster by suggesting that the SABC would no longer show violent protests on any of its channels in order to educate the population and send a message that violent action would not get them the attention they seek. This was in relation to the 2016 Vuwani demarcation violent protests, where 17 schools in Vuwani municipality in Limpopo were burnt to the ground, reportedly in protest of a High Court decision in a demarcation matter involving the integration of the Vhembe District. Hlaudi stated that:

> We will show that violent protests are not necessary, and as a responsible public institution, we will not assist these individuals to push their agenda that seeks media attention (Business tech Media Staff Writer, 2016).

In an opinion piece published by Mail & Guardian on 27 June 2016, Glenda Daniels urged civil society and the public to challenge Hlaudi Motsoeneng's SABC censorship. The decision made by the SABC under the former COO's leadership was based on the belief that showing violent conflict images would contribute to perpetuating those conflicts. Motsoeneng's argument, as opposed by Daniels (2016), was that the public needed to be shielded from seeing harsh realities, akin to protecting children. The debates surrounding Hlaudi's censorship rationale highlight the challenges that media professionals face when making decisions about reporting on conflicts and subsequently being criticized for either perpetuating or condemning them. Critics of Hlaudi saw the SABC's decision to refrain from showing violent images as a way of perpetuating conflicts. They argued, as outlined in Glenda Daniels's article, that exposing the violence could help bring it to an end, as it would hold perpetrators accountable in the eyes of the public. For them, putting an end to violence was seen as part of broader social cohesion objectives, particularly in the context of Vuwani.

Daniel (2016) emphasizes the complexities involved in interpreting professional standards for media institutions and professionals when defining their roles in conflict situations. There is a notable divide between those advocating for impartiality in delivering fact-based, trustworthy news and those promoting empathy journalism (Kokerov 2022). Media professionals who strive to report conflicts objectively, without emotional attachment, are often perceived as dispassionate and unengaged. In this context, a pertinent question may arise about whether media professionals should resist the temptation to inject personal elements into their reporting on conflict situations or report them as just news. Nel (2005) argues that it is impractical to eliminate subjectivity in the media as professionals are shaped by their societies, education, exposure, and their state of mind. In fact, Ward (2010) asserts that media professionals are not automatons, and thus, emotional expressions should be expected. Ward (2010:2) further argues that:

> good coverage of disasters is a skilful combination of the emotional and the objective sides of journalism. The issue is not whether journalists should display emotions. The idea that journalists must be detached and neutral in the middle of chaos is outdated and wrong. In a disaster zone, journalists are not neutral observers. They are part of the world's response, an essential communication channel for the rescue effort, and for the raising of funds for humanitarian agencies.

Ward (2010:2) suggests that the choice between objective reporting and emotional journalism is not 'aloof; both should converge in journalism,

> the emotions provide motivation for journalists and encourage public engagement. The deep emotions aroused by tragedy can motivate journalists to dig further into the story. Stories that report the plight and emotional fragility of victims attract the attention of the world and summon help (Ward, 2010:2).

The author underscores the significance of guiding reporters to maintain objectivity, verify facts, utilize expert knowledge, present diverse perspectives, and consider historical context to ensure accuracy. Nel (2005) shares Ward's (2010) view on the unavoidable melding of emotive and objective reporting. The author also recommends that media professionals first acknowledge their own biases and, if their objective is to cater to a broad audience, actively strive for balance, neutrality, and fairness. To drive his point, Nel (2005:55) further alludes that:

> fairness in reporting makes it conceivable that a Jewish reporter can, for example, write an impartial story about conflict between Israel and Palestinians by approaching a range of reliable sources and presenting a balanced account of the event and its significance to all involved. Fairness in writing stories means that events are placed in the context and age, and the ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation are not pointlessly emphasised, reinforcing falsely stereotypes.

In Africa, where ethnicity plays a significant role, conflicts are nearly inevitable (Odine 2012). Given that conflicts are a primary focus of the media, it is essential for media professionals to effectively report on them. Regardless of their personal or professional perspectives, media professionals such as presenters and reporters have a crucial role to play in contributing to conflict resolution. This chapter draws insights from interviews with producers, reporters, and presenters of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM, community radio stations. The focus was to get an understanding of their involvement during the demarcation conflicts in Malamulele (2013–2016) and Vuwani (2016–2022). The chapter explores the assumption that presenters and reporters at these radio stations may have promoted linguistic dominance in their programs, perpetuating tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people during the demarcation protests. The idea was to ascertain if these media professionals really perpetuated tribalism or fostered social cohesion between the two ethnic groups. The analysis in this chapter is based on the ideological perspective of multilingualism and is informed by Lewis' (2015) premise that a single radio program can use diverse languages to foster social cohesion. It is also conducted within the framework of the Social Responsibility of Media, Interethnic Communication, Democratic and Social Cohesion, and Political Economy. The chapter's

analysis was carried out based on the first probing research question, as outlined in Chapter 1. The following is the research question:

Research question:

How did the language used by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM during the demarcation protests perpetuate tribalism or promote social cohesion?

8.2 Data Analysis Process

The researcher conducted interviews with 16 participants comprising of station managers, programming presenters, and reporters from the two radio stations., The researcher used qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis to analyse the interviews by skimming through the transcripts and interview notes to identify relevant information for research question 1. A thorough examination of the text was also conducted to identify codes from specific topics and their properties. Data from the transcripts were coded thematically and reported in narrative form. The process of coding was open, with codes representing specific ideas taken verbatim from the transcripts and notes. The selected text in the transcripts and notes of the interviews was examined line by line and word by word, looking for codes using open coding. Representative codes were placed in the form of keywords or phrases in the margins of each segment of the text. Some codes were compared and combined under newly developed codes called categories, which described groups of codes. These categories emerged from the empirical data within the transcripts and from the analysis of the interview notes through open coding, without being based on existing theory. The researcher tried to limit the development of too many codes by merging recurrences into related code categories or ideas. From the categories developed out of 16 interview transcripts, the researcher formed themes related to the language of broadcasting, its distribution on programming, and the positive role that station staff played during protests. In this chapter, data presentation and discussion of the findings have been combined, with the findings of Malamulele FM presented first, followed by those of Vuwani FM. The interviews were carried out one-on-one, on separate days, in various places, and according to each interviewee's availability, as stated in the study methodology chapter.

8.3 Questioning the Role of during the Protests at Malamulele FM

During the interviews, it was crucial to establish the role of language in broadcasting and its distribution among the staff members of Malamulele FM. The study aimed to determine whether Malamulele FM presenters and reporters perpetuated tribalism against the Vhavenda people during the 2013-2016 demarcation protests by exclusively using the Xitsonga language in their programs, neglecting the Tshivenda language. The hypothesis suggested that this practice undermined the station's anticipated role in promoting social cohesion and uniting the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people in Malamulele and neighbouring areas during the demarcation protests. It proved difficult to secure interviews with the staff of Malamulele FM, as many of them considered the topic highly sensitive and were cautious about being associated with perpetuating divisions between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people for fear of their careers. Consequently, a few individuals who were willing to provide candid and damning information chose to remain anonymous. Only eight staff members of Malamulele FM and the Station Manager participated in the interviews.

In relation to the broadcasting language used on Malamulele FM, all chosen staff members confirmed that Xitsonga was exclusively used for broadcasting. However, there were differing perspectives on whether the exclusive use of Xitsonga could have contributed to further ethnic divisions and tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda of Malamulele and neighbouring areas during the protests. While some advocated for the exclusive use of Xitsonga to promote the language and culture of the Vatsonga, others acknowledged that this excluded the Vhavenda people of Malamulele. Most interviewees revealed that the exclusive use and dominance of Xitsonga was a decision based on broadcasting language policy. The first interview, which was conducted with Papa Natswo, aimed to determine whether the predominant use of Xitsonga in Malamulele FM programming fostered social cohesion or tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people. This was particularly relevant given the demarcation protests in Malamulele, which were exacerbating divisions along tribal and ethnic lines. The first question was to establish how Papa Natswo was recruited to join the station, and this was his response in Xitsonga language:

> Loko xitichi xa Malamulele FM xipfula ni kumekile ni ri unwana eka lavo sungula ku xijoyina. Tani hi leswi vatirhi ahi nga talanga, awu kumeka u endla migiriko hikwayo

> leyi ayi endliwa eka xitichi. Karhi wunwana ukumeka uri e producer kumbe muhumelerisi wa minongonoko; ha la tlhelo ukumeka uhlaya mahungu; ekayi nwana mikarhi hi nwina mi endlaku migingiriku yak u navetisa xitichi. Hambi swi ritano, swifanerile ni vula leswaku ku nghena ka hina eka Malamulele FM ako va ri rhandzu ra ku haxa, aku na mali hi yi kumaka for leswi hi swiendlaka tani hi loko hitiva kuri radio leyi iya community. U nwana loyi a tirhaka eka yona utirha hiku randza migingiriko ya vuhaxi. Kambe loko swi kha swiya emahlweni ava kota ku hi nyika tsena ti voucher ta ti free airtime, sometimes na swi malani swa transport leswi aswi nga ri swa masiku hikwawo.
>
> **[English translation]** When Malamulele FM first opened, I was one of the first to join the team. Since there were not many staff members, I found myself involved in all activities at the station. I would sometimes work as a program producer; other times, I would read the news, and at times, I even helped advertise the station. I must admit that when I joined Malamulele FM, it was for the love of broadcasting, as we did not get paid for our work, knowing that this radio station belongs to the community. We worked with a passion for broadcasting, even though the only compensation we received was occasional vouchers for free airtime and sporadic transport allowances.

When asked about the assumption that Malamulele FM perpetuated tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele during the demarcation protests because it applied language hegemony of Xitsonga at the expense of Tshivenda in its programming. Papa Natswo responded by saying:

> Tiyisu wa mhaka iku Malamulele FM ayi ha xa ngopfu ngopfu hi ririmi ra Xitsonga, tani hi leswi vayingiseri votala avari Vatsonga. Hambi swiri tano hi na tani hi vahaxi ahinga ri na vulawuri eka ku hiri hi ririmi lexi ari fanele ri tirhisiwa ku haxa mi nongonoko. Loko hi joyina xitichi varhangeri vaxona va hi byerile leswaku ririmu ro haxa lerinkulu eka xitichi lexi iXitsonga. Ene va tlhela vahi tivisa leswaku leswi iswi letelo swo huma eka ti policies ta vuhaxa hi kuya hi ririmi. Akunga tava na chumu hina tani hi vahaxi ahita xiendla. Vatlhela va hitivisa leswaku Tshivenda hiri nwana ra ririmu ro haxa laha eka Malamuelele FM. Kambe ri pfumeleriwa tsena kuhaxa hi ti percent leti tsonga eka let inga pfumeleriwa Xitsonga hi kuya hi licence ya vuhaxi by xitichi lexi. Leswi vulaku kuri Tshivenda axita kumeka tsena eka mahungu lama amata tlhela ma hlayiwa hi Xitsonga. Impela Xitsonga iririmi leri ninga vulaku kuri ari haxa minongonoko ya tani hi leswi ninga vula kuri vayingiseri votala imachangana. Kambe mhaka ya kuri matirhiselo ya ririmu ra Xitsonga eka minongonoko kuri switisi xihalwuhlawu xa kuri uri xaka mani ani nge vuli chumu tatana Chauke. Xinwana, ni fanele nitiyisisa kuri Tshivenda xi haxile karhi wutsongo eka xitichi xa hina, tani hi leswi axi tirha tsena eka mahungu. Kambe loko ti protests ti ya emahlwweni vahlayi va mahungu ya Tshivenda vakumekile vanyamalala. Ku sala Xitsonga eka vuhaxi hikwabyo.
>
> **[English translation]** It is true. Malamulele FM primarily broadcasts its programs in the Xitsonga language because its main listeners are the Vatsonga people of Malamulele and the surrounding areas. The presenters had no say in the language policy as it was prescribed in the station's license. When they joined the station, they were informed that Xitsonga should be the main broadcasting language, while Tshivenda was to have a minimal role, mostly in the news which could be presented in Xitsonga. However, the use of Xitsonga in the station's programming was perceived as to perpetuating tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele. I want to point out that the Tshivenda language was not used for long on Malamulele FM. It was only used for the news, and when the protests escalated, the news presenters

> vanished. The entire programming on Malamulele FM was then presented in the Xitsonga language.

Papa Natswo's views confirm the assumption of this study regarding Malamulele FM's application of language hegemony in running their program. Even though he did not commit to the allegation that the dominance of Xitsonga domination at the expense of the Tshivenda language perpetuated tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele, he, agreed that Xitsonga was the principal language of broadcasting. This study can conclude that Malamulele FM inadvertently promoted tribalism between the two ethnic groups by the predominant application of the Xitsonga language in its programming. Hlophe (2013) argues that the promotion of one language over others potentially promotes tribalism. In the interviews, Papa Natswo also highlighted the issue of language policy as the deciding factor behind the hegemony of Xitsonga on Malamulele FM programming. He also brought forth the issue of the language quota system, which affirms that Xitsonga was not the only language of broadcasting, despite that it was a principal language. In his expression, the Tshivenda language was another language of broadcasting. The only challenge was that it was featured minimally in the entire programming, in small roles like news, which was also presented in the Xitsonga language. This underscored the extent of language hegemony in Malamulele FM, suggesting the station's alignment with the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. It also highlights the impact of political economy on the media's editorial autonomy in deciding the distribution formula for the languages of broadcasting. Even if the station management recognized the importance of linguistic inclusivity in promoting social cohesion, they would be unable to implement it. This is due to its conflict with the language policy, which dictates the use of specific broadcasting languages that must be achieved through a quota system approach.

Equally so, Papa Natswo's admission regarding the predominant use of the Xitsonga language in the station's programs and its alignment with the Vatsonga people supports Konstanty Gebert's (2009) argument on media ethnicization as outlined (cited in Pignatelli, 2016). Gebert posits that media inherently becomes ethnic when produced in the language of a specific ethnic group, strengthening the audience's connection with that group. Papa Natswo also confirmed the use of monolingualism in Malamulele FM programming. Ellis (2008) defines monolingualism as the use of only one language for communication without competing with any other language. Based on the interview with Papa Natswo and his acknowledgment of Malamulele FM's prevalent use of the Xitsonga language in its programming, it can be

concluded that the station perpetuated tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and the neighbouring areas, with the Vhavenda portrayed as the victims.

Papa Natswo was also asked the issue pertaining to their broadcasting approach during the demarcation protests, following the assumption that prominent politicians and community structures aligned to the Vatsonga people during the protests influenced the content of the programs and how it should be broadcast to suit their political interests and legitimized the protests as the protests for the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. In response to this, Papa Natswo responded that:

> Kahle kahle, Tatana Chauke, ku na swo tala ngopfu nan ga swi vulavulaka na nwina hikuya hi matirhele ya hina eka karhi wa ti protests. A ni lavi ku mi hembela, akuri na influence yi nkulu ku suka eka local politicians eka vahaxi. Leswi nga endla leswaku va nwani va hina va kumeke va endla ti shows leti ati ngari eka ti plans to vulawuri bya xitichi. Mi nga rivali kuri vahaxi ava nga holi eka xitichi lexi xa Malamulele FM. Vanwati politiki ava kota ku nghena hi kona va hi kombela leswaku vuhaxi bya radio ya Malamulele FM byi fanerile byi sapota swirilo swa Vatsonga-Machangana va ka Malamulele. Va tlhela vahi tshembisa leswaku loko ho endla tano vata endla leswaku hi hamba hi hakeriwa muholo eka service ya hina hi yi nyikaka xitichi. Se votala va hina hi ginile hi pfumela because ahi tiva kuri hiti rhela mahala. Hi kumeki hi endla minongonoko ya xitichi hi laha vanga hi kombela hikona kuendlela leswaku loko Masipala w uva kona na hina hita kuma miholo hita hlayisa mindyangu ya hina. Xana Imani ata ala sweswo.
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> **[English translation]** Mr. Chauke, there is a lot for us to talk about regarding how our work as broadcasters was affected during the protests. There was political influence that affected us, and it found its way to us. It's important to remember that we were not getting paid for our services. As a result, many of us were easily led to believe that if we supported the struggle of the people of Malamulele as the struggle of the Vatsonga people, the new municipality would provide financial support to our station so that we could receive our salaries. Many of us were lured into trusting the promises made by these politicians, which led to many of us shaping the programs on their own terms, even deciding how to broadcast them. We would, therefore, grant more airtime to the leading political structure called the Malamulele Task Team to reach out to their constituents without being uncensored. Most importantly, we were told that we are the Vatsonga people, and the problems that affected the people of Malamulele affected us as presenters.

The excerpt above demonstrates that the influence of political economy had a significant impact on the impartiality of presenters at Malamulele FM, as indicated by Papa Natswo. The admission by the presenter that local political structures influencing the protests also shaped the radio station's programming, as they promised to address the issue of unpaid staff members, highlighted the compromise of the station's objectivity and editorial independence. Fourie (2001) discusses how political economy can affect the impartiality of media professionals and the editorial independence of media. The scholar argues that powerful politicians often have a

stake in media ownership, allowing them to control the content. This sentiment is supported by McQuail (2005), who argues that those who control production also control what the media publishes. Papa Natswo's comments suggest that many media professionals compromise their professionalism due to financial pressures, a concept referred to as 'stomach journalism' by Chauke (2021). The author argues that media professionals who view their work as a career rather than a mission are often tempted to compromise their professional standards in exchange for financial support.

Papa Natswo’s views were shared by all selected staff members who participated in the study especially on the issue that the radio station operated according to specific license conditions, which only permitted them to broadcast predominantly in the Xitsonga language. The staff members concurred with Papa Natswo's observation that Tshivenda was the second language. Furthermore, they pointed out that at a certain point, Tshivenda ceased to be used, resulting in the prevalence of monolingualism in Xitsonga. This is what they had to say about the dominance of broadcasting language:

> **Bishop Baloyi**: I tiyisu lowu nkulu leswaku Xitsonga aku rona ririmu ra vuhaxi eka Malamulele FM. Tshivenda ku vula tiyisu axi nga ri kona eka ti programs. Hambi leswi axi pfa xi va kona hi mikarhi na kona eka mahungu, kuna mi karhi axi nga ha kumeki na switsonga. Leswi swi vangiwile hi ku tshika ka tirho hi lava a va haxa mahungu hi Tshivenda loko ti protests ti ya mahlweni naku va ti ve ti komba xihlawuhlawu exi karhi ka Vatsonga na Vhavenda. Mina ni tirhile ngopfu eka xiyenge xa mahungu, na swona varhangeri va hina ava hi hlamusela kuri mahungu mana nkoka kuri hi matata mava hi Xitsonga, tani hi leswi vayingiseri aku ri mostly Vatsonga. Sweswo hikwaswo aswi kombisa kuri leswaku, hikuya hi mina, kuri xitichi lexia xi targeti rixaka ra Vatsonga tani hi vayingiseri va xitichi.
> **[Translated from Xitsonga to English]:** There was a clear preference for programming in the Xitsonga language, which raised questions about the dominance of Xitsonga over Tshivenda. Tshivenda language had no representation, despite having some initial news segments. These segments were discontinued as the protests escalated, resulting in Venda-speaking news presenters leaving the station due to tribal tensions. I was part of the news department at the station, and we only covered stories in Xitsonga as per the management's expectations. It was evident that the station was specifically targeting Vatsonga listeners.
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> **DJ Maboza:** Ku vula tiyisu Xitsonga aku ririmi leri management ya xitichi yi nga hi tsunduxa ku tirhisa rona eka minongonoko. Ku sukela ni nghena eka xitichi xa Malamulele FM hi lembe ra 2015, xitichi axi haxa hi ririmi ra Xitsonga tsena. Hi karhi lowu Tshivenda axi nga hari kona na swi tsongo. Hi haxile hi Xitsonga ku fikela ti protests ti hela, ene sweswo swivikona loko ku simekiwa masipala wa Collins Chabane.
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> **[Translated from Xitsonga to English]:** I have been hosting various shows since I started working at the station in 2015. At one point, I hosted the Afternoon Drive show from 3 pm to 6 pm, and Xigaza from 9 pm to 12 am. I have also worked in the News department. All of my programs were presented in Xitsonga language, like many others

at the station. As far as I can recall, there has never been a program presented in Tshivenda since I joined the station. It was clear that our listeners were primarily Vatsonga people from Malamulele.

Eric Ncindhani: Mi ta tsunduka kuri xitichi lexi a xi ri kona eku sunguleni before na ti protests ti va kona. Hi ku twisisa ka mina, axi endleriwile ku nyika ritu eka Vatsonga va ka Malamulele. Ya leyo hiyona mhaka axi haxa hi ririmu ra Vatsonga.
[Translated from Xitsonga to English: People should remember that the station was not created for the protests but was established long before the protests as a voice of expression for the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. However, its ethnic attachment to the Vatsonga community continued even during the protests for a new municipality. It was easy for this station to draw the Vatsonga mainly because it was broadcasting in their language, which was Xitsonga.

Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni: Mina ni wela eka Vaxi vaku sungula lava van ga haxa loko migingiriko yo lwela ti fanelo ta va aki va ka Malamulele tis ungula. Hi nav hele ahi switiva leswaku ti rimu ta vuhaxi ati ri timbirhi tani hiloko Vatsonga na Vhavenda va kumeka swinwe eka ti ndhawu hikwato. Na kambe ahi switiva leswaku Xitsonga akuri ririmi leri ari fanele ri tirhisiwa ngopfu eka vuhaxi because xitichi axi kongomisi vuhaxi bya xona primarily eka vayingiseri va Vatsonga. Yes, Tshivenda axi ri kona loko hi sungula, kambe xinya malarile kwala kufambeni hikwalaho ka mitshikelelo ya xitereko, tani hi loko vayingiseri ava sungula ku fona va complainer kuri Tshivenda ava xilavi eka radio ya vona.
[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: I was one of the first people to join this station, and I can confirm that Xitsonga was the primary language of broadcasting. Tshivenda was also present but had a minimal role in programming such as news. It eventually disappeared due to the pressure that presenters using this language faced, which led to their disappearance. They suddenly stopped showing up one day and it was later confirmed that they had decided to resign to protect themselves from what seemed like tribalism.

However, these professionals had differing opinions, sometimes differing from Papa Natswo's views, on whether the prevalence of the Xitsonga language in Malamulele FM programming might have perpetuated tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people in Malamulele and neighbouring areas. There were diverse opinions, with a few agreeing that the station perpetuated of tribalism by using Xitsonga hegemony against the Vhavenda people of Malamulele, while others disagreed. Interestingly, none of the interviewees contested the claim that they failed to make efforts to foster social cohesion through their programming to unite the ethnically divided people of Malamulele during the protests.

Bishop Baloyi: Hi kuya hi mina, ni pfumela kahle kuri ku tirhisiwa ka ririmi ra Xitsonga kuhaxa minongonoko ya Malamulele FM eku sunguleni aswi nga kongomisiwanga eka ku endla xihlawuhlawu xa ririmi against rixaka ra Vhavenda in general. Kambe leswi swiendliwile tsena ku Vatsonga lava vanga va nyingi eka Malamulele vata kota ku kuma ti mhaka leyi ti va khumbhaka evutonwini hi ririmu ra vona. Na loko kuri ku impela kutirhisiwa ka ririmi ra Xitsonga swingetelerisi xihlahlawu eka rixaka ra Vatsonga and Vhavenda swi nga ka swinga kongomisiwe eka xitichi. Kambe tsena eka ti policymakers lava ku nga von ava nga endla ti policies ta ku ti rimi leti mbirhi ti kuma avelo wo hambana. Leswi vulaku Xitsonga xi va xona ririmi leri nkulu. Ya le yo yi nga hlamuriwa hi ICASA yi nga nyika ti licence. Hi nga

va wrong to suggest kuri xitichi xitisi xihlawuhlawu against Vhavenda. I tiyisu kuri impela eka mikitsikitsi ya switereko yi tisile ku avana no tshwukiselana mahlo exikarhi ka Vatsonga na Vhavenda eka district ya Vhembe, kambe radio ayi va nga na direct influence yo humelerisa tribalism. Kambe leswi hi fanelaku ku tshama hi switiva iku xitichi na va haxi va xona ava landelela tsena policy ya ti languages ta vuhaxi.

[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: I believe that the dominance of the Xitsonga language in Malamulele FM's programming was not intended to discriminate against the Vhavenda people. I think it was mainly due to the fact that the majority of people in Malamulele were Vatsonga, and they preferred to receive information in their own language. However, it's important to acknowledge that tribalism already existed in the area. It would be unfair to blame the radio station for perpetuating tribalism by primarily broadcasting in Xitsonga. Those who hold such a views may have their reasons, and it's important to understand their perspective. The language domination of Xitsonga was not meant to discriminate against the Vhavenda people. The distribution of these languages, leading to Xitsonga receiving most of the airtime, should be attributed to the broadcasting language policy's quota system. The broadcasters just implemented the linguistic policy.

Anonymous presenter 1: Lexi n inga kombisaku xona iku hi tiva leswaku Vatsonga va ka Malamulele ava vavisekile hi leswi ava khomisiwe xi swona under Thulamela Municipality. Eka ti programs ta hina, ava nga lavi any discussion yo katsa Vatsonga na Vhavenda. Vayi ngiseri, for example, ava lava vuhaxi byo sapota Vatsonga na ririmu ra vona. Minga rivali leswaku hina ta ni hi va haxi ti mhaka leti ati hi affecta as ahiri ti membera ta community ya ka Malamulele. Hikuya hi mina hi ngava hi vi na xi ave xa ku yisa emahlweni xihlawuhlawu against Vhavenda. Mina ani tsunduki na siku na rinwi leri ni nga va kona emoyeni n inga encouger Vhavenda kuri va va part ya program ya mina. A hi na lexi hi nga xikombaka kuri.

[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: I want to emphasize that the Vatsonga people of Malamulele were deeply aggrieved by the actions of the Thulamela municipality. They strongly opposed any discussion related to the unity between the two ethnic groups. The radio station presenters, who were also members of the Vatsonga community, were personally affected by the issues being protested. Therefore, I will say the presenters were not neutral, as we were emotionally aligned with the Vatsonga ethnic group. As a result, the topics we selected for discussion were mainly about the protests in Malamulele and in support of the Vatsonga people. Our biased stance on them was evident in our use of the Xitsonga language throughout the programming, to the exclusion of Tshivenda. This could have potentially made the Vhavenda people feel marginalized by the station's programming. I don't remember ever encouraging Vhavenda listeners to join my shows. My attitude was the same with protesters. Just that I could not show my side, as I was a broadcaster who was expected to be neutral all the time.

Anonymous Presenter 2: Malamulele FM aku ri radio ya Vatsonga kahle kahle. Tirho wa hina aku ri ku tlakusa ndhavuku na ririmu ra Vatsonga-Machangana. Leswi aswi vula leswaku hi ta haxa minongonoko hikwaya hina hi Xitsonaga. Ku fikelela Vatsonga va ka hina hi minongonoko leyi ayi khumaba leswi vaswilwelaku aswiri na nkoka. Xana Malamaluele FM yi ng ava yi hlohloterile tribalism against the Vhavenda people through Xitsonga hegemony? Wa lowu I tiyisu, hi hlohloterile xihlawuhlawu tani hi leswi Tshivenda language ayi nga representiwanga. Xana walowo I nandu wa xitichi xa Malamulele FM? Ani pfumelelani na swona sweswo tani hi loko ku ri mhaka ya policy ya vuhaxi eka ti ndzimi. Aswin ga koteki ku ri unga khumbha na xinwe xo fambelana na Tshivenda. A hi boheka ku sapaota swirilo wa Vatsonga va ka hina.

[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: We served as the radio station for the Vatsonga communities, with the primary goal of promoting the language and cultural identity of the Vatsonga. This involved delivering news and presenting programs in the Xitsonga language. Our target audience was the Vatsonga people of Malamulele, and we were dedicated to reaching out to them. During the protests, I never once encouraged Vhavenda listeners to participate in call-in sessions. Neither did I use the Tshivenda

language in my program. Did radio perpetuate tribalism through the domination of Xitsonga? I think so, as Tshivenda was sidelined, given that Vhavenda were residents of Malamulele. Should we blame the radio station? I don't think so, as the station was only applying what was prescribed in the broadcasting license of Malamulele FM. Our failure to invite the Vhavenda listeners to our shows was not possible because we had to pledge solidarity with the Vatsonga people of Malamulele.

Anonymous News Reporter 3: Ani pfumeli kuri xitichi xa Malamulele FM a xiri eka position ya kahle ku tisa ku rhula eka Vatsonga na Vhavenda, tani hi leswi ti programs to xitichi ati haxiwa hi Xitsonga. Mara na kambe, mhaka yi nkulu iku aswi nga ta koteka tani hi leswi xiyimu axi ri xi swona eka Malamulele. Radio leyi ayi languteriwile ku kumeka yi sapota swirilo swa Vatsonga va ka Malamulele tani hiku ayiri radio ya Vatsonga. Ni nga ka n inga alelani na swona loko vanhu va ku xitichi xinga va xi vile na xiave eka xihlahlawu xa rixaka hikuva akuva ng ana ku tirhisiwa ka Tshivenda. Na swona ti topics ta kona ati fambelana na migingiriko ya ti protests- leswi akuri swi rilo swa Vatsonga.
[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: I don't believe the station was in the position it could bring together the two ethnic groups since the programs were only presented in the Xitsonga language. Our target audience was the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. Everything in our programs was in Xitsonga. Malamulele FM was the eyes, ears, and voice of the Vatsonga people of Malamulele during these challenging times of fighting for the municipality.

Anonymous Presenter 4: Eka mina, Mihlengwe, loko ni fika eka Malamulele radio the guys really va ni receiving. Ani zanga ni vona kinga. Kambe challenge yi vi kona loko ti protests tis ungula eka Malamulele. 2015 was worse for me; va yingiseri va sungurile k uva intolerant with me. Tribal remarks were hurled at me, hambi ni ringetile ku vulavula hi Xitsonga xo hlatsweka. Hi ku komisa, ku tirhisiwa ka Xitsonga as the main language swi tiyisisi xihlawuhlawu exi karhi ka Vatsonga na Vhavenda va ka Malamulele na ti ndhawu let inga ku suhi.
[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: I was the only Venda-speaking person on the radio. I was chosen because I could speak and present in Xitsonga. Despite identifying myself as Venda-speaking, the people of Malamulele accepted me as one of their own. My programming focused on content produced by the show producers, which revolved around general health and cultural issues rather than politics. In the studio, my colleagues embraced me, and I did not experience tribalism. The only challenge arose when the protests hit Malamulele, and that's where listeners were intolerant no matter how hard I tried to speak in fluent English. Listeners ethnically and tribally abused me during my shows. I also agree that the use of the Xitsonga language to dominate the programming may have played a part in the rise of tribalism in the areas of Malamulele. Don't forget that radio has much influence in the society. The dominance of the Xitsonga language really made it impossible for Vhavenda people to feel like part of the station's audience and, by extension, the communities of Malamulele.

Like Papa Natswo, other interviewees were also asked about their broadcasting approach during the demarcation protests. There was an assumption that influential politicians and community structures aligned with the Vatsonga people had influenced the content of the programs to suit their political interests and legitimize the protests as being for the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. Many admitted feeling obligated to support the Vatsonga people's cause as they themselves were Vatsonga. Some even confessed that they had to compromise their professionalism because the Malamulele Task Team, the group leading the protests, instructed

them to comply and assured them that the newly elected municipality they were advocating for would take over the station and pay the staff salaries. This is what they had to say:

Programme Producer, Eric Ncindhani: Swina nkoka kuri ni hlamula hi kuaya hi tirho wa vu producer bya ti programs. Ku vula tiyisu xitichi xa hina axi controliwa hi local politics, leswi aswi katsa Malamulele Task Team. So, aswi endla leswaku switika swinene ku producer ti program without ku nghelela ka va nwa ti politic. Swi fanaku xitichi xa munghana lonene axi controliwa hi Task Team. I tiyisu ku ri va nwa ti politiki a va promisa vahaxa kuri loko ku kumiwa masipala vata endla leswaku vatirhi vata sungula kukuma ti salaries. So, sweswo swiendla leswaku na loko va nga vulanga kuri vatata, ahi boheka k uva vitana va ta vulavula.
[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: It was quite challenging to create a program that would align with the political environment during the protests. As producers, we couldn't remain neutral in our approach to program production because our station was under the control of the Malamulele Task Team. Whenever we developed a program, we sought input from the Task Team since they had promised to advocate for our salaries to be paid by the new municipality. All producers ensured that the programming reflected the goals of the Task Team. Even when they didn't commit to being part of the program, we would reach out to involve them in our shows.

Lucky Tinyiko Ngoben: Ku vula tiyisu, Malamulele FM ayi nga ta kota ku hlanganisa Vatsonga na Vhavenda hikuva se ayi ri hasi eka vulawuri bya ti political structures. Malamulele Task Team was inadvertently in charge of the station. Even though ava nga hi byeleteli kuri hi tirisa ti comments ta xihlahlawu against Vhavenda, mitirho ya hina yaku nyika vona tsena airtime ayi kombisa kuri xitichi axa hari ka vulawuri bya xona-kambe eka vulawuri bya ti politiki. Hi swona kuri ahi tshembhisiwile naku vata hi tsunduka eka masipala lowu tshwa loko hiva nyika airtime yo vulavula na vanhu va community ya ka Malamulele.
[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: The station was unable to remain neutral in its program presentation due to its close connection with the Vatsonga people of Malamulele and the political structures involved in the protests. Although we did not use any tribal comments against the Vhavenda people, it's important to note that our alignment with the political structures made it difficult for us to bring together the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and the surrounding areas. Our objectivity was compromised as we were promised that the new municipality would greatly benefit us, leading everyone to closely scrutinize the situation. It was challenging for us to be objective under these circumstances.

DJ Maboza Mina hi ku komisa n inga vula leswku impela ahiri hasi ka vulawuri bya Malamulele Task Team. A va fika njhe a studio van ga tivisanga, hi tlhela hi va nyika airtime yo vulavula. Hi swona kuri ahi va nyika airtime because ahi promisiwa kuri hi ta hola loko masipala wu sungula.
[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: In essence, the Malamulele Task Team had control over our programming. They would visit our studios at their convenience to address the community. We would comply with any requests because we were assured that the new municipality would include us and begin compensating us. Even when they didn't show up, we would reach out and request their presence.

Anonymous presenter 2: Hina a ho va tirhi va xitichi xa radio ya Malamulele FM, hi nyikela service ya hina for free. Kambe lexia xi hitiyisa aku ri ku masipala lowu tshwa wuta hi teka wu hi hakela for migingiriko ya hina. A va hi khutaza kuri hi karhala ku sapota struggle xa vanhu va ka Malamulele, especially Vatsonga-Machangana. Xitichi xona axiri hasi ka vu lawuri bya Malamulele Task Team ayi rhangela va lweli vati fanelo ta vona. Impela aswi ngata endla leswaku xitichi xikota ku hlanganisa Vatsonga na Vhavenda hikuva axi teki side, ringa side ra Vatsonga.

[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: Please keep in mind that the volunteers at Malamulele FM serve their communities without receiving salaries. Instead of payment, the station provides airtime when needed, due to the lack of funds to pay salaries. The station has committed to advocating for our wages to be paid by the new municipality. This situation led the Malamulele Task Team to use the station as a platform to mobilize the public for demonstrations, as they were desperate for salaries. Consequently, the station was primarily used for political mobilization by the Malamulele Task Team, representing the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. As a result, the station did not support anything related to the Vhavenda and their language and refrained from playing their songs. This meant that our station was not able to unite the two ethnic groups, the Vatsonga and Vhavenda. In my opinion, we were used as a tool to divide the two groups in favour of the Vatsonga people who were protesting for the establishment of a new municipality.

Anonymous presenter 2: Swi ngava swi chavisa ku swi vula because votala va hina haha lava ku tirha eka media, and information yo fana na leyi one u yi nyika eka ti interviews ya hlupha. That is why ni kumeka ni lava ku va xikala vito, ku endlela ku ri na loko swi nga fambi kahle vito ra mina ri tumberile. Mo niku ti mhaka ta influence ya politiki eka tirhi wa hina ti humelelini mikarhi yo tala swinene loko ni tsunduka, especially ku sukela loko xitereka xi sungurile. Ti local politicians va kumeki va vona community radio leyi among others kuri channel leyi van ga yi tirhisaku ku influence vanhu hi yona. Na kona ahi nga ri na chasi because hi pfumerile ku ri ta ni hi leswi avari varhangeri va community, hi fanerile hi complier. Xi nwana iku a va tshembisile vanhu ti maka ta mi holo, kuri loko ho support xitereka xa Vastonga va ka Malamulele vata hi tsunduka loko masipala w uva kona. Ku ri masipala uta funder radio kuri hita kota ku hola muholo. A swi endla leswaku na loko van ga tanga e studio ahi va fonela kuri vata.
[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: It may be daunting to express this due to the sensitivity of the issue and the fact that we aspire to work in the media industry. We are aware that if we act against the professional standards of the media, it could jeopardize our future in the industry. It is known among the staff members of Malamulele FM radio station that local political structures have exerted significant influence on the station, including its operation during the demarcation protests. If I recall correctly, this influence was prompted by a promise made by the Malamulele Task Team to support the protests as the Vatsonga people's protests, with the assurance that they would remember the station when the new municipality was formed. Consequently, many of us were willing to accommodate them whenever they visited the studio, even if it was unannounced. We would also reach out to them to participate, even when they chose not to come.

Anonymous presenter 1: Mara xi nwana iku va nwa tipolitiki va ka Malamulele eka karhi wa ti protests, va hi endlile tani hi radio hi tiva leswaku hi part ya community, leswi nga endla leswaku swi influencer na programming ta hina. A swi nga olovi kuri hi hleketa leswaku ku na Vhavenda van ga part ya community ya ka Malamulele. A hi va zonda, mara e studio hi pretender onge ahi teki side. For me, mhaka yaku tshembisiwa muholo ani yi twa, kambe the influence va nga va na yona eka mina tani hi muhaxi iku ni tiva leswaku ti problem ta vanhu va ka Malamulele iti kingha ta hina tani hi va haxi. So, sweswo swi affecti matirhele mahina to be honest. Tana hi Mutsonga ani kotanga k uva neutral.
[Translated from Xitsonga to English]: The local politicians influenced us to understand that although we were the broadcasters, we were also part of the people who were protesting. Their problems were our problems too, which played a major role in our work. When you go on air, knowing that you are a Tsonga person and your people are struggling for a better future, it really affects your work as a professional.

The evidence from the interviews supports the study's hypothesis that local politicians had gained control of the radio station and influenced its operations. They all concurred that there

was political interference at the radio stion during the protests, although their responses varied. They all agreed that local politicians had taken charge of the radio and exerted influence over its operations. Fourie (2001) admits that it can be challenging for media institutions to resist external political and financial influence, particularly when they do not own the means of production for their content. MQuail (2005) also echoes Fourie's views in the theory of the political economy of mass media, arguing that politicians and influential individuals with a significant stake in media can shape the content produced by the media. MQuail (2005) places blame on politicians and influential individuals for the state of the media, raising questions about its credibility.

The last interview featured Tracy Novela, the Station manager of Malamulele. During the discussion on broadcasting languages, she highlighted that Xitsonga was the primary language, with a higher distribution compared to the Tshivenda language. This decision, as she confirmed, was influenced by the majority of Vatsonga people in Malamulele, leading to a language policy for community radio broadcasting based on a quota system. Consequently, Xitsonga was chosen as the primary language for broadcasting. Despite this, she indicated that the station catered for an inclusive community of Malamulele, which included the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and neighbouring areas. Tracy also mentioned that the prominence of Xitsonga as the language of broadcasting was a condition stipulated in Malamulele FM's broadcasting license. When questioned about whether the station's language preference exacerbated tribalism instead of promoting social cohesion during the protest, Tracy provided the following response [Translated from Xitsonga to English]:

> **Station Manager, Tracy Novela:** Ni fanerile ni kombisa kuri xikongomelo xa hina aku nga ri ku ti sa xihlahlawu exi karhi ka Vatsonga and Vhavenda. Ti decisions hikwato ti tekiwile hikuya hi leswi layisese ya xitichi yi lavaka hi endla swona. Layisese yiri Xitsonga xifanerile xiva ehehla ka Tshivenda because xiyimela vanhu lavo tala va Vatsonga eka Malamulele. Swilo leswi swa fana hikwakwako kwako lomu ti community radio stations ti tirhaku kona. Valanguata kuri hi vaha vanha eka ndhawu ya leyo vanga eka majority, se va kota ku promoter ririmi ra vona. Sweswo hikwaswo swi le ka ti license ta vuhaxi. I tiyisu kuri kuna karhi ririmi ra Xitsonga ringava roxe eku haxeni, kambe ninga tiyisisa kuri aku nga ri ku rhandza ka hina kuri Tshivenda xinyamalala eka xaxameto wa vu haxi bya hina. Kambe hikwalaho ka tshikelelo wa migingiriko ya switereka eka Malamulele, vahaxi lava avari Vhavenda va tekile xiboho xo tshika tirho, vav ula leswaku aswi safe eka vona tani hi leswi vanga Vhavenda.
>
> **[Translated from Xitsonga to English]:** I must clarify that our intention was not to promote tribalism but to adhere to the language policy specified in our broadcasting license. The distribution of languages in programs was a language policy matter and not an editorial decision. Initially, Xitsonga was used predominantly in all programs and later became the only language used in broadcasting. The disappearance of the

> Tshivenda language from our programs was due to the ongoing protests, as it appeared that it was moving along ethnic lines. Tshivenda news presenters had to leave the station for fear for their lives, leaving us with no alternative or replacement who could speak and read in Tshivenda. Consequently, the Tshivenda time slot had to be closed, leading to the inevitable use of Xitsonga exclusively throughout the programs. Regarding the issue of political influence, we were aware of the intention of the political structures leading the protesters who wanted to influence our programming. It is also true that many of us were promised that the new municipality would ensure that we receive salaries. Remember, we were not paid a single cent for our work. Though working there was inspired by our passion for media, we also had our lives to take care of, and that needed money. So, it was easy for the local political structures to influence our work. I totally agree that the prescribed language quota system restricted the station's ability to unite the two ethnic groups, the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele. Therefore, I cannot comment on whether we promoted tribalism through linguistic hegemony and the monolingual use of the Xitsonga language during our programming.

This study extracted several key points from an interview with the station manager of Malamulele FM. The interview underscored the socio-political-economic challenges that media professionals face as they carry out their responsibilities. The station manager confirmed that during the reviewed period, Xitsonga was the primary language used for broadcasting, with Tshivenda as the secondary language. She revealed that the dominance of Xitsonga was mandated in the station's broadcasting license. However, she acknowledged that there was a time when the station exclusively used Xitsonga for broadcasting. This occurred when protests intensified, displaying signs of tribalism, which resulted in some Tshivenda presenters resigning from the station. The station manager also confirmed that there was political interference with the station's programming. She explained that influential political structures had promised financial assistance to the station when the new municipality was established, creating an opportunity for the radio to be influenced. She also agreed that language dominance prevented the promotion of social cohesion and unity between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people in the Malamulele area. However, she believed that the blame should not be placed on the station and the presenters, but rather on the broadcasting language policy, particularly the language quota system, which is based on the principle of majoritarianism and leads to language hegemony. Therefore, any negative effects of the language policy should be attributed to it.

8.4 The Role of Staff Members during protests at Vuwani FM

The study investigated whether Vuwani FM presenters and reporters perpetuated tribalism against the Vatsonga people during the 2016-2022 demarcation protests by exclusively using

the Tshivenda language in their programs. This was based on the study's hypothesis that the presenters and reporters promoted tribalism against the Vatsonga people by prioritizing Tshivenda over Xitsonga in its programming. This raised concerns about the station's role in fostering social cohesion and unity among the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people in Vuwani and neighbouring areas during the demarcation protests. Conducting interviews with Vuwani FM staff proved difficult, as many feared career repercussions and victimization for their participation. Those who agreed to participate did so on the condition of anonymity. The interviews were conducted with eight Vuwani FM broadcasting staff members, as indicated in Chapter 1. The line of questioning revolved around broadcasting language, distribution, and the political-economic influence on their operation. The questions were aligned with the study's assumptions, as outlined earlier in this section. The researcher conducted interviews only in English due to a lack of proficiency in the Tshivenda language and did not use an interpreter. When asked whether the use of Tshivenda language dominance on Vuwani FM programming perpetuated tribalism against the Vatsonga people of Vuwani during the demarcation protests, selected Vuwani FM's one participant had this to say:

> **Nemadimahulu:** I began working as a presenter at Vuwani FM in 2020 during the demarcation protests in Vuwani. Since I've been with the station, the primary language for broadcasting has been Tshivenda, with Xitsonga being the second language mainly used for news bulletins and sports updates. The distribution of languages in Vuwani FM's programming was primarily based on the station's broadcasting license. I don't believe it's fair to suggest that the dominance of the Tshivenda language on Vuwani FM programming perpetuated tribalism against the Vatsonga people, as the Xitsonga language was minimally featured. The dominance of Tshivenda was due to Vuwani being predominantly inhabited by Vhavenda-speaking people, with the Vatsonga people being the minority. It had nothing to do with the intention to perpetuate tribalism against the Vatsonga of Vuwani. The radio station was the voice of the inclusive community of Vuwani, Vhavenda, and Vatsonga. We assumed that the Vatsonga people of Vuwani used Tshivenda as one of their languages. However, I must confirm that the station's efforts to promote social cohesion and unite the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani were hindered by the dominant use of the Tshivenda language, which marginalized the Vatsonga people. As employees, we could change the distribution policy for the sake of unity between the two ethnic groups, but we were simply following the regulations. Earlier on you had the Tshivenda version and the English translation. Why is the Tshivenda version not here. I suggest that you maintain consistency.

> **Ramuthogi:** Most people in the villages of Vuwani speak Tshivenda as their first language, while Xitsonga is spoken by the minority, even though many Vhavenda are proficient in it. Vuwani FM's broadcasting license requires Tshivenda to be the dominant language, with over 70% of airtime, while Xitsonga should have less than 15% coverage. Although I speak Tshivenda, I believe the radio station should have promoted both Tshivenda and Xitsonga equally to promote social solidarity among the Vuwani people during the protests. The majority of the programs were in Tshivenda, with minimal content in Xitsonga. This favoured the Vhavenda-speaking listeners,

which was a problem due to the broadcasting language policy rather than the radio station itself. This hindered the station from supporting the unification of the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Vuwani. The unintentional linguistic predominance of Tshivenda in the programming favoured the Vhavenda people.

Fihleko Baloyi: I was born and raised in Venda and speak Tsonga. I am fluent in both Tshivenda and Xitsonga. It is a fact that Vuwani FM, a community radio station dedicated to supporting the linguistic and cultural interests of the Vhavenda people of Vuwani, predominantly uses the Tshivenda language in its programming. However, I prefer not to hold the radio station accountable for the dominance of Tshivenda, as it is stipulated in their operating license. Nonetheless, I acknowledge that during the protests, the radio station's role in promoting social cohesion was hindered by Tshivenda's linguistic dominance over Xitsonga. The Vuwani protests, which were divided along ethnic lines, exacerbated tribalism between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people. To serve the two ethnic communities fairly, an unbiased radio station utilizing a bilingual or multilingual strategy would have been necessary. Such a radio station could have been the voice of both ethnic communities, potentially helping to unite them during that difficult time and eradicating tribalism. As volunteer workers, we could have made recommendations to the station's management to address these issues.

Norman Maluleke: When I joined the station as a Tsonga person from Malamulele, I was informed during my induction that Vuwani FM primarily broadcasts in Tshivenda because Vuwani is predominantly a Vhavenda area. They appointed me as a presenter to speak in the Xitsonga language, but my role was limited to peripheral parts such as sports presenting and news. There was a time when I co-presented a program with a Venda presenter, and despite some listeners being concerned about my poor Tshivenda speaking ability, the show was very good. In my opinion, the dominance of the Tshivenda language on Vuwani FM disadvantaged the station from playing a positive role in promoting social cohesion and curbing tribalism during the protracted protests. It's a pity to hear the Vatsonga people expressing fear for their lives in Vuwani, unable to openly speak in their own language on the streets.

Anonymous Presenter 1: As a Venda-speaking individual who joined the station in early 2020, I was informed that the station serves the people of Vuwani. In Vuwani, we understand that the Vhavenda people are the majority, so it's natural for a community radio station like Vuwani to primarily communicate in the Tshivenda language. I don't believe this should cause any issues for the Vatsonga people in the area, as many of them are also able to converse in both languages. However, it's important to acknowledge that just because the Vatsonga people can speak both languages, it doesn't mean they should be compelled to only use Tshivenda. Nevertheless, South Africa is a democratic country where the majority holds influence. Therefore, it could be argued that Vuwani FM chose to prioritize the Tshivenda language based on the democratic principle of majoritarianism. This decision may also be required by the broadcasting license of the radio station. Despite this, the station's dominance of the Tshivenda language may not foster peace and unity between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani and the neighbouring areas. The prioritization of Tshivenda over Xitsonga may further deepen ethnic divisions and tribalism between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people. Consequently, the radio station might not be perceived as a tool for promoting social cohesion.

Nemadimahulu: It would be unfair to fault the radio station for the dominance of the Tshivenda language, as it was a requirement in its broadcasting license. While this prevented the station from fulfilling its role in promoting social cohesion among the

people of Vuwani, the Vhavenda, and Vatsonga, the radio station was simply following the specific language quotas outlined in its license. The system itself should be held accountable for the radio station's inability to foster unity between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people in Vuwani and the surrounding areas. It's unrealistic to expect those who face discrimination based on language to receive messages of unity and peace from a radio station that predominantly uses the language of the majority at the expense of the minority.

Anonymous Presenter 2: The issue of linguistic dominance relates to the language policy of this radio station, as outlined in its operational license. The radio station should not be solely blamed for this. In fact, we have made efforts to accommodate the Vatsonga people by speaking in both languages, even exceeding the language quota system. I personally have some knowledge of Tsonga, as I grew up in a neighbourhood with many Vatsonga people. Initially, before the protests began, there were no complaints about the extensive use of the Tshivenda language on Vuwani FM. This was because the Vatsonga people in Vuwani are proficient in Tshivenda, having attended schools where Tshivenda was the primary language of instruction. It was only during the protests that the Vhavenda people, leveraging their majority and the fact that Tshivenda was the primary language of broadcast at Vuwani FM, used this to incite tribalism against the Vatsonga people.

Anonymous News Reporter: I am a Venda-speaking person from one of the neighbouring villages. I was reporting from the field using my language, which is Tshivenda. As a reporter, I got the impression that the only people who would want to openly talk to me were the Venda people. The Vatsonga people were very much afraid to comment on the issues pertaining to protests. Neither were they willing to identify themselves in front of the microphones nor were they willing to share their opinions at all. So, I came to understand that linguistic disparities for broadcasting purposes in inclusive areas like Vuwani can further perpetuate divisions among co-habiting people. That is the reason why we ended up having one-sided information - the Vhavenda people's opinions on the protests. In short, I would say that Vuwani FM was not in the right position to pursue social cohesion because of the linguistic hegemony of Tshivenda in its programming.

The second line of inquiry delved into the impact of the political economy on the responsibilities of Vuwani FM presenters and reporters. It was assumed that powerful politicians and community structures aligned with the Vhavenda people influenced the content of programs to advance their political agendas and portray the protests as serving the interests of the Vhavenda people of Vuwani. The following were the responses from the interviewees:

Nemadimahulu: I want to highlight that local politicians often visit our radio station because it is owned by the community. In 2020, there were a few instances during my program where I had to adjust how I ran the show due to political interference. Members of the Vuwani Task Team wanted to provide updates to the community involved in protests and demanded airtime to communicate directly. Although we felt pressured to comply with their requests, we eventually stopped allowing these interferences and remained committed to not promoting ethnic divisions or tribalism in our programs. While we sometimes invited political figures to provide updates, their influence did not affect how we operated, as we tried our best to maintain independence. Yes, of course, listeners interfered the most in directing what we should discuss about. We always had to explain to them why this topic and not that topic. It is a very hard thing to do.

Ramuthogi: I joined the station's news department later in 2020. Since I joined, there has never been a single day we were told we should take instructions from the local political structures. The news team was very independent in doing their work without interference. We went out there and got the news. But to be honest with you, there has never been a day when I interviewed a Tsonga person, mainly because they were afraid to speak to us. Some we identified confessed that they did not want to speak to us because they would be victimized as they were the Vatsonga people. The only pressure the station suffered from was the listeners who always wanted to control what the station should present. We discovered that during the call-in sessions. At times we would succumb to the pressures and eventually gave in to their demands. But we always remain independent, as a station.

Anonymous programming producer: When we first went on air, there were instances of political interference. This stopped when we informed them that the radio needs advertisers to sustain itself. The local politicians simply left because they did not want to pay for airtime. To be honest, we never had serious cases of political interference. We were independent throughout. Our programming focused on issues such as protests and crime affecting our communities. Since the interference stopped, we have not faced any pressure. But to be honest, the only interference was the listeners; they were intolerant of our choice of topics at most times. So, whenever we decide on topics, we would decide with the listeners in our minds.

Anonymous presenter: The station has been free from political interference since I joined. Yes, we always invited local politicians, pastors, police, and influential community members for interviews. The only interference we encountered was from the listeners of the shows during call-in sessions. Listeners would want to direct the topics if they did not like what was discussed. It was important to talk to these people because community news was built around them. However, I would say our content overall was independent, and we covered whoever we wanted to cover. But I can tell you that the issues that the people of Vuwani were protesting about also affected me. At times, we would run the programs in a way that would reflect the interests of the Vhavenda people.

Norman Maluleke: I do not remember a single day when local community structures demanded to speak on air or told us what to cover and how to cover in our programming. Maybe it was because the station started operating when the violent nature of the protests was no longer there. But we never felt pressured to produce our programs. The only issue was that we could have the Xitsonga program, and no one from outside influenced that change to happen. The only interference I can attest to was when I was featured to work with Nemadimahulu on one of the 'Hot Time' shows, where some of the community members expressed discomfort with me as Xitsonga presenter in the show. Other listeners called to say the radio was for the Vhavenda people. The argument was quelled out by the co-presenter who was a Venda speaking person. He reprimanded the listeners and expressed that their views on the Tsonga people were not the views of the station. From that moment, the co-presenter always co-opted me to co-present with him, and that received some praise from most listeners, as Vuwani was also for the Vatsonga people.

Fihleko Baloyi: I am not aware of any political interference from local political structures. However, there was interference from the listeners who always wanted to control the content of the shows as they wished. Sometimes, they would push us to change topics and focus on issues of demarcation, which they argued were the most important.

The views of interviewees from Vuwani FM and Malamulele FM regarding potential political interference differed. While many interviewees from Vuwani FM stated that there has never

been political interference in their work, a few reported otherwise. However, all interviewees agreed that the only interference they faced was from the listeners, who often wanted to have a say in the selection of topics during open-line or call-in sessions. This underscores the strong sense of ownership the listeners felt for the radio station. According to Michael Delorme (1990), the former president of Amarc, community radio is democratically controlled by the population it serves (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers 1989), highlighting that the ownership of the radio station lies with the population it serves.

An interview was held with the Vuwani FM Station Manager, Mr Mulaudzi, who was asked about the issue of language distribution, the ownership of the radio station and political influence on the station.

The following was his response [Interviews were held in English]:

> Vuwani is an inter-ethnic community where the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people live together. The Vhavenda people are the majority in Vuwani, while the Vatsonga are a minority group. Vuwani FM is the local community radio station that broadcasts mainly in Tshivenda, the language of the majority, but also includes segments in Xitsonga for the Vatsonga people. In accordance with our broadcasting license, the language distribution on our radio station is as follows: Tshivenda (70%), Xitsonga (20%), and English (10%). During the protests, we aimed to maintain the independence of our programs despite requests from local political structures for interviews. We allowed these interviews only if they addressed the community's concerns, and we requested that they buy airtime to discuss their issues due to our financial struggles. However, they did not support us. Regarding the potential perpetuation of tribalism, I cannot comment on this, as language distribution is a matter of policy. We recognize that more efforts should have been made to promote unity between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people during the protests, but our limited resources, particularly in terms of funding and staffing, hindered our capacity to bring about positive change.

The station manager refuted the allegation that the station promoted tribalism through the predominant use of the Tshivenda language. He also criticized the claim that there was a period when the station exclusively permitted the use of Tshivenda as the language for broadcasting [Interviews conducted in English]:

> **Mulaudzi**: It is unfair to suggest that we were involved in promoting tribalism between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people. Tribalism existed before the station came to air and was already present in the community. We provided a platform for all the people of Vuwani to engage in various developmental issues without determining which ethnic group should participate. We never stated that the Vatsonga people should not participate or speak their own language when participating. We are an inclusive

> community radio station for all the people of Vuwani. The issues raised during the protests on our programming were related to the development and affected both the Vhavenda and Vatsonga of Vuwani and neighbouring areas. They were not intended to promote the language and cultural identity of the Vhavenda people, as claimed.

Considering Tshivenda's status as the dominant language in broadcasting, it's worth noting that Vuwani FM's station manager, just like reporters and presenters in the previous interviews, at Vuwani FM, acknowledged a clear linguistic hegemony in the station's programming. He, however, rejected the allegation that, at some stage, the station used a monolingual approach, where Tshivenda was the sole language of broadcasting. He also highlighted the impact of a language quota system on the distribution of languages in radio programs, citing specific provisions that underscored Tshivenda's predominance in the station's broadcasting license. There were a few of those who concurred with the assumption that the dominance of Tshivenda may have contributed to the perpetuation of tribalism against the Vatsonga people, making the whole idea of social cohesion impossible to achieve.

However, the station manager refuted this claim, citing the issue of a linguistic need to reach out to the community in which the Vhavenda people were the majority. He believed the station was doing the right thing by reaching out to the community of Vuwani through the Tshivenda language while considering the interests of the Vatsonga people, who were a minority ethnic group. He held the views of many others interviewed who believed that the Vatsonga people had no problem with Tshivenda's dominance since he assumed the ethnic group could communicate in Tshivenda fluently as in Xitsonga. His perspectives align with Stoop's (2017) quota system's linguistic hegemony assessment which argues that in many nations with linguistic disparities, most people are forced to communicate in the languages of the majority. The ideology sits within an old-age premise that national unity can be achieved in one language (Stoop 2017). The station manager vehemently rejected the assumption that local political structures captured the station and influenced its content. This is what he had to say:

> I completely disagree with the assumption that our station was influenced by local political structures during the protests. Although we may have had one or two incidents, we addressed this assertively with those who attempted to influence us. We are an independent self-funded radio station and do not receive any donations from political structures or any other sources. We are not indebted to anyone. We always invited them to share information with us during the protests, but we were not swayed by them. The only interference we faced was from the listeners, who pressured us during phone-in sessions to change certain topics. As a community radio station, we value our listeners' input, but we always strive to maintain our editorial independence. At times, we strategically changed topics to accommodate community input while still preserving our independence. However, we never succumbed to tribal or ethnic pressures, and in

> cases where listeners made tribal remarks, we reprimanded them, particularly in instances of remarks against the Vatsonga people.

Mr Mulaudzi confirmed that external influence was primarily attributed to the listeners, with some instances of attempted influence from political structures. This external interference delineated the ownership of the community radio station. According to Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers (1998), the owners of community radio are the communities it serves. The listeners, who were from the community of Vuwani, appeared to understand that they were the rightful owners of Vuwani FM. This kind of interference contradicts McQuail's (2005) and Fourie's (2001) theories of the political economy of media, which posit that those with the means of production determine the content. According to the station manager, the station was not funded by either the listeners or the political structures. The interference was based on the premise that the radio station is a community radio station for the people of Vuwani, thus supporting Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers' (1998) argument that the communities are the rightful owners.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed linguistic hegemony in the programming of the two selected community radio stations. The idea was to shed light on whether the two community radio stations promoted tribalism or social cohesion between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and Vuwani. The analysis was anchored on the Democratic and Social Cohesion Theory and Social Responsibility Theory of Media. The findings demonstrated that both Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM staff members inadvertently perpetuated tribalism and ethnic divisions between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and Vuwani by employing linguistic hegemony in their programming during the demarcation protests. This use of linguistic hegemony hindered the staff members from fulfilling their role in promoting social cohesion by providing democratic platforms for diverse viewpoints during their programming, as they ended up only catering for members of the ethnic groups whose languages were predominantly used for broadcasting. Cuellar (2009) argues that a stable democracy relies on social cohesion. One important aspect of democratic social cohesion is the role of media in representing the diversity of society and giving all social groups a voice. This includes providing access to a range of opinions and the freedom to respond to them (Fourie 2001). During the protests, broadcasters at Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM should have played a constructive role in promoting unity among the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people by

providing equal programming in their respective languages, regardless of the majority in the community. This could have been an effective strategy for resolving disputes along ethnolinguistic lines. Howard and Rolt (2005) suggest that broadcasters can address conflicts on air more skilfully by using innovative and dependable strategies, such as recognizing and embracing diversity. It's important to note that during individual interviews, the broadcasters admitted to failing to recognize diversity in their programs due to the language hegemony approach employed by the stations. This was especially evident with Malamulele FM, which later used Xitsonga exclusively in its programming during the protests. The selected broadcasters at both stations attributed the use of language hegemony to the broadcasting language policy's quota system. The majority view expressed during the individual interviews was that language disparities prevented them from taking an objective role in uniting the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and Vuwani during the demarcation protests. Although the selected broadcasters did not admit to intentionally perpetuating tribalism during the demonstrations, they agreed that the prescribed language/linguistic hegemony constrained them from fulfilling a social cohesion role in bringing together the two ethnic groups to stabilize peace in Malamulele and Vuwani. Fourie (2001) warns that the media must avoid taking any stance that could lead to violence, social disruption, or offend ethnic or religious minorities. One might argue that the two stations' adherence to linguistic hegemony neglected their social responsibility role, as alluded to by Fourie (2001) and Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers (1998). The interviewees admitted to inadvertently perpetuating tribalism and ethnic divisions between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and Vuwani, mainly due to the application of linguistic hegemony. Despite acknowledging the negative impact of their stance, attributed this to the broadcasting language policy. The interviewees also conceded that linguistic hegemony, which led to monolingualism in both stations, hindered the social cohesion role in uniting the two ethnic groups during the protests. The language disparities in both stations not only gave rise to monolingualism, but also undermined the democratic values of equality. Cuellar (2009) further argues that growing gaps between societal groups can jeopardize democracy. To achieve a balance between individual rights and collective responsibilities for sustainable democratic societies, the author posits that issues of disparities, inequalities, and discrimination must be addressed.

During the interviews, an attempt was made to explore how the political economy influenced the operation of the two community radio stations during protests. The investigation was based on the assumption that the media is controlled by politicians and capitalists who have the

resources to shape its content (McQuail 2005; Fourie 2001). In the case of Malamulele FM, the study revealed that the political economy negatively impacted the station's broadcast content. Presenters admitted that the Malamulele Task Team, a key local political group during the protests, requested the station to align its daily programming to support the demarcation protests. However, the station manager denied this. The presenters also stated that they were asked to provide more airtime to support the station, with the promise of financial support from the municipality once it was established. Some interviewees confirmed that the programming was indeed aligned with the inputs from the Malamulele Task Team. However, Vuwani FM staff denied any political or capital interference in their programming, asserting that their editorial independence had never been successfully challenged, despite attempts to do so.

The study found that both Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM employed a language hegemony approach in their programs targeted at marginalized minority ethnic groups. The majority of respondents from both stations confirmed that they favoured the dominant ethnic groups through the use of language hegemony. This is consistent with Gebert's (2009) argument that media produced in the language of a specific ethnic group reinforces the audience's identification with that group (cited in Pignatelli, 2016:128). The interviews indicated that both stations intentionally used linguistic hegemony to reinforce the identity of dominant ethnic groups, despite the goal of promoting social cohesion between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda groups. Discriminatory tendencies and dissociation behaviours of communicators often involve defending the in-group while excluding outside groups (Kim 2005 in Lee 2012).

The study suggests that the two stations could have used a bilingual approach to unite the Vatsonga and Vhavenda ethnic groups in Malamulele and Vuwani, going beyond the linguistic quota system. It argues that there are no laws to prosecute broadcasters who promote instability through their broadcasts. While the research holds broadcasting language policy accountable, it also blames the personnel of the two stations for failing to bring the people of Malamulele and Vuwani together. The interview sessions led to the conclusions that the presenters at both stations inadvertently used language hegemony and, at times, monolingualism in their programming. For example, Malamulele FM favoured the monolingual approach and language hegemony at the expense of the Tshivenda language, while Vuwani FM only applied linguistic hegemony, including the Xitsonga language only in their news segments. The study recommends implementing multilingualism based on Lewis's (2015) argument that

programmes should be presented in multiple languages simultaneously, with presenters from diverse ethnic groups.

CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Introduction

The study used Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM as case studies to investigate whether community radio within the transmission reach in the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani perpetuated tribalism or promoted social cohesion among the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people. The violent protests that erupted in these areas between 2013 to 2022 provide a compelling illustration of the challenges related to ethnic-based demarcations in post-apartheid South Africa and form the basis of the research problem. These protests highlighted the contentious inter-ethnic dynamics in these areas. It was expected that the community radio stations broadcasting in these areas would unify the two cultural groups by implementing programming aimed at enhancing social cohesion in the languages of both ethnic groups. In this chapter, the following topics have been briefly discussed to provide a summary of the entire thesis, emphasising the most important topics for understanding the study's phenomenon: the context of the study, research objectives, research questions, theoretical and Conceptual frameworks underpinning the research study, research methodology, data analysis, theoretical frameworks, the major findings of this study, gaps and contribution of the study, limitations, recommendations, and suggestions.

9.2 Context of the study

The study's hypothesis was based on the personal experience of some observers, with whom the researcher of this study interacted, following the two respective protests in Malamulele (2013-2016) and Vuwani (2016 - 2022). These observers accuse these radio stations of trying to drive a wadge between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people who have co-existed for centuries. They claimed that community radio stations broadcasting to the Malamulele and Vuwani areas during the demarcation protests exacerbated tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people. The observers noted that these stations failed to effectively foster social cohesion between the two coexisting ethnic groups due to the language dominance in their programming, ultimately contributing to ethnic division and tribalism. They claimed that the

stations failed because they were ideologically established to affirm separate ethnic identities, which potentially played a major part in the perpetuation of tribalism between the two ethnic groups. Part of their claims was that most community radio stations in the Vhembe District, including those in Malamulele and Vuwani, were owned and controlled by individuals who acted as proxies for powerful politicians with narrow tribal political interests. As they argued, this arrangement allowed these politicians to control the content, including determining the language of broadcasting based on ethnic majoritarianism. They concluded that community radio stations promoting language hegemony could not effectively foster the social cohesion necessary to unite the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people in Malamulele and Vuwani. They believed that community radio stations were structurally unsuitable for operating in interethnic spaces due to their ethnic alignment with the dominant ethnic groups.

9.3 Research objectives of this study

- To explain how using broadcasting languages in Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM contributed to tribalism or promoted social cohesion among the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani through qualitative interviews.
- To ascertain whether coverage of the demarcation protests by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM promoted social cohesion or perpetuated tribalism among the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani.
- To explore the ideological beliefs behind the establishment of community radio in post-apartheid South Africa.

9.4 Research questions:

- How did the language used by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM during the demarcation protests perpetuate tribalism or promote social cohesion?
- To what extent did the coverage of the demarcation protests by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM promote social cohesion or perpetuate tribalism among the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani?
- Under which ideological beliefs were the ethnic-based community radio stations established in post-apartheid South Africa?

9.5 Theoretical and Conceptual frameworks underpinning the research study

The study was underpinned by several theoretical frameworks, including social responsibility, democratic and social cohesion, inter-ethnic communication, media and ethnic conflict, and political economy. It delved into the interplay between democratic values and social cohesion initiatives as elucidated by democratic theory. Additionally, the study drew on the social responsibility of media theory to gain theoretical insights into the role of media in a democratic society. The interethnic communication approach was employed to understand the role of community radio as an inter-ethnic communicator within inter-ethnic community spaces. Furthermore, the study utilized the political economy theory of media to comprehend the impact of politics and economics on the editorial autonomy of the media.

9.6 Research Methodology

The study employed a qualitative research paradigm, which is most appropriate for deeper exploration rather than quantitative analysis. A case study approach was employed to investigate the phenomenon of this study within the context of two community radio stations: Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM. Because the phenomenon under investigation was relatively new, exploratory research was chosen to gain deeper insights, formulate a precise research problem, and develop clear and relevant hypotheses for future investigations. It was acknowledged that the findings of this research would not be generalized beyond this study. To ensure trustworthiness, different research methodologies were triangulated to minimize bias, enhance validity, and reveal varied dimensions of the phenomena under investigation. The following research methods underpinned the collection of data:

- Qualitative document analysis, which includes analysis of the current community radio broadcasting language policy.
- Qualitative content analysis of a radio program, which included analysis or reviews of previously recorded programming of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM during the violent demarcation protests in Malamulele and Vuwani.
- Qualitative interviews with the Station Managers, Presenters, and Field reporters of the two community radio stations, Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM.

9.7 Analysing of Data

This research employed a combination of content analysis and theme analysis techniques to meticulously examine the data obtained from the three data collection methods described previously. Content analysis, as defined by Bowen (2009), involves the classification of data based on the study's specific questions. In contrast, thematic analysis was utilized to discern underlying patterns within the data, with emerging themes as the focal point. In the process of content analysis, the researcher employed the first-pass document review method, as outlined by Bowen (2009:32), to meticulously identify meaningful and relevant passages of text or other relevant data. The primary objective was to identify pertinent data while differentiating it from irrelevant information. To steer clear of predetermined categories, conventional content analysis was also utilized, allowing for categories and labels to emerge organically from the collected data, as suggested by Hsieh and Shannon (2005). A comprehensive and focused re-evaluation of the data was employed to discern relevant themes. The researcher scrutinized the selected data and undertook coding and category development based on the attributes of the data, following the methodology outlined by Bowen (2008). Unlike content analysis, this analytical technique did not rely on predetermined codes and themes. Instead, they were derived directly from the gathered data. The empirical data acquired through the triangulated data-gathering methodologies ultimately led to the emergence of codes and themes, showcasing the depth and richness of the analysis.

9.8 Major findings and arguments

The findings of this study have been derived from data collected using three research methods: qualitative document analysis, qualitative content analysis, and qualitative interviews. The data was gathered and analysed to address the three research questions and to identify the research problem. The study presented its main findings and arguments in the following order:

9.8.1 Summary of major findings and arguments: Qualitative document analysis

The findings of this study are presented based on four analytic policy categories namely:

(1) National policies: The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996; the Official Language Act of 1999; and Pan South African Language Board Act of 1999;
(2) Broadcasting Policy: the Broadcasting Act.
(3) Regulations: ICASA Community Broadcasting Service Regulations of 2019
(4) Licenses: ICASA Class Broadcasting Service License granted to Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM.

The analysis in this chapter used a combination of qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis to identify and categorize the themes of the study based on the legislative and policy documents mentioned above. The analysis and findings were driven by following research objective and research question:

Research objective:

- To explore the ideological beliefs behind the establishment of community radio in post-apartheid South Africa.

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Research question:

Under which ideological beliefs were the ethnic-based community radio stations established in post-apartheid South Africa?

This study highlights the impact of national language and broadcasting legislation on community radio, identifying the potential promotion of tribalism. The analysis reveals that national broadcasting legislation favours certain languages through a quota system, promoting the dominance of major languages at the expense of minority ones (Stoop 2017). This approach is rooted in the outdated belief that national unity can only be achieved through monolingualism. This study reveals that national language and broadcasting legislation that applies to community radio is a significant enabler of tribalism. The promotion of linguistic dominance through national language and broadcasting regulations, as part of the quota system, suggests that community radio should not be open to criticism. Instead, any shortcomings should be attributed to legislative or policy factors. This, therefore, proposes the realignment of national language legislation and broadcasting language policies within the context of multilingualism to recognize diversity. However, this must be done from Lewis's (2015)

perspective, where multiple languages can be simultaneously employed in the broadcasting of a single program. Within the framework of multilingualism, this study proposes:

1. Revision of national language policies to eliminate the language quota system favouring a select few languages in community radio.
2. Implementation of broadcasting policies ensuring language equality in all contexts.
3. Clear detailing of language distribution in ICASA regulations to prevent ambiguity and language hegemony resulting from regulatory loopholes.
4. Shifting community radio license conditions towards multilingualism over majoritarianism.

Additionally, it underlines the importance of advancing multilingualism in South Africa's national and broadcasting policies that govern community radio. It highlights the necessity of treating all languages equally in broadcasting, regardless of the prevalence of certain languages. As South Africa approaches a historic centennial of radio, the study emphasizes the vital role of community radio as a unifying platform for the diverse ethnicities and tribes in the country. This involves advocating for a non-discriminatory, non-tribal multilingual approach and shifting away from the current majority-oriented model.

9.8.2 Summary of findings: Qualitative content analysis of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM programming

The analysis in Chapter 7 used a combination of qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis to identify and categorize the content of the study according to specific themes. The researcher transcribed the data collected from qualitative content analysis on Malamulele FM's 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' and Vuwani FM's 'Hot Time' to address the following research objective and research question:

Research objective:

To ascertain whether the coverage of the demarcation protests by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM promoted social cohesion or perpetuated tribalism among the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani using qualitative content analysis.

Research questions:

How did the coverage of the demarcation protests by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM promote social cohesion or perpetuate tribalism among the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani?

The analysis of programming entailed using a single transcript for each radio station. The study examined 19 shows of Malamulele FM's 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program and Vuwani FM's 'Hot Time' program, specifically during the demarcation protests. This section provides a summary of the compiled data and delves into the findings that addressed the research problem within the context of the outlined research question.

Upon analysing Malamulele FM's 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' and Vuwani FM's 'Hot Time,' it was noted that both stations depicted a community radio tailored exclusively to monoethnic audiences. The study concluded that language hegemony was evident in the presentation of the selected programs on both radio stations. In the case of Malamulele FM, language hegemony was applied consistent with Suarez's (2002) monolingual framework. The program 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' on Malamulele FM exclusively used Xitsonga for broadcasting and did not include Tshivenda. Vuwani FM applied language hegemony using a national language quota system distribution approach, with Tshivenda as the primary language for broadcasting and Xitsonga only featured in news updates and sports reports. These stations were strategically located in inclusive areas where Vhavenda and Vatsonga people live together. Given the gravity of the protests and the resulting ethnic tensions in Malamulele (2013-2016) and Vuwani (2016-2022), it was crucial for the two radio stations to promote an inclusive cultural identity that encompassed all co-existing ethnic groups in the communities through a bilingual approach within a multilingual context. According to Kim (cited in Lee, 2012), an inclusive identity orientation serves as a cognitive and motivational basis for fostering unity among diverse people within inclusive spaces in society. Despite being situated in inclusive communities, both stations failed to unite the Vatsonga-Vhavenda interethnic communities of Malamulele and Vuwani during their separate demarcation protests through their programming. Instead, the stations effectively drove a wedge between the two ethnic groups by employing linguistic hegemony in their respective programming. This exclusive identity orientation (Kim, cited in Lee, 2005) results in a dissociative behaviour, closely linked to a rigid differentiation of oneself

from ethnically dissimilar others. The study also revealed that the dissociative behaviours of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM were connected to their ethnic identification with dominant ethnic groups in the inclusive zones of Malamulele and Vuwani. It is important to note that Malamulele FM uses the Xitsonga language in Vatsonga-dominated Malamulele areas, while Vuwani FM uses Tshivenda in Vuwani, where Vhavenda is the dominant ethnic group. The separate ethnolinguistic identification of the two stations with the Vatsonga and Vhavenda, respectively, aligns with Gebert's (2009) argument, as that the media are always ethnic, in the sense that, being produced in the language of a given ethnic group, they unavoidably strengthen the audience's/reader's identification with that group (cited in Pignatelli, 2016). The use of linguistic hegemony in both stations, as already discussed, undermined their effort to promote social cohesion and integration of the two ethnic groups during the demarcation protests. It must be noted that the media have a owes its responsibility to reflect society in its diversity. Critical to this responsibility is the mandate that:

> the media collectively should represent all social groups and reflect the diversity of society by giving people access to a variety of viewpoints and the right to react to these viewpoints; society is entitled to expect high professional standards, and intervention is justifiable if the media fails to meet these standards (Fourie 2001:272).

The study revealed that Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM contributed to tribalism and ethnic divisions by predominantly using the Xitsonga and Tshivenda languages in their programs. It concluded that these community radio stations did not make any effort to promote social cohesion, leading to a division between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda ethnic groups in the Malamulele and Vuwani areas. The study suggests that the stations should have used a multilingual approach to programming to address these issues. Lewis (2015) sees multilingualism as the best way to tackle linguistic disparities and hegemony. The scholar recommends using multiple languages within a single program, with presenters representing the linguistic interests of diverse ethnic groups to address these challenges.

9.8.3 Summary of findings: Qualitative interviews with Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM's presenters and reporters

Chapter 8 employed a combination of qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis to identify and categorize the study's themes of analysis from the interview transcripts based on the qualitative interview research method. The following research objective and research question guided the analysis:

Research objectives

To establish whether the use of broadcasting languages in Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM contributed to tribalism or promoted social cohesion among the communities of Malamulele and Vuwani through qualitative interviews.

Research questions:

To what extent did the broadcasting language used by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM during the demarcation protests perpetuate tribalism or promote social cohesion?

The researcher transcribed the interviews with the station managers, programming presenters, and reporters from the two radio stations. The researcher used both qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis to analyse the interviews. This involved reviewing the transcripts and interview notes to identify relevant information for research question three. In addition, a systematic and open reading of the text, was conducted to identify codes related to specified topics and their properties.

The study concluded that the staff at both community radio stations, Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM, employed a language hegemony approach in their programs during the demarcation protests in Malamulele and Vuwani. This approach disadvantaged minority ethnic groups and perpetuated tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people.

The stations' programming was ethnically aligned with the dominant ethnic groups through the application of language hegemony, perpetuating the audience's identification with those groups. This use of linguistic hegemony at both stations served to confirm either a need to promote the dominant groups' ethnic identity or a reluctance to pursue a social cohesion goal to unify the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and Vuwani. This discriminatory power is comparable to what Kim (2005) refers to as the dissociation behaviours of communicators, who often defend the in-group while excluding the out-group. The two stations could have used a multilingual approach, as suggested by Lewis (2015) and Kriel (2003), to bring together the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people in Malamulele and Vuwani, particularly when they needed unity to combat tribalism. The interviewees reviewed that they only

implemented the quota system in language distribution because it was mandated by their broadcasting license. This study contends that there is no law that can prosecute anyone or entity for exceeding limits to create stability and peace in society. While blame has been placed on the broadcasting language policy, the staff members of the two stations cannot be exonerated from the accusation that they failed to use the power of the airwaves to unite the people of Malamulele and Vuwani.

9.9 Relevance of the study

This section discusses the study's limitations and gaps while also examining the advantages and benefits of this thesis:

9.9.1 Limitations of the study

The study had some limitations stemming from time and resource constraints, which influenced the sample size and methodology utilized. Therefore, the study adopted a qualitative cross-sectional approach to investigate a specific phenomenon at a particular point in time. Zangirolami-Raimundo et al (2018) assert that the purpose of cross-sectional studies is to gather reliable data to facilitate the derivation of robust conclusions and the formulation of new hypotheses for further exploration.

The protests in Malamulele and Vuwani persisted for an extended period. For example, the demarcation protests in Malamulele occurred between 2013 and 2016, coinciding with the transfer of the Collins Chabane Municipality to the people of Malamulele. Similarly, the Vuwani protests continued for nearly seven years, from 2016 to 2022, although the violence ceased in 2017 when the residents were incorporated under the administration of the Vhembe District Municipality instead of the new local municipality of Collins Chabane. Given the prolonged duration of these demonstrations, the investigation could have spanned a longer period.

For a comprehensive study, it would have been crucial to examine all community radio stations with transmission reach into the Vuwani and Malamulele areas. These endeavours would have necessitated the implementation of a longitudinal study, achievable only over an extended period and with substantial financial resources (Caruana et al. 2015).

Additionally, due to time and financial constraints, only a case approach was feasible, which involved the selection of two community radio stations to examine the research problem. Financial and time constraints dictated the utilization of a qualitative research paradigm, with small sample sizes restricting the applicability of the findings to the broader population.

9.9.2 Contribution of the Study

There is lack of study lack of empirical scholarship on the role of community radio in addressing inter-ethnic conflicts and tribalism within inclusive communities. This study has shown how monoethnic-based community radio stations use dominant languages in inclusive communities to perpetuate ethnic divisions and tribalism, and this was the scholarly gap it has identified. Previous research on community radio has predominantly focused on the broadcasting medium's role in perpetuating inter-ethnic conflicts and tribalism, often neglecting the influence of language hegemony in fuelling these tensions (Adeyanju 2018; Pignatelli 2016; Acran 2013; Howard 2009; Paluck 2007). Rudwick (2006) argues that language can be used as a weapon to distinguish external boundaries as well as internal lines (Rudwick 2006). Scholars such as Mwendia (2013), have suggested strategies for the media to address political and tribal conflicts. However, there has been little focus on tackling the issue of linguistic hegemony, which is fundamental to tribalism. While many studies have analyzed how community radio perpetuates tribalism and ethnic conflicts, they have not provided effective solutions to address these social challenges.

This study emphasizes the importance of multilingualism, as proposed by Lewis (2015) and Kriel (2003), in restructuring current community radio to promote social cohesion. It aims to encourage existing scholarship to consider language policy when examining the role of community radio in ethnic conflict settings. The study recommends that academic attention be given to the issue of language distribution in defining the language of community radio broadcasting in inter-ethnic communities. Something that this study has found to be lacking in the community radio stations under inquiry. The ultimate goal of the study is to shed light on how South Africa's ethnic-based community radio, which currently operates in inter- and multi-ethnic spaces, can be transformed into a community-centered radio broadcasting platform where the various ethnic groups are fairly and equally represented.

9.9.3 Recommendations

The findings from this study were based on data collected through three research methods: qualitative document analysis, qualitative content analysis, and qualitative interviews. The study concluded that language hegemony was employed in the programming of Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM during the demarcation protests, which perpetuated tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people of Malamulele and Vuwani. The analysis of policy documents revealed that the broadcasting language policy, including its language quota system as outlined in the national language policy and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, tends to perpetuate ethnic divisions and tribalism in South Africa's diverse society.

The study found that the use of language hegemony by Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM during the demarcation protests exacerbated tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda communities. It was also noted that minority ethnic groups in Malamulele and Vuwani did not actively participate in call-in sessions, possibly due to language barriers.

During the interview sessions with staff members of both Malamulele FM and Vuwani FM, the issue of language hegemony was mentioned as a contributing factor to tribalism, with the blame placed on the broadcasting language policy and its language quota system. The study recommends that community radio stations in Malamulele, Vuwani, and neighbouring areas should play a vital role in promoting social cohesion and multilingualism in their programming. Although the findings of this study may not apply to the entire population, the study recommends the following:

- Community radio language policies and regulations should be realigned to promote social cohesion and inclusivity in South African society by embracing multilingualism in broadcasting, moving away from the current majoritarianism model.
- Ethnic-based community radio stations in areas where diverse ethnic groups coexist should be dissolved to prevent language hegemony and tribalism.
- Inter-ethnic or multi-ethnic community radio stations should be established to address social development issues in the languages of diverse ethnic groups within inclusive territorial zones.

- Broadcasters for inter-ethnic or multi-ethnic community radio stations should be selected equally from diverse ethnic groups within inclusive territorial zones.
- Staff appointments in community radio stations in inclusive areas should ensure equal ethnic representation to facilitate the creation of social cohesion programming accessible to all members of diverse ethnic groups.
- Programming should be conducted in the languages of all ethnic groups within inclusive zones, regardless of their population size.
- Broadcasters for community radio stations in inclusive territorial zones should responsibly use airwaves to promote social cohesion among diverse ethnic groups, especially during ethnic conflicts.

9.9.4 Suggestions for further research

The study does not claim that findings are generalisable to the entire population or that this is a comprehensive and complete understanding of the topic. However, the exploratory nature of this study aimed to gain insights into the topic being investigated. The researcher, therefore, suggests that further research could potentially address the limitations of this study by providing new insights. The identified areas and discussed areas are discussed below, along with suggestions for further research:

- The researcher recommends replicating this study with larger sample sizes and population numbers or potentially expanding it to other provinces with similar problems.
- The researcher suggests a quantitative research approach to address the limitations of the current study.
- The researcher recommends that this study be conducted from a policy perspective, as the policy issue was at the core of the phenomenon.
- Since the scars of tribalism last for a long period (Baloyi, year???), the study also recommends further research on the role of community radio in fostering social cohesion using multilingualism as a conceptual framework (Lewis, 2015).

9.10 Conclusion

This chapter summarised findings from the study and provided overall conclusions from the study. I also provided recommendations based on the findings from the study. The study's contributions to the existing body of knowledge, literature gaps, limitations of the study and suggestions for future research were also discussed. In addition, it also delves into the researcher's journey and provides suggestions for further investigation, highlighting the challenges encountered in addressing the research problem. As previously mentioned, this study does not aim to generalize its findings to the entire population under study, nor does it claim to offer a complete and comprehensive account of the topic. The study is exploratory in nature, focusing on gaining insights into the topic under investigation. However, it is recommended that this study be replicated with larger sample sizes and possibly expand it to other parts of South Africa, Africa or any other parts of the world where similar research problems exist.

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Addendum

Programming Transcripts, and Summaries

Malamulele FM: 'Hluvukiso wa va aki' program

Show 1

Date: 11 February 2015
Show Presenter: Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni
Language of broadcasting: Xitsonga language
Floating song: Jonathan Buttler: Dancing on the shore
Time slot: 12pm to 15pm (Monday to Wednesday)

The show opened with the news bulletin at 12pm, and it was presented by Eric Ncindhani:

> Rixile vayingiseri, lawa I mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi lawa mi hlayeriwaka hi Eric Ncindhani. Hungunkulu: Task Team ya ka Malamulele eka swikoxo swa masipala yi tsandzeke ku fikelela ntwanano na Ndzawulo ya mindzelekano eka swikoxo swa masipala wa vona. Leswi swi vula ntsena leswaku shut down yi ya emahlweni ka Malamulele. Ndzawulo ya dyondzo yi vilerisiwa hileswi shut down leyi yi alelaka migingiriko ya dyondzo ku ya emahlweni himfanelo.

The news was presented in Xitsonga language. In the news, it was reported that a deadlock ensued between the Malamulele Task Team and the Demarcation Board team regarding the demands of a new municipality by the people from Malamulele, leading to a protraction of shutdown. After the news, the host of Hluvukiso wa Vaaki programme, Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni welcomed the listeners to the show, introduced the topic, and the studio guest. The studio guest was Vhembe district's spokesperson, Mr Baloyi. The topic sought to explore the reasons for a demand by the people of Malamulele to exit the Thulamela municipality. On the topic breakdown, the presenter appeared to be so keen to understand the reasons why the Thulamela municipality did not treat the protest and the demand for a new municipality by the people of Malamulele as a just call of an action to push for a service delivery in the areas of Malamulele. As a background to the question, the presenter argued that most of the representatives of Thulamela Municipality thought tribalism and a need to sow divisions between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda were the only reasons for the people of Malamulele to fight for their own municipality more than just a service delivery. Therefore, in his further argument, the presenter indicated that there was no service delivery in the areas of Malamulele and that the infrastructure was dilapidated without maintenance. The following was the presenter's line of questioning after welcoming the studio guest on the show:

Presenter:

> Tatana Baloyi, xana ku nga va yini xi vangelo nkulu xaku nwina tani hi vayimeri va masipala wa Thulamela mitsandeka ku teka swirilu swa vanhu vaka Malamulele tani hi swirilu swa nkoka than ku vula kuri kova nhlohlotelo wa tribalism exikarhi ka Machangana na Vhavenda- tani hi loko na nwina miswivona leswaku vukorhekeri abyi tshamisekanga eka tindhawu ta ka Malamulele- ku suka eka mapatu, swibedlele, na swotala?

From the analysis of the conversation, the presenter had a position that seemed to justify and legitimise the protests by the people of Malamulele to demand an exit from the Thulamela Municipality to form their new municipality. However, his position did not appear to condone the violent part of the protests. On the other hand, the presenter seemed oblivious on the part of the potential ethnic conflicts and tribalism in his conversation with the studio guest, especially when the latter pointed on the two aspects as the cause for a push for a new municipality by the people of Malamulele. In essence, this was the response from the studio guest when quizzed to respond on the calls to call the protests the service delivery protests than to be just a mission to perpetuate ethnic conflicts and tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda communities:

Studio guest, Mr Baloyi:

> Vanhu va ka hina va ka Malamulele vatitiva tindlela ta kahle to tisa swirilu swa vona eka masipala wa vona wa Thulamela. Masipala wunwana na wunwana wuna mitlhothlo ya yona, kambe aswi vuli kuri ku hava leswi swinga kuendliweni eka ti ndhawu leti. Yes, swirilu swa vona swatwala. Kambe ku koxiwa ka masipala aku lunghsi chumu tani hi loko kuri Ndlela yo endla xihlawuhlawu exikarhi ka tixaka ta Vatsonga na Vhavenda va ndhawu leyi. Leswi ni vula hikuva va va vula leswku Thulamela I masipala wa Vhavenda. Hikwalaho kee, Na Vatsonga vaka Malamulele valava wa vona wa Machanagana kule na Vhavenda- leswi swinga xihlawuhlawu than ku akisana. Ene xinwana xa kona muhaxi, xana ami swivoni nwina kee ku onhiwa ka nhundzu na miako ya fumu eka switereka leswi. Miriyini hi swona.

The last part of the studio guest's question was so important to explore the presenter's objectivity role in running this show within the context of the topic under discussion. Instead, the presenter continued to vindicate the position of the protesters and by implication justifying it as a just course for the people of Malamulele.

Presenter:

> Na mitwa tatana Baloyi, how if tribalism leyi miyi kombetelaku for vanhu va ka Malamulele hi yona vatsutsumaka yona eka Thulamela? Why tani hi muyimeri wa

> masipala mitsadndeka ku pfumela leswaku swinga endleka kuri mhaka yak u tiyisu ku hava vukorhekeri byo fana na le Venda eka Malamulele? Nilava mini hlamula kwalaho.

There was also a heated debate between the studio guest and the callers, during the call-in session of the show, in which the presenter failed dismally to maintain a neutral and objective line. The callers expressed their frustrations with the studio guest on the show, particularly that the latter appeared to attribute the protests to a need to pursue tribalism by the people of Malamulele against the Vhavenda people of Thulamela. Some of the expressions from the callers had tribal and divisive ethnic connotations. For example:

Caller:

> Nkulukumba Baloyi a va fanele va nga ri vona va vulavulaka sweswo hikuva na vona va fanele ku lwela masipala. Nyimpi ya MaVenda na Vatsonga a yi ngheni helo eka mhaka ya ku koxiwa ka masipala, mhaka yikulukumba laha hileswaku vukorhekeri ku hava laha ka Malamulele, hi pfumala na rhingi ya mabazi doroba hinkwaro ra ka Malamulele. Ene xihlawuhlawu lexi va xi vulaka hi xona xihi lavisaka masipala, and kumi byela tiyisu hi mahlonga ya Vhavenda. Vhavenda vana xihalwuhlawu swinene ehehla ka rixaka ra Vatsonga.

Many callers who called on the show had similar divisive ethnic and tribal remarks against the Vhavenda people in general throughout the show just like the caller extracted above. However, there was nowhere on this show where the presenter stopped or cut off the listeners for such remarks. Instead, the presenter had been on side of the protesters and plights of the people of Malamulele. The show was also accompanied by the news at 13:00, presented by Eric Ncindhani in Xitsonga language:

> Mi hlayeriwa mahungu ya awara ya mbirhi hi Eric Ncindhani. Ku ve na ku onhiwa ka muako wa Home Affairs hi vaaki va ka Malamulele lava va koxaka masipala eka Ndzawulo ya mindzilekano. Ku ve na ku hisiwa ka miako ya home affairs hi matheyere hi vaaki lava a va hlundzukile swinene. Mutlangi wa Orlando Pirates a humeleriwa hi nghozi ya movha. Ku hlamuseriwa leswaku mutlangi u le ka xiyimo xo biha exibedhlele. Hungu rin'wana hileswaku ndzawulo ya dyondzo eka district ya Vhembe yi vilerisiwa hi tidyondzo leti ti nanayilaka hikokwalaho ka xiyimo xa shutdown leyi yi endliwaka hikokwalaho ka swikoxo swa masipala hi vaaki va ka Malamulele.

The news was about the destruction and torching of Home Affairs buildings at Malamulele by the residents of this area, as outlined by the same news reader. The news was also followed by the drama at 13:06. The Xitsonga drama was known as 'Swa misava aswi heli'. The drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place of birth for fear of being persecuted

by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later married her.

On the last hour of the show, the presenter also announced listeners' comments posted on Facebook page of the station. Most of these comments were tribal and pro-Malamulele municipality. It is important to mention that the show continued until 3pm. The last hour of the show featured other topics and activities which were not captured for transcription and analysis because of their insignificance to the research question 2. Towards the end of the show, the presenter thanked the producers of the show and the listeners, and immediately signed off to give way for other programmes. Likewise, the tendency with this programme was that the Malamulele Task Team would always be given an airtime to update the communities of Malamulele on the progress pertaining to the municipality and demarcation issues during the show.

As recap, there were so many activities that took place during the show, which included the commercials, radio promos, general announcements, traffic, weather, competitions and including other invited guests for other topics not related to this study. However, this study only focused on the aspects of the show which addressed pertinent issues to the research question 2 and the research problem at large.

For example, the drama series known as 'Swa misava aswi heli' ordinarily played right after the 13H00 news. The Xitsonga drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place of birth for fear of being persecuted by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later maArried her.

The following were the songs played during the show:

- Caiphus Smenya, Matswale
- Ringo Madlingozi, Sondela
- Jeff Maluleke, Vusiwana
- MG Ntlemo, Ndzi dyiwe Xivongo
- Thomas Chauke and Shinyori Sisters, Makhelwani
- Team Shirimani, Nwana wa ku rila

The second show for analysis, under 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki' programme, took place on the 16 February 2015. It was also presented by Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni. The following is the presentation of the transcribed show. The transcription, in some other instances, was verbatim and accompanied by summaries of the conversations where necessary. As usually, the show was broadcast from 12pm to 15pm.

Show 2

Date: 16 February 2015
Show Presenter: Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni
Language of broadcasting: Xitsonga language
Floating song: Jonathan Buttler: Dancing on the shore
Time slot: 12pm to 15pm (Monday to Wednesday)

12:00 As usual, the show started with the news at 12H00. The news was presented in Xitsonga language by Judas Mabunda:

> Rixile vayingiseri va Mala FM 101, Mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi mi hlayeriwa wona hi Judas Mabunda. Eka mpundzu wa namuntlha ku kumekile ntlawa wa vanhu lava a va khomile tinhundzu to tala ta vhengele ro xavisa mpahla. Swi tikomba ntlawa lowu wu ri wa vanhu lava a va suka eka ntshungu wa vanhu lava a va ku nenge hansi nenge henhla va koxa masipala wa ka Malamulele. Munhu wun'we eka vona u khomiwile hi maphorisa loko lavan'wana va pana sikisi.

In the above news, a group of people were reportedly found in possession of the goods or items reportedly stolen from the nearby clothing shops. One of these people was arrested while the rest fled. Based on this news report, this group was part of the protesters who fought for a new municipality. Immediately after the news, the presenter of community development program-Hluvukiso wa Vaaki Mr Luck Tinyiko Ngobeni welcomed the listeners to the show, while at the same time introducing the topic of the day. The topic of the day was to look at the report that the Malamulele Task Team had to give to the people of Malamulele regarding their demands for a municipality. This was what the presenter or host of the show had to say in his welcoming remarks:

> I nhlekanhi lowunene eka vayingiseri va Mala fm. Ndzi mi amukela nakambe eka nongonoko wa Nhluvukiso wa vaaki lowu wu vaka kona Musumbhunuku ku fika Ravunharhu (From 12pm to 3pm). Namuntlha eka nongonoko hita va ni vuyeni ku suka eka Task Team ya ka Malamulele. Leyi i Task Team leyi yinga langutisana nak u rhangela mhaka yo lwela masipala lowu ntshwa wu koxiwaka hi vaaka tiko vaka Malamulele. Vuyeni lebyi byi ta va byi ta hi nyika vuxokoxoko hi mayelana na

> timhaka ta masipala lowu vaaki va wulwelaku. Na ku kombisa kuri Team ley iyi fikile kwihi na mi mbulambulisano na lavanga na vuti hlamuleri eka mhaka leyi. Eka Task Team leyinga hi vhakachela, hina nkulukumba Nukeri, Nkulukumba Ndhambi na dokodela Jan Nkuna. Ahi ti lunghiseleni vuyeni lebyi.

Still in his opening remarks, the host introduced the studio guests and explained the essence of their presence on the show, especially at the time when the people of Malamulele were looking for answers. It should be recalled that nothing was moving at that time. Shops that provided food and other essential services were closed and not allowed to operate. Transport business was shut down as well, implying that the livelihood of the people in the areas of Malamulele was halted. Looking at the volatility of the situation and uncertainty around it, it was important of Malamulele Task Team to update the people of Malamulele on the development regarding their demands of the municipality as the representatives to that effect. The studio guests whom the presenter invited were three leading members of the Malamulele Task Team Mr Nukeri, Mr Ndhambhi and Dr J Nkuna. The conversation tackled issues from shutdown, violent protests, service delivery, Thulamela Municipality, and development on the new municipality. This was one of the difficult topics the presenter had to preside over because of the sensitivity that came with the fact that in Malamulele and the neighbouring areas there stayed the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people, who were also the listeners of the radio station. This was what the presenter had to say to welcome the studio guests, while at the same time delineating on what would be discussed on the topic:

Presenter:

> Inhlekanhi eka vayeni vahina na swona miamukeriwile laha eka Mala FM. Ndzi ta sungula hi n'wina tatana Nukeri, I ncini lexi mi nga khomela vayingiseri xona mayelana na xikoxo xa masipala wa ka Malamulele. Ni vutisa leswi hikuva nitiva leswaku vanhu va ka Malamulele va le hasi ka masipala wa Thulamela. Xana Ndzawulo ya mindzelekano yi ri yini hi xikombelo xa n'wina.

The first question was directed to any of the three members of the Malamulele Task Team. Mr Nukeri became the first guest to provide an answer.

Guest, Nukeri:

> Ndzi ta sungula hi ku xeweta vayingiseri. Swina nkoka eka vanhu vaka Malamulele van ga Vastonga Machangana kulwelwa masipala wa vona tani hi loko kusukela 1994 va ri eka Thulamela vanga kumanga vukorhekeri lebyi byo hetiseka. Hi fanele hinga ti pfinyingi kuri kayivelo wa vukorhekeri eka Malamulele awuri na xihlawuhlawu xaku Imani ng ana lunghelo ra vukorhekeri exikarhi ka Vatsonga na Vhavenda. Kame leswi xihlawuhlawu xa vukorhekeri xinga xani sa Vatsonga va ka Malamulele malembe lamo

> tala swinene. Swona switshembiso swikona, kambe ko va switshembiso ntsena swa leswaku hi ta hlamuriwa eka xikombelo xa hina. lexi hi nga byelaka vayingiseri xona hileswaku shutdown yi ya emahlweni loko hi nga se hlamuriwa leswi hi lavaka swona.

From the analysis of Mr Nukeri's answer, the protests by the people from Malamulele was sparked the lack of service delivery since these people had to be served under the Thulamela Municipality. Mr Nukeri appeared to argue that the service delivery provided by Thulamela Municipality was based on ethnic or tribal lines. Hence, according to him, the communities of Malamulele were poorly serviced because they were dominated by the Tsonga speaking people. In the second line of questioning, the presenter seemed to have maintained an objective stance. He was objective in the sense that he did not want to appear to qualify the claim by the representatives of Thulamela that the protests were a demonstration of tribalism nor to qualify the claim by the Malamulele communities that the service was based on ethnic preferences. The second question though was directed to Mr Ndhambi. The question was posed with a focus on the claim that there was an adequate service delivery for the people of Malamulele and that their demands, as mentioned by Mr Baloyi of Thulamela Municipality in one of the previous shows, were unreasonable. The presenter's line of questioning, as directed to Mr Ndhambhi, one of the studio guests from the Malamulele Task Team, was as follows:

Presenter:

> Tatana Ndhambhi, leswi manwana mavonela makombisaku leswake vukorhekeri byi kona kambe vanhu va ka Malamulele vo rilela xo ka vanga xitivi. Hi marito manwana Thulamela masipala yi le ku ringeteni hi matimba. Miriyini hi swihehlo sweswo eka nwina?
>
> **Loosely translated:** Mr Ndhambhi, is it true that we cannot deny the fact that there is a lack of service delivery for the people of Malamulele and the representatives of Thulamela Municipality argue that to say that there is a lack thereof is not fair as it misrepresents the truth. What is you take on this?

Guest, Mr Ndhambhi:

> Ha mi xeweta na hina muhaxi na vayingiseri. Malama I mavunwa mari hlaza. Fambani miya vona tindhawu ta le Thohoyandou let inga hasi ka Thulamela, mitlhela mita eka Malamulele communities, mita swi vona kuri lowu wunge vi tiyisu. Vatsonga va ka hina vahlupheki ngopfu eka Thulamela. Xihlawuhlawu xitele ngopfu. Masipala lowu wu service Vhavenda kutlula Vatsonga. Leswaku hina hi phuxa agenda ya masipala lowutshwa ku endlela ku promoter tribalism I vunwa lebyi nkulu.
>
> **Loosely translated:** I also greet you and your listeners. The establishment of Thulamela Municipality in Malamulele has never been a quality service delivery. There is nothing wrong with the quality-of-service delivery given to the people of Malamulele

> compared to what we see in Thohoyandou. The only beneficiary of Thulamela Municipality is the Venda people. The claim that our protests are motivated by a need to pursue separatist agenda of tribalism is totally a lie.

With the presenter seemingly having had enough with Mr Ndhambhi, he then directed the questions to the third member of the Task Team. The purpose was to check on whether Doctor Nkuna upheld what the other fellow members of the Task Team had just said or whether he had a different opinion on the issues raised during the conversation. Indeed, Doctor Nkuna supported the opinions and sentiments of his fellow members of the Task Team. He did not mince a word in all they had to say:

Guest, Doctor Nkuna:

> Switano, vankulukumba vayi vekile mhaka. Hitaya emahlweni hi minjhekenjhekisano na lava board ya mindzilikano. Aku heteleleni hita humelela hikuva na hi tinambara hi qualifaya ku va masipala hiri hexe. Hina na Vhavenda ahi lwi, na vakokwani vahina va tshami swinwe malembe lamotala. Lexi hilwelaku xona itshuxeko wa vukorhekeri lowu hi ehleketaku kuri vanhu vokari eswitulwini swalehehla va bizi na phuxa agenda ya xihlawuhlawu against Vatsonga loko swifika eka vukorhokeri lebyi.
>
> **Loosely translated:** I second what the fellow guests said regarding the failure of Thulamela to serve our people in Malamulele. It is not the issue of tribalism, people forget that there are Venda people in the communities of Malamulele who are deprived of service delivery. We will continue with our peaceful approach of engaging this issue with respective authorities until our demands are met. We know very well that this is not about tribalism as projected, though we cannot rule out the possibility of a tribal agenda in Thulamela municipality against the Vatsonga people. We remain resolute that a need for a new municipality is inspired purely by lack of a service delivery for people of Malamulele in Thulamela Municipality.

It is important to mention that the listeners who called during the show were the Vatsonga people of Malamulele, who were calling to express their frustrations regarding Thulamela Municipality and the poor service delivery in the communities of Malamulele. One of disgruntled listeners was heard expressing his dismay with Thulamela Municipality in the conversation with the presenter:

Presenter:

> Hayi kasi ke mi nge hi twa leswaku vayingiseri va ri yini hi mhaka leyi. Emoyeni, hina muyingisri loyi alavaku k uva xikala vito. Ha mi amukela muyingiseri eka nongonoko wa Nhluvukiso wa vaaki, mi na xivutiso eka vuyeni bya hina ku nga Task Team xana?

Loosely translated: Let us welcome our listeners on our show. On the line, we have one listener who would want his identity concealed. We have with us members of the Task Team; do you have a question for them or comment on what they have just said?

Listener:

Mina ndzi lava ku vutisa leswaku loko va nga ri ku hi hlamuleni ivi shutdown yi ya emahlweni a swi karhati vana va xikolo xana?

Loosely translated: My question is, what will be the impact of this shutdown on schools since pupils and students will fail to access the schools.

Presenter:

Xivutiso xa muyingiseri hi ta xi nyika dokodela Jan Nkuna va xi hlamula endzhaku ka loko hi hundzile hi le mavhengeleni.

Loosely translated in English: Your question will be answered by Doctor Nkuna after a commercial break.

Commercial break!

Presenter:

Xivutisu axi kongomisiwile eka Task Team. Kumbe Dokodela Nkuna va nga hlamula muyingseri.

Loosely translated: The question was directed to the Task Team. Doctor nkuna, can you respond to the listener.

Guest, Doctor Nkuna:

Hi va hi kha hi switiva leswaku vukorhekeri eka tindhawu hikwatu ta vutomi bya vanhu byita kavanyeteka. Kambe akuna Ndlela yinwana fumo wungata yingisa swirilo swa ka Malamulele, ehandleni ka ku wutlhotlha hi Ndlela ya mixaka lowu.

Loosely translated: Yes, we know so well that schools and other areas of service will be affected. But we do not have a choice to evade this situation. Our government can only listen to protests such as these ones.

From the assessment of this show, especially with all the interviews, the guests were pro-Malamulele Municipality, and they were totally against the notion that people from Malamulele fought for a new municipality because they did not want to share the municipality with the Venda people. Instead, the guests were adamant that the protests were inspired by lack of service delivery in the areas of Malamulele than the purported agenda to pursue tribalism and ethnic separatism. However, like most of the listeners during the shows, the guests alluded to the fact that they were the ones marginalised by the municipality because they were the Vatsonga people.

The show was followed by the 13:00 news read by Judas Mabunda also in Xitsonga Language:

> I nhlekanhi vayingiseri, mi hlayeriwa mahungu ya awara ya mbirhi mi hlayeriwa hi Judas Mabunda. HUNGUNKULU: Task Team ya ka Malamulele yi vula leswaku shutdown a yi nge yimi loko Ndzawulo ya mindzelekano yi nga se hlamula xikoxo xa vona ni ku nyika vanhu va ka Malamulele leswi va swi lavaka, se swi na mavhiki mabirhi shutdown yi ri karhi ku ya emahlweni. Hungu rin'wana hileswaku ku khomiwile munhu loyi a nga phangha exitolo xo xavisa mpahla hi nkarhi lowu a ku endliwa xitereko xa ku koxa masipala.
>
> Summary of news in English: The news bulletin included a confirmation by the members of the Malamulele Task Team that the shutdown would continue until the day their demands will be met. In another report, a man was arrested for looting in one of the retail stores in Malamulele during the protests.

Drama known as 'Swa misava aswi heli' was played right after the news. The Xitsonga drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place of birth for fear of being persecuted by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later married her.

There were so many activities that took place during the show, which included the commercials, radio promos, general announcements, traffic, weather, competitions and including other invited guests for other topics not related to this study. However, this study only focused on the aspects of the show which addressed pertinent issues to the research question 2 and the research problem at large. The following songs were played during the show:

- Thomas Chauke: Yehovha
- Stimela: I hate telling lie
- Jabu Khanyile: Bayethe
- Eckson Maluleke: Xipapilani
- General Muska: Hi wena ungati lovola
- Colbert Mokwevho: Na Kurhandza

The third show for analysis purpose, under 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki' programme, took place on the 17 February 2015. It was also presented by Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni. The following is the presentation of the transcribed show. The transcription, in some other instances, was verbatim and accompanied by summaries of the conversations where necessary. As usually, the show was broadcast from 12pm to 15pm.

Show 3: 17 February 2015

Show Presenter: Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni
Language of broadcasting: Xitsonga language
Floating song: Jonathan Buttler: Dancing on the shore
Time slot: 12pm to 15pm (Monday to Wednesday)

12:00 The show began with the news bulletin, and this was presented by Tracy Nobela. The news was presented in Xitsonga language, as follows:

> Mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi mi hlayeriwa hi Tracy Nobela. Hungunkulu, MEC wa Ndzawulo ya mindzelekano u vula leswaku leswi vaaki va ka Malamulele va swi endlaka va ta tionhela hileswi va onhaka tinhundzu ta mfumo masiku hinkwawo. This is what the MEC (English) had to say:
>
> > In a democratic country like South Africa people have rights to protests and express their dissatisfaction on any issue. However, they do not have the rights to destroy or torch the buildings which are supposed to be used for service delivery. What happens at Malamulele could be a right call for service delivery only if it is expressed within the parameters of law and not expressed out the laws of our country.
>
> Eka rinwana ra mahungu, President Jacob Zuma u tshembhisa ku vhakela vaaki va ka Malamulele ku ta va nyika nhlamulo ya xiko xa masipala ku nga ri khale.
> **Summary of news**: In the same news, it was reported that President Jacob Zuma undertook to visit the people of Malamulele to respond to the issue of the new municipality.

Right after the news, the presenter, as was a tradition, introduced the topic of the day. The topic this time around looked at the tendency to torch buildings and the vandalization of infrastructure to gain government attention in South Africa. After the introduction of the topic, the presenter or the host went on to welcome the listeners and immediately shared with them who the studio guest was for the show, including a breakdown of what would be discussed during the show. And of course, the conversation would be centred around the issues affecting the people of Malamulele since the beginning of the protests.

12:14 The presenter welcomed the listeners of 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki':

Presenter:

> I nhlekanhi lowunene eka vayingiseri va Mala FM. Ndzi mi amukela nakambe eka nongonoko wa Nhluvukiso wa vaaki lowu wu vaka kona Musumbhunuku ku fika Ravunharhu, namuntlha eka nongonoko hi ta va ni vuyeni ku nga muvulavuleri ku suka eka vandla ra ANC laha va nga ta va va hlamula ehenhla ka swikoxo swa vanhu va ka Malamulele lava va koxaka masipala wa vona, vona i

nkulukumba Steve Mahlale lava ku vuriwaka leswaku va na xiave eka ku onhiwaka ka muako wa ndzawulo ya xikaya (Home affairs).

Loosely translated:

Good afternoon to our listeners and welcome to our show. We have our shows three times a week, from Monday to Wednesday. Today we have in our show a spokesperson of ANC at Malamulele and a member of Malamulele Task Team, Mr Steve Mahlale to update us on what is happening on the ground and to give a sense of what the ANC will be doing to address the situation, which is volatile and now out of hand.

Presenter:

Mi nge hi namba hi amukela nkulukumba Mahlale lava va vuriwaka leswaku va kondletele ku onhiwa ni ku hisiwa ka muako wa ndzawulo ya xikaya tolweni wa masiku hi nkarhi wa switereko swa vaaki va ka Malamulele. Tatana Mahlale, xana mi hlamula mi ku yini eka swihehlo swa leswaku hi n'wina mi nga fika ni mathayere ya ku hisa muako wa mfumo?

Loosely translated:

Mr Mahlale, let us welcome you on the show. Sir, you are the ANC leader and at the same time you're the member of the Task Team that is fighting for the new municipality. I wonder if you are aware that you are implicated for the destruction and torching of the buildings in the areas of Malamulele. It is alleged that you are the one influencing people to do so. What is your take on that?

Guest, Mahlale:

Mina a ndzi tivi ndzi endlile mhaka yoleyo. Ndzhawu leyi hinkwayo, loko ku ri na vugevenga byo karhi, hi mina loyi ndzi rhangisiwaka emahlweni ku va ndzi byi endlile, ndzi muaki wa ka Malamulele, na mina ndzi hlundzukile hikokwalaho ka ku lava masipala kambe a ndzi hisanga muako kumbe ku hlohlotela, muako wu hisiwile hi vaaki hayi mina as an individual.

Summary of his response to the question: Mr Mahlale, in his response to the question, vehemently and angrily denied the allegations and his implication on the destruction and torching of the buildings around Malamulele.

Presenter:

Mi nge hi twa vayingiseri leswaku vona va ri yini eka mhaka leyi. Ha mi amukela eka MALA FM 101, Xana mi nga ku yini hi swihehlo leswi nga kona swa ku hisiwa ka ndzawulo ya xikaya hi nkarhi wa shutdown ya swikoxo swa masipala.

Summary: The presenter then switched to the listeners for their comments and opinions on the allegations where Mr Mahlale, the studio guest, was accused of being the person behind the torching and destruction of the buildings around Malamulele.

From the above dialogue, it can be inferred that the presenter of this show Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni was very objective and neutral in his interaction with My Mahlale from Malamulele Task Team. He only offered him a platform to respond to the allegation without qualifying

them as the acts committed by Mr Mahlale. He neither promoted the use of violent protests nor to discourage on the part of people of Malamulele. On the same note, the presenter of the show opened the lines, as usual, to allow listeners to share their opinions on the topic, including allegations against Mr Mahlale. The following were the selected comments by the listeners on the show:

Listener, Obed Mathebula from Malamulele:

> Vanhu lava va Ndzawulo ya mindzelekano va tshika ku hi nyika leswi hi swi lavaka, va tshama va karhi va hi tsutsumisa loko hi lwela tifanelo ta hina. comrade Mahlale a va endlanga nchumu. Ko va swihehlo swa hava. Xana swibihile kwihi loko vanhu va ka hina va vula kuri ava na vukorhekeli eka Thulamela na swona va koxa masipala wa vona. Vatsonga va le ku hluphekeni eka Thulamela.
>
> Summary: The listener defended the call for a protest and accused the police of chasing the peaceful protesters. The listener also went as far as defending Mr Mahlale and stated the allegations against him as baseless accusations meant disrespect the Vatsonga people of Malamulele for their legitimate fight for their municipality.

Another caller (Anonymous caller) called to echo the same sentiment the previous caller expressed. This is what she had to say:

> Leswi swihi kwatisa ngopfu, especially loko vanhu va nga tiviki chumu hi ti plights ta Vatsonga va ka Malamulele loko swi fika eka service delivery. Kahle kahle leswi swihi kwatisaku iku xihlawuhlawu exikarhi ka Machangana na Vhavenda xa hatele. Vhavenda lexi va xilavaka iku fuma Machangana.
>
> Loosely translated: We are very angry with the treatment that we get from those who are opposed to us having our own municipality. By the way, most people think we are promoting tribalism when in actual sense we are the victims of tribalism from Thulamela Municipality, which is predominant Vhavenda municipality.

In this instance, the presenter appeared to have again maintained an objective stance on his interaction with the listeners. This could be observed when he called the listeners to order especially when they used divisive ethnic and tribal language on the show against the Venda people. The following was his neutral stance:

Presenter:

> Ani voni kuri tani hi xitichi hi xera mavonele manwina. Hikuva tirho wa hina iku minyika platform yo tisa mavonele manwina lama ma nga lavekeki kuri matisa ku nyanyisa tisa ku avana exikarhi ka tixaka letimbirhi. Anita kombela kuri loko va yingiseri va fona va swi papalata sweswo.

> Summary: The presenter asked the listeners to refrain from making tribal and ethnic comments that sought to perpetuate and widen the divisions between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda in general. But encourage them to raise their points sharply without encouraging tribalism and ethnic discrimination.

The two were not the only callers, but there few other callers who called in to share their frustrations regarding Thulamela Municipality, as the Municipality mandated to service Thohoyandou and Malamulele areas. The callers (Listeners) kept the lines busy defending and justifying their actions as the legitimate ones. In the analysis of their interactions with the presenter, many callers' comments were very tribal, and mostly with the expression of ethnic hatred and stereotypes against the Venda people in general. Some of the callers avoided to be drawn into the debate about tribalism as a cause for a demand for a new municipality but attributed the protests only to lack of service delivery by the Thulamela municipality for the people of Malamulele (Vatsonga and Vhavenda people).

13:00 News bulletin followed at 13h00 and was presented by Tracy Nobela in Xitsonga language:

> Rixile vayingiseri va MALA FM 101. Mahungu ya awara ya n'we mi hlayeriwa hi N'waMgabe Tracy Nobela. Maphorisa yo huma eka swifundzha swin'wana ya tele na doroba ku ta lawaula xiyimo lexi vangiwaka hi vaaki va ka Malamulele lava va onhaka mapatu na tinhundzu ta mfumo swinene laha ndzawulo ya xikaya yi nga pfurha hi ku hisiwa hi mathayere. A kuri phesaphesa eka Malamulele tani hi leswi maphorisa ku suka eka swifundha ma fikile eka Malamulele kuta tisa vulawuli. Migingiriku yak u lwela ti fanelo ayi hungeteka edorobeni hikwalaho ka ku tala ka maphorisa. Eka hungu rinwana, vana swikolo va ya emahlweni va tshama emakaya hikokwalaho ka shutdown ya swikoxo swa masipala.
>
> Summary: Police from other provinces were deployed in Malamulele areas to quell the violence and prevent the torching and destruction of government property and buildings. In a different report, pupils continued to remain at home as the shutdown continued.

13:06 Drama known as 'Swa misava aswi heli' was played. The Xitsonga drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place of birth for fear of being persecuted by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later married her.

14:00 News at 14h00 was again read or presented by Tracy Nobela:

> Mi hlayeriwa mahungu ya awara ya mbirhi eka MALA FM 101 hi Tracy Nobela. President Jacob Zuma u kombela vaaki va ka Malamulele ku sukela ku onha tinhundzu loko va ri ku koxeni ka masipala wa vona. Nakambe president u tshembhisa vaaki leswaku u ta fika a ta va hlamula xikombelo xakwe xa ku koxa masipala nakona va fanele va herisa shutdown. Task team yi kondletela vaaki ku ya emahlweni na shutdown loko ndzawulo ya mindzelekano yi nga hlamuli xikoxo xa vona xa masipala wa vona. Ta mintlangu, Xitlhelani Bluebirds yi hlurile eka mintlangu ya vona leyi a va endzile le Loustrichart.
>
> Summary: In the news, Present Jacob Zuma has reportedly requested the people of Malamulele to refrain from destroying the infrastructure that they may need in future. In another report, Malamulele Task Team influence the residents of Malamulele to continue with the shutdown. For sports, there was a report about Xitlhelani Bluebirds having won their games they played in Makhado.

During the show, Malamulele Task Team, which was the leader in the fight for a new municipality, was given airtime to communicate with the listeners and update them on what they were doing to ensure that the people of Malamulele have their own municipality. This happened on every show analysed, including this one. Different topics were discussed on the show. However, the study only presented the topics and their discussion on protests. The following songs played during the show:

- Obed Ngobeni, Hovhorolo
- Brenda Fassie, Mama
- Deborah Fraiser, Mbambanani
- Rebecca Malope, Khinsamani
- General Muzka, Taxi driver
- Percy Mfana, Ni lo bebula
- Joe Shirimani, Wa Rila Nwana
- Thomas Chauke, Mavholovholo

The fourth show for analysis, under ‘Hluvukiso wa Vaaki’ programme, took place on the 18 February 2018. It was also presented by Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni. The following is the presentation of the transcribed show. The transcription, in some other instances, was verbatim and accompanied by summaries of the conversations where necessary. As usually, the show was broadcast from 12pm to 15pm.

Fourth Show: 18 February 2015

Show Presenter: Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni
Language of broadcasting: Xitsonga language
Floating song: Jonathan Buttler: Dancing on the shore
Time slot: 12pm to 15pm (Monday to Wednesday)
It was on the 18 February 2015 when Hluvukiso wa Vaaki programme was on air again.

12:00 As usual, the programming show started with the news on top of the hour 12:00, presented by Rhulani Mzamani:

> I nhlekanhi vayingiseri va MALA FM 101, Mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi mi hlayeriwa hi Rhulani Mzamani. Hungu leri ri rhangeke emahlweni, task team ya ka Malamulele a yi hlanganile ni muvulavuleri wa ndzawulo ya mindzelekano laha swi tikombaka ku ri ni nhlanga leyi yi lavaka ku huma ngati. Swi tikomba Ndzawulo yi sungula ku tekela enhlokweni xikoxo xa masipala hi vanhu va ka Malamulele. Matsalani wa task team wa hlamusela:
>
> > "Hi kotile ku hlangana na demarcation board hi twanana leswaku nhlamulo yi ta fika na president ku nga ri kutani shutdown yi ta yirisiwa ku tshamisekisa swiyimo swa vaaki na vana va xikolo".
>
> Summary of news: In the news, it was reported that Malamulele Task Team, which represent the communities of Malamulele to demand the new municipality, met with the Demarcation board to resolve the outstanding issues regarding the issue of demarcation and the new municipality. For people of Malamulele, this was step on the right direction.

Right after the news, the presenter introduced the topic of the day, using Xitsonga language. The topic sought to unpack on the state of shutdown, given that people in the communities of Malamulele were unable to get essential services such as food and health because roads were still closed for transports. As usual, the presenter welcomed the listeners to the show, while outlining the topic of the day:

> I nhlekanhi lowunene eka vayingiseri va Mala fm. Ndzi mi amukela nakambe eka nongonoko wa Nhluvukiso wa vaaki lowu wu vaka kona Musumbhunuku ku fika Ravunharhu, namuntlha eka nongonoko hi ta va ni vuyeni ku nga Task Team ya ku lweriwa ka masipala. Tanihi leswi va tshembhiseke leswaku va ta vuya ni tinhlamulo leti ti koxiwa hi vaaki va ka Malamulele mayelana na masipala, hi na vona nakambe kwala tindlwini ta vuhaxi ta MALA FM 101 ku ta twa. Na n'wina vayingiseri hi ta mi nyika nkarhi ku vutisa swivutiso ni ku bumabumela eka mhaka leyi.
>
> Summary: The presenter gave a breakdown of what was going to happen on the show. He even announced that the Task Team were in the studios to account on the mandate they were carrying of ensuring that the new municipality for the people of Malamulele was delivered to them. In essence, the Task Team's responsibility was to continuously give updates to the community of Malamulele.

In the show, the Task Team undertook to lift the shutdown to allow normality to take place. This came as result of the positive engagement that the Task Team and the Demarcation Board of South Africa had. In this meeting, the Demarcation Board gave the people of Malamulele an assurance of municipality. This time around the Task Team was represented by Mr Nukeri, who once appeared with Mr Ndhambi and Dr Nkuna in one of the previous shows.

Guest, Nukeri:

> Vayingiseri a va swi tivi leswaku laha a hi le ku lweni na mfumo kumbe Demarcation Board, laha hi lava ku lwela ti rights ta hina. loko ndzawulo yi ri na ntwanano na hina, hi yela yini emahlweni hi kavanyeta migingiriko ya mfumo ke? Na swona ku kumeka hi suspender shutdown iku nyika fumo kuri wu fikilela leswi wu hanga ti boha hi swona eka hlangana wa hina na vona. Na swona leswi swita nyika karhi vanhu va hina ku kuma karhi woya eti mavhengeleni kuya kuma switirhisiwa.
>
> Loosely translated: One thing that the listeners must know is that we are not fighting the government nor Demarcation Board, but we are expressing concerns with the government and Demarcation Board, and our rights to have our own municipality must be respected, because we have numbers. So, the government has now made a commitment with specific time frames. Against this background, we feel we can temporarily suspend the shutdown not only to allow the government to fulfil their commitment but also to allow our people to access basic needs in shops and all that.

Task team also hinted that the fight for municipality is carrying on, but for a time being the shutdown had to be suspended to allow relevant processes to take place. However, the listeners of the show were very sceptical about this new arrangement. There were in fact mixed reactions among the listeners, with the most expressing their fears that this could be their defeat on what they referred to as a just course. The following details the conversation between the presenter and listeners on the issue:

Presenter:

> Mi nge hi twa leswaku vayingiseri va titwisa ku yini hi xiyimo lexi xi nga kona exikarhi ka task team na ndzawulo ya Mindzelekano. Muyingiseri wo sungula ha mi amukela.
>
> Loosely translated: Lets first listen to the listeners and hear how they feel about the new arrangement. We have our first caller, and we welcome you at Mal FM. What is your take of the agreement that seeks to lift the shutdown?

The listener, Bernard Masingi from Mabayeni:

Ndza khensa ku nyikiwa nkarhi muhaxi, mina ndzi lava ku vula leswaku shutdown a yi fanele yi ya emahlweni hikuva a hi swi tivi leswaku vanhu lava vo hi mamisa tintiho kumbe njhani.

Summary: The listener felt shutdown must carry on citing that it is difficult to trust any arrangement from the government.

Presenter:

Tatana Nukeri, tanihi matsalani wa task team, mi nga hlamula swihi mayelana ni xiringanyeto xa muyingiseri?

Loosely translated: Mr Nukeri, what can you tell us about your deal with the Demarcation Board. Especially as the secretary of the Task Team.

Mr Nukeri:

Swina nkoka kuri muyingiseri ativa leswaku ku ve na twanano na lava va mindzilikano ku fikelela laha vanga hi kombela kuri hi yimisa migingiriku ya xitereka ku nyika ndhawu mfumu na ndawulo ya mindzilikanu ku languta swikoxo leswi, naku languta leswi vafaneleke ku swiendla ku hlamula swikoxo leswi. Loko vatsandeka hitava hiri hava yinwana xangu ehandleni kaku ya emahlweni na shutdown hikuva kutava kuri yona language leyi vayi twaku swinene.

The talkshow was followed by the news at 13:00 pm presented by Rhulani Mzamani Hlungwani:

I nhlekanhi, mahungu mi hlayeriwa hi Rhulani Mzamani. Hungunkulu, I ntsako lowukulu eka vaaki ku twa leswaku Task Team yi ve na ntwanano wo karhi na demarcation board mayelana ni ku koxiwa ka masipala hi vanhu va ka Malamulele. Vana va ta tlhelela eswikolweni kasi na mavhengele ya ta pfuriwa.

Summary: The news report was on a reached agreement between Malamulele Task Team and department that dealt with the issues of demarcation. It was reported that considerations on the highest level were being made for the new municipality.

13:06 Drama known as ‘Swa misava aswi heli’ was played. The Xitsonga drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place of birth for fear of being persecuted by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later married her.

The last hour of the show featured a guest Mr Mapendani, who by then was the spokesperson at Malamulele Police Station to talk to the listeners about criminal opportunism during the protests. He came to speak under the topic ‘Criminal opportunism during the shutdown’. The

conversation was in Xitsonga language. In his conversation with the presenter, he highlighted a concern that while people are protesting peacefully, there were scores of criminals within the communities that were taking advantages of the plights of people during the protests. According to him, there were considerably high numbers of house breakings and theft. He therefore warned those behind this that the mighty hand of the law would catch them. It is important to mention that it was a common practice on the shows that the Malanulele Task Team would be given the airtime to update the community on the way forward regarding the protests. The following songs were played during the show:

- Ringo, Intombi yam
- Umanji, Nwa Mawillie
- Oliver Mtukudzi, Meria
- Macingelani, Vana va sesi
- Peta Teanet, Maxaka
- MD Shirindza, Ndlati
- Tshetsha Boys, Tshetsha
- Patric Nkuna, Ku rhula

The fifth show for analysis, under 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki' programme, took place on the 23 February 2015. It was also presented by Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni. The following is the presentation of the transcribed show. The transcription, in some other instances, was verbatim and accompanied by summaries of the conversations where necessary. As usually, the show was broadcast from 12pm to 15pm.

Fifth Show: 23 February 2015

Show Presenter: Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni
Language of broadcasting: Xitsonga language
Floating song: Jonathan Buttler: Dancing on the shore
Time slot: 12pm to 15pm (Monday to Wednesday)

12:00 As usual, the show started with the news, and was read or presented in Xitsonga Language. The news was presented by Eric Ncindhani:

> I nhlekanhi vayingiseri va Mala FM 101, Lawa I mahungu ya khumembirhi, Hungunkulu, Ku kumekile tinhundzu to tala etlhelo ka gondzo ra le xikarhi ka Muphambhu na Xikukwana, ku hleketeleriwa leswaku tinhundzu leti ti phanghiwile swa masiku hi nkarhi wa shutdown eka Malamulele. Hungu rin'wana

> hileswaku task team ya ha yimele nhlamuloxidzi ku suka eka va-Demarcation board mayelana na xikoxo xa masipala, ku fikela sweswi ka ha miyerile laha vaaki va xungetaka ku tereka nakambe.
>
> Summary of the news: In the news, it was reported that there were goods and other valuable items which were discovered by the side of the road between Mphambu and Xikukwani. It was alleged that those items were looted from various shops around Malamulele by the residents. In another report: The Malamulele Task Team was still waiting for the response from the Demarcation Board, following the recent meeting that led to the suspension of the shutdown.

After the news, the presenter Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni immediately introduced the topic of the day to the listeners of his show. The topic sought to reflect on health-related issues, in particular the skin cancer. It was one of a few topics that did not focus on the protests and the new municipality. The presenter welcomed the listeners and undertook that he would host a medical doctor to help unpack the topic. The following were his introductory remarks of the show:

> I nhlekanhi lowunene eka vayingiseri va Mala fm. Ndzi mi amukela nakambe eka nongonoko wa Nhluvukiso wa vaaki lowu wu vaka kona Musumbhunuku ku fika Ravunharhu, namuntlha eka nongonoko hi ta va ni vuyeni ku suka eka ndzawulo ya rihanyu laha hi nga ta va hi langute eka vuvabyi byo fukuzana ya nhlonge (SKIN CANCER) laha hi nga ta vulavula na Dokodela Ngobeni ku suka exibedhlele xa ka Malamulele."

The medical doctor who was invited in the studio to come and share with the listeners his medical expertise in relation to skin cancer and how it could be prevented was Doctor Ngobeni. In the opening statement, the presenter welcomed Doctor Ngobeni in the interview that was conducted in Xitsonga language:

The presenter:

> Ana hi mi amukerile dokodela, xana fukuzana ya nhlonghe I ncini nakona yi vangiwa hi yini?

Loosely translated: Let us welcome Doctor Ngobeni to help us unpack the topic on our show. Doctor, you are welcomed. What is a skin cancer and what are the causes thereof?

Guest, Dr Ngobeni:

> Fukuzana ya nhlonghe yi vangiwa hiloko munhu a tineka edyambyini minkarhi hinkwayo kasi hi tlhelo ku va ku ri ku na leswi hi swi vulaka skin failure emirini wa munhu. Hi nga kona ku swi anakanya hi ku vuna ka nhlonghe ya munhu, swilondza leswi swi humaka eka nhlonghe ya munhu yeyeloye. Fukuzana ya hlonghe yi vonaka eka marhama, xifuveni, endleveni ngopfu ngopfu kwala vaka mhani va boxaku kona vata dloka ti earrings, na le mavokweni na milenge.

> **Loosely translated:** Skin cancer is abnormal growth of the normal skin cells usually on the skin areas that is exposed to the ultraviolet rays from the sun. The skin cancer lesions are mainly seen on cheeks, chest, earlobes, hands, and legs.

The conversation between the presenter and the studio guest Doctor Ngobeni last for about 30 minutes including the commercial breaks. Ngobeni tried to explain to the listeners what a skin cancer is, the symptoms, the causes and the measures that can be taken to prevent this disease. On the show, the presenter also opened the lines to allow the studio guest to interact with the listeners.

Listener, Calvin Khosa Halala:

> Xana fukuzana ya nhlonghe ya dlaya ke, loko hinga byi fananisa na HIV. Na swona hi nga byi sivela njhani?
> Loosely translated: Is the cancer a life-threatening disease as compared to many others like HIV? Again, how can we prevent this disease?

Guest:

> Swinene, loko yi nga tshunguriwi munhu u ta bola miri hinkwawo laha swi nga tekaka vutomi byakwe. Loko wo za u vona tinwana ta ti sayini leti ni nga ti vula, tsutsumela eka dokodela mara sungula eCliniki.
>
> Loosely translated: Yes, it can claim so many lives if it is not treated. Once you notice some symptoms like I have already alluded to, please just visit the nearest clinic and they take it from there.

Drama known as 'Swa misava aswi heli' was played after the 13H00 news. The Xitsonga drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place of birth for fear of being persecuted by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later married her.

Immediately after the studio guest Dr Ngobeni has left, and the drama series had played, the presenter mentioned on air that he received a call from the Task Team demanding that the show be restructured to only accommodate the burning issues and updates about the will of the people, which was the fight for a new municipality. In an hour or so before the end of the show, there were visitors who were announced by the presenter, coming from the Task Team. They came to give the updates on the strikes and the direction the community of Malamulele must take amid a wait upon the Demarcation Board's promise. It really appeared that the Task Team had a say on how the shows were supposed to run, and that has been seen many times by the

lineup of the topics on day-to-day basis. On this show, in particular, the production team wanted to shift a focus to something fundamental, and something that had to do with the issues of health. However, the fact that the Task Team could easily walk in the studio and be given airtime as they wanted, tells you that the radio station was not independent from the political interference. The radio appeared to have been used as channels to communicate political issues than an independent institution that was supposed to remain autonomous.

The following songs were played throughout the show:

- Patrick Nkuna, Munhu wa misava
- MD Shirindza, He Mijaji
- Michael Jackson, Flight
- MC Mabasa na Shigombe Sisters, valala
- Mbuyangwani, Dyondzo
- Robert Kelly, I believe I can fly
- Prince Rhangani, Xiwitsi

The sixth show for analysis, under 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki' programme, took place on the 24 February 2015. It was also presented by Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni. The following is the presentation of the transcribed show. The transcription, in some other instances, was verbatim and accompanied by summaries of the conversations where necessary. As usually, the show was broadcast from 12pm to 15pm.

Sixth Show: 24 February 2015

Show Presenter: Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni
Language of broadcasting: Xitsonga language
Floating song: Jonathan Buttler: Dancing on the shore
Time slot: 12pm to 15pm (Monday to Wednesday)

As it was the tradition with many other shows of the programme, 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki', this show opened with the news bulletin, which was presented by the news reader Mr Judas Mabunda at the hour of 12pm. The news was presented in Xitsonga language:

> I nhlekanhi vayingiseri, lawa I mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi lawa mi tiseriwaka wona hi Rhulani Judas Mabunda, I mahlanga. Xungeto wa ku sungula ka shutdown I wukulu endzhaku ka ku tsandzeka ka demarcation board ku endla switshembhiso swa vona swa ku nyika nhlamulo eka vaaki va ka Malamulele mayelana na swikoxo swa masipala. Task Team yi ri yi nyika demarcation board vhiki ntsena, loko va nga hlamulanga shutdown yi ta sungula nakambe.

In the news, it was reported that the people of Malamulele intended to carry on with the shutdown following what they referred to as a breakdown on the promises made by the Demarcation Board and the department that dealt with the issue of the territorial demarcation or boundaries. However, it was also reported in the very same news bulletin that the Malamulele Task Team, which was leading the negotiations for a new municipality, had given the Board and the department concerned a week extension to put the house in order and made sure that they give the people of Malamulele a concrete answer to their plea and requests. Failure to meet this commitment, as per report, could result on more chaos and trouble.

As usual, the programming would begin immediately after news and the presenter would instantly introduce himself and the show to the listeners. Since the programme was simply a talk show, the show of the day, just like many other shows of 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki', would have topical issues of discussion where the presenter would interact with the studio guests and listeners. The topic that was selected for this show focussed on the impact of shutdown on local agricultural farming activities. The topic was presented in Xitsonga language. By the virtue of it being presented in Xitsonga language, it could be assumed that the show targeted the Tsonga speaking people. The presenter opened the show by introducing the topic of the day to the listeners. Equally so, he broke down the topic, outlining what needed to be discussed on the show. It is important to mention that the presentation of the topic and the discussion thereof was in Xitsonga language. The following are the opening remarks of the show, following the news:

> I nhlekanhi lowunene eka vayingiseri va Mala FM. Ndzi mi amukela nakambe eka nongonoko wa Nhluvukiso wa vaaki lowu wu vaka kona Musumbhunuku ku fika Ravunharhu, namuntlha eka nongonoko hi ta va ni vuyeni ku suka eka ndzawulo Vurimi ku ta vulavula hi mhaka ya swifuwo leswi swi nga ha kotiki ku ya edibini ku ya kuma vutshunguri hikokwalaho ka shut down leyi nga kona.

In the opening remarks of the show, the presenter's topic focus was mainly on the impact of shutdown on the local agricultural economy, with a view on livestock. Paramount to the show, was the introduction of the studio guest. This time the guest was Mr Morris Chabalala from the then department of agriculture in the Malamulele areas. The conversation was purely on exploring a possible negative impact of shutdown and the protests at large on the agricultural economy, with a focus on livestock. This was what the presenter had to say in his opening question to the studio guest:

Presenter:

Inhlekanhi tatana Chabalala, hambi hita hoxisa loko ho mivitana madibani. Ku sukela ku sungula switereka leswi, ahi ri karhi hi valanga valanga ti topic to mbulavmbulo leti ti nga vaka ta Koka eka karhi lowu. Mi switiva kahle kuri ku humelela yini eka miganga wa ka Malamulele. Xana hiku komisa mi nga hi byela leswaku hi swihi switandhaku leswi mi vonaku onge swita tshikelela ndawulo ya vurimi, atlheleni ra swiharhi.

Chabalala:

Rihanyi ra munhu ri vakona hi vulanguteli bya madokodela. Na swona swiharhi rihanyu ra swona swikatsa kuyisiwa edibini karhi na karhi. Hikona hi kotaku ku swisivelela eka tungu wa swigalani na ku lumiwa hitinyoka. Dibi ri lwa na mavabyi mohambana hambana ya hlonghe ya swifuwo. Loko shutdown ya haya emahlweni ku nga vi na swichucho eka swikoxo swa hina, khombo iku hita lahlekeriwa hi swo tala swiharhi.

Although the topic appeared to be interesting from analytic point of view, most listeners who called in the show during call-in session expressed their discontent not on the guest's comments but on the selection of the topic. Based on the qualitative content analysis conducted on the show, it appeared that many listeners were the Vatsonga and would prefer to talk about their dissatisfaction with Thulamela Municipality than the chosen topic. Many went as far as hijacking the platform to lash on this municipality by labelling it as the municipality mainly concerned with the Venda speaking communities regarding the service delivery. One notable listener by the name of Given Baloyi, from Pfalanomo in Malamulele argued on air that the selection of the topics should be based on the prevailing situation and for him, the prevailing situation was the fight by the Vatsonga people from Malamulele to have their own municipality. According to him, as delineated in the extract below, Thulamela Municipality was for the Venda speaking people or communities, hence the Vatsonga people were discriminated along ethnical lines when it came to the service delivery. Below was a verbatim presentation of the aforesaid listener's comments in Xitsonga language:

Eka mina tani hi muyingiseri aswiri na nkaka leswaku loko mi langha ti topic milanguta leswi swi nga ku humeleleni on the ground now. Leswi swinga ku humeleleni iku lewla masipala not tihomu. Hi nga ka hi nga tweli tihomi ku ve hina vanhu masipala wa Thulamela a wu le ku hi nyikeni vukorhekeri, volavo va nga ti va ta hi byela hi tihomu na timbuti. Hi lava masipala wa hina. Vhavenda a va hi rhandzi na switsngo. Masipala lowu wa Thulamela I wa vona. Hina hi lava masipala wa hina wa ka Malamulele wa Vatsonga/Machangana. Hi lava ku hambana na Vhavenda. Yes, ta vurimisi ha ti twa na nkoka wa tona. Kambe shutdown I ririmu leri vanhu lava va fumu vatwaka rona.

As matter of fact, there were many listeners during the show who were discontent with the topic, despite that it was discussed within the context of shutdown and all protest activities happening in the area. It was evident that most listeners repeatedly and mercilessly threw ethnic stereotypes and tribal remarks against the Vhavenda people on this show. Despite many attempts by the presenter to caution against the use tribal and ethnic stereotypical language, the listeners kept using derogatory tribal remarks to express their feeling against the Thulamela Municipality's alleged treatment of the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. Although the presenter nearly lost the show to the listeners- the position that almost rendered the studio guest's presence null and void, the presenter was candid in his inclusive approach to direct the listeners to the topic. He excellently managed that while at the same time defending the topic and the studio guest. In his inclusive remarks, he cautioned against the use of tribal language and ethnic stereotypes on the show in which the rightful listeners are both the Vatsonga and Vhavenda of Malamulele. This is what he had to say, as presented verbatim in Xitsonga language:

Presenter:

> Lexi ixiyichi xa nwina lexi mifaneleke ku xitirhisa ku hundisa matitwelel manwina eka swotala. Kambe xitichi na xona xitirha hi nongonoko. Hokwalaho ka sweswo, ahi nge swikoti kukumeka hi ncica nongonoko hikwalaho ko lava ku pfumelela timhaka leti to ka tinga vanga eka nongonoko ehandleni tsena loko kuri hungu ra xihatla ro nghenelela rilavaka ku hunduisiwa. Na swona, swina nkoka leswaku vayingiseri vativa leswaku vuhaxi lebyi hi byi nyikaka eka xitichi xa hina abyi na xihalwuhlawu kumbe ku promoter xihlawuhlawu eka vayingiseri lavanga Matsonga na Vhavenda vandhawu ya hina. Tivani kuri hina hitiva vanhu vaka Malamulele (Vatsonga na Vhavenda) vari vona va lwelaku masipala.

Again, the presenter was also careful not to indulge himself in situation where he could be presumed to be pushing a certain tribal agenda. In the following quote, the presenter is heard explaining to the listeners, especially the Vatsonga who were throwing tribal remarks on the Vhavenda people for the plights of the Vatsonga people under Thulamela Municipality that the station "discourages tribalism and its entertainment at all costs". This was, as he alluded, despite the station's awareness of the tribal situation being linked to service delivery under this municipality. But the presenter was heard holding a neutral and objective line of presenting throughout the show. In his argument, he emphatically explained that Malamulele FM listenership includes the Vatsonga and Vhavenda, despite who commands the majority between the two ethnic groups in the areas of Malamulele. This is what he had to say on one occasion where some listeners attempted to sway the discussion to tribalism:

Presenter:

> Na ha tiyisisa leswaku tirho wa hina tani hi va haxi iku kumeka hi minyika platform yo vulavula ta le mbilwini hikuya hi topic ya siku. Hambi swiri tano, itirho wa hina kukumeka hi nga pfumeleli mbulambulo lowu tisaku xihlawuhlawu exikarhi kari xaka ra Vatsonga/Machangana na Vhavenda va ndhawu leyi hambi swikoxo leswi swiri karhi switwala swinene.

One other notable aspect of the show was the power that the listeners appeared to wield over the station's programming, leading to an adoption of a new topic. This, of course, could be established during intense interaction between the presenter and listeners, where the latter demanded a change on the topic. On one occasion during the exchange, an anonymous caller was heard demanding a daily programming update on the new municipality. In her comments, the listener cautioned the management of the station on the power of ownership the communities of Malamulele have on the existence of the station. She also went on as far as suggesting that the station should partake on the struggle since its listeners are on the struggle for a new municipality. This is what the caller had to say:

Listener (Caller):

> Hi lava leswaku varhangeri vaxitichi lexi vativa lewaku xitichi ixa hina na swona xi fanerile xi haxa leswi hi lavaka swona. Ti mhaka leti hi lwelelaku tona ti na nkoka na le ka vatirhi va xitichi lexi.

Many callers took to the podium to demand that the Task Team should be invited to give account regarding the pending Demarcation Board's decision to grant the people of Malamulele a municipality. As result, the new topic was introduced, and the Malamulele Task Team was invited to give an update on the issue to the listeners.

As like other reviewed shows, there were so many activities that took place during the show, which included the commercials, radio promos, general announcements, traffic, weather, competitions and including other invited guests for other topics not related to this study. However, this study only focused on the aspects of the show which addressed pertinent issues to the research question 2 and the research problem at large.

The drama series known as 'Swa misava aswi heli' ordinarily played right after the 13H00 news. The Xitsonga drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also

touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place of birth for fear of being persecuted by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later married her.

The following songs played during the show:

- Winny Mashaba, Ke rata Wena
- Oliver Mtukudzi, Wa sakara
- Themba Chauke, Wani tolovela
- Penny Penny, Milandzu
- Stimela, Unifinished story
- Goerge Maluleke, Honci

The seventh show for analysis, under 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki' programme, took place on the 25 February 2015. It was also presented by Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni. The following is the presentation of the transcribed show. The transcription, in some other instances, was verbatim and accompanied by summaries of the conversations where necessary. As usually, the show was broadcast from 12pm to 15pm.

Show 7: 25 February 2015

Show Presenter: Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni
Language of broadcasting: Xitsonga language
Floating song: Jonathan Buttler: Dancing on the shore
Time slot: 12pm to 15pm (Monday to Wednesday)

As it was a tradition, the seventh show on Hluvukisa wa Vaaki programme started with the news bulletin. The news was presented by Rhulani Judas Mabunda at an hour of 12:00 pm. The news read as follows:

> Mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi eka MALA FM 101 mi hlayeriwa wona hi Rhulani Judas Mabunda: Vaaki va ka Malamulele va pfarile magondzo yo nghena no huma edorobeni, ve ri va lava leswaku task team yi cinciwa kumbe yi tirha ntirho wa yona hi ku hetiseka. Ku kumbeteriwa nileswaku task team yi le ku xaviweni ku sukela migingiriko yo lwela swikoxo swa masipala.
>
> Loosely translated: Malamulele residents blocked roads entering and leaving the town, demanding that the task team be replaced or do its job properly. It is also rumored that the task team is being bought by those who against the idea that the people of Malamulele exist the Thulamela Municipality to relinquish the municipal claim campaigns.

The show began with the presenter welcoming the listeners and introducing the topic of the day. The topic was a totally different topic in the sense that it sought to educate people about the Unemployment Insurance Fund. The invited guest was from the Department of Labour. It is unfortunately that in the recording of this show the was an omission regarding the identification of the studio guest. But suffice to say that the analysis did not establish the identity of the studio guest, albeit that there was a profound discussion on the topic chosen for the day. As usual, the presenter welcomed the studio guest with a question:

> I nhlekanhi lowunene eka vayingiseri va Mala fm. Ndzi mi amukela nakambe eka nongonoko wa Nhluvukiso wa vaaki lowu wu vaka kona Musumbhunuku ku fika Ravunharhu, namuntlha eka nongonoko hi ta va ni vuyeni ku suka eka ndzawulo vatirhi (Department of labour) ku ta vulavula hi nhloko mhaka leyi—UIF.
> Loosely translated: Good afternoon to Mala fm listeners. Welcome back to the Social Development program which takes place Monday to Wednesday, today on the program we will have a guest from the Department of labour to talk about this topic—UIF

An employee of the Department of labour taught how the UIF is applied. The audience phoned in and asked questions. Many went out of their way to touch municipal affairs. The broadcaster tried to point out that the same subject cannot be discussed on the radio day and night—the issue of municipal collapse. However, at 2pm a task team arrived to tell the audience that President Jacob Zuma promised to arrive at Malamulele Stadium to give the audience an answer to the municipality's withdrawal. The audience was given time, and they rang the phones excitedly to be informed that the president wanted to answer them about the complaint. The following is an extract taken from the conversation with the member of Malamulele Task Team, Mr Nukeri, and of course followed by open lines with the listeners of the show on the new topic discussed:

Presenter:

> Tatana Nukeri, swi tikomba vaaki va hela timbilu. Xana I ncini lexi mi nga va khomela xona namuntlha?
>
> Loosely translated: Mr Nukeri, it seems the community is getting desperate. What is the dance you have for them today?

Guest, Nukeri:

> I mahungu yo saseka hikuva president u tiyisisile leswaku ku hela ka vhiki reri hi nga ka rona hi Mugivela u ta fika stadium xa hina ku ta hi nyika nhlamulo.

Loosely translated: It is good news because the president has confirmed that at the end of the week on Friday, he will arrive at our stadium to give us an answer.

Presenter:

Mi nge hi twa vayingiseri leswaku vona va ri yini. muyingiseri ha mi amukela eka MALA FM 101 eka nongonoko Nhluvukiso wa vaaki.

Loosely translated: Let us hear what the audience has to say. listener welcome to MALA FM 101 on community development Nhluvukiso wa vaaki.

Listener:

Inkomu muhaxi, mhaka leyi yi taka na task team yi sasekile, ko va ku maComrade ma hembela ngopfu vaaki, hi ta tshembha hi ku vona a fikile president le stadium.

Loosely translated: Thanks, presenter, for the opportunity. The issue that comes with the task team is reasonable; it's just that the Comrades are lying to the public; we hope to see the president arrive at the stadium.

The talkshow of the programme was followed by the news at the 2 pm, as read or presented in Xitsonga by Judas Mabunda:

Mahungu ya awara ya mbirhi eka MALA FM 101 mi hlayeriwa wona hi JUDAS MABUNDA, RIxile. Vaaki va tsakile ku twa leswaku president u le ndleleni yo vulavurisana na vona mayelana na swikoxo swa masipala mugivela wolowu, hambiswiritano, van'wana a va ha tshembhi leswaku task team leyi yi va yimela hi ntiyiso.

Loosely translated: The 2pm news on MALA FM 101 is read to you by Judas Mabunda. Good afternoon. Residents are happy to hear that the president is on his way to talk to them about the municipality's demands this Friday, however, some still do not believe that the task team truly represents them.

In the last hour, presenter Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni read out the public announcements to the audience as usual. As like other reviewed shows, there were so many activities that took place during the show, which included the commercials, radio promos, general announcements, traffic, weather, competitions and including other invited guests for other topics not related to this study. However, this study only focused on the aspects of the show which addressed pertinent issues to the research question 2 and the research problem at large.

As usual, the drama series known as 'Swa misava aswi heli' was featured right after the 13H00 news. The Xitsonga drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place

of birth for fear of being persecuted by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later married her.

The following songs were played during the show:

- Thomas Chauke, Buku
- R Kelly, the storm is over
- HW Makhubele, Mhana Sbongile
- Paul Ndlovu, Kombo ra mina
- MD Shirindza, Xihangalasi

The eighth show for analysis, under 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki' programme, took place on the 02 March 2015. It was also presented by Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni. The following is the presentation of the transcribed show. The transcription, in some other instances, was verbatim and accompanied by summaries of the conversations where necessary. As usually, the show was broadcast from 12pm to 15pm.

Show 8: 02 March 2015

Show Presenter: Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni
Language of broadcasting: Xitsonga language
Floating song: Jonathan Buttler: Dancing on the shore
Time slot: 12pm to 15pm (Monday to Wednesday)

The eighth talkshow started with the news bulletin at 12 pm. The news bulletin was presented in Xitsonga language by Rhulani Mzamani. The news bulletin was as follows:

> Lawa I mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi lawa mi hlayeriwaka hi Rhulani Mzamani. Vaaki va ka Malamulele vo tala va sungula ku hehla task team hi ku vula leswaku onge va xaviwa hi va demarcation board ku tshika swikoxo swa masipala. Task Team yona yi bakanyela kule swihehlo sweswo hi ku vula leswaku mhaka yo xaviwa a yi kona na swintsongo.
>
> Loosely translated: This is the 12-hour news read to you by Rhulani Mzamani. Many Malamulele residents are starting to accuse the task team of being bought by the demarcation board to abandon the municipality's claims. The Task Team, on the other hand, dismisses the allegations, saying there is no issue of acquisition.

At the end of the news, the presenter announced to the listeners that he would be hosting the spokesperson of Thulamela Municipality to respond to the allegations that the people of Malamulele continued without proper service delivery despite many protests which took place in the areas of Malamulele. Part of his introduction of the show was to introduce the listeners to the topic of the day and studio guests. The studio guest was the spokesperson of Thulamela

Municipality Mr Baloyi who was only coming to explain and clarify the position of the mayor and the municipality at large in relation to what the people of Malamulele were fighting for. Therefore, the following extract were the host or presenter's own words- taken verbatim from the show, as presented in Xitsonga language:

> I nhlekanh lowunene eka vayingiseri va Mala fm. Ndzi mi amukela nakambe eka nongonoko wa Nhluvukiso wa vaaki lowu wu vaka kona Musumbhunuku ku fika Ravunharhu, namuntlha eka nongonoko hi ta va ni vuyeni ku suka eka muvulavuleri wa masipala wa Thulamela laha hi nga ta twa hilaha meyara wa masipala a angulaka hakona ku suka eka masipala lowuya mayelana na ku koxiwa ka masipala hi vaaki va ka Malamulele ni ku hi hlamusela hita vukorhekeri lebyi vaaki va ka Malamulele va nge a va byi kumi eka Masipala wa Thulamela leswi swi nga swona swi va koxisaka masipala wa vona eka Malamulele.
>
> Loosely translated: Good afternoon to all listeners. Welcome back to our programming Hluvukiso wa Vaaki (Community Development program) which takes place Monday to Wednesday. Today on the program we will have a guest from the spokesperson of Thulamela municipality where we will hear how the mayor of the municipality responded regarding the claim of the municipality by the residents of Malamulele and to explain to us about the services that the residents of Malamulele say they are not getting from the Thulamela Municipality which is why they are claiming their municipality from Malamulele.

From the introduction, the Presenter went on to welcome the studio guest:

> Ha mi amukela nkulukumba Baloyi ku suka eThulamela, tanihi muvulavuleri wa masipala, mi nga ku yini hi swikoxo swa masipala hi vaaki va ka Malamulele hi xivangelo xo pfumala vukorhekeri ku suka eThulamela?
>
> Loosely translated: Welcome Mr Baloyi. As the spokesperson for the municipality, what do you think of the municipality claims by the residents of Malamulele due to lack of service from Thulamela Municipality?

Guest, Mr Baloyi:

> Ndza khensa ku amukeriwa muhaxi, mina ndzi nga vula leswaku mhaka ya leswaku vaaki va ka Malamulele a va kumi vukorhekeri a yi na ntiyiso. Ku ngo va na ku nanayila ko karhi hikokwalaho ka ku kayivela ka swin'wana ku suka eka masipala. Patu ro ya eka Mtititi ra Giant Reefs ri le ku cheriweni ka xikotiri. Tiphayiphi ta mati ku suka edan'wini ra Nandoni ti le ku lulamisiweni.

The conversation between the host (presenter) and studio guest continued to focus on the service delivery, with special reference to the delays on the tarring of the Giant Reefs gravel road. Even though the studio guest Mr Baloyi was defending the Thulamela Municipality on its approach, he concurred with the callers' comments that the progress was slow. On the open lines' session, the callers on the show expressed their frustration with the Thulamela

Municipality. Some of listeners' expressions were tribal and along ethnic divisive lines. Below was a few of the comments from the listeners regarding what Mr Baloyi had to say.

Listener:

> Va hemba ngopfu, valavo va dya na VaVenda, I muxengi. Kahle kahle mhaka ya vukorhekeri yava tikela varhangeri va Thulamela Municpality loko swita eka vanhu va ka Malamulele. A hiyi vekiseni sweswo. Xikombiso, ahi languteni tiphayiphi ta mati leti ti nga lomu switandini ti na malembe ti nga humiki mati. Ti phayiphi ta mati leti kongomaka eka Malamulele kus uks eNandoni ati na mati for miganga yo tala ya ka Malamulele. To hunda hikona ti kongoma eGiyani, kambe atina mati. Leyi I mhaka ya xihlawuhlawu lexi nga kongomisiwa Machangana.
>
> Loosely translated: He is considered a traitor because he dines with the Venda and lies so much. In reality, the authorities of Thulamela Municipality find it challenging to exercise authority over the Malamulele people. Please consider investing in that. Let's inspect the water pipes in the fields which have not leaked in years. Many of the Malamulele settlements lack access to water due to issues with the Nandoni water pipelines. They reach Giyani, but the water is dry. The main issue here is tribalism against the Shangaan people."

The audience came in and pointed out how untrue the statements made by the municipal spokesperson are, especially on the issue of service delivery across the board. This led to inclusive open lines session where listeners were allowed to express any service delivery concerns, without it being limited to a specific area. The following was the interaction between the host and selected listeners' comments on the service delivery issues:

Presenter:

> Nghenani mi hi byela leswaku leswi mi ngo masipala wa THULAMELA wu tsandzeka ku mi nyika vukorhekeri, hi byihi lebyi kayivelaka ngopfu eka vanhu va ka Malamulele?
>
> Loosely translated: We are inviting the listeners to call in. Since you are saying that the Thulamela Municipality fails to provide you with services, what is the most missing part of service delivery for the people of Malamulele?

Listener:

> Timhaka ta gezi na byinwana vukorhekeri lomu matikoxikaya swa ha ri hansi swinene. And swina problem hikuva ahitivi laha hinga ta ya kona. Hikuva masipala wa Thulamela awuti yimeselanga ku pfuna Machangana va ka Malamulele. Swa hi tikela.
>
> Loosely translated: Electricity and other services in rural areas are still very low. And it's a problem because we don't know where to go to and who should help us. Because

> Thulamela municipality is not willing to help the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. It's hard for us.

Another listener had this to say:

> Timhaka ta mati hi tona leti masipala lowu a wu fanele wu lulamisa tona, ku tlula ku hi byela hi swikotiri swa Giant reefs. Phela hina van'wana hi hava timovha. Kuna ti mhaka ta serious laha. Vanhu va ka hina ava yi kumi mitirho eka Thulamela hikuva I Machangana.
>
> Loosely translated: Water issues are what this municipality should have addressed, rather than telling us about Giant reefs scooters. After all, some of us don't have cars. There are serious issues here. Our people don't get jobs in Thulamela because they are Machangana.
>
> Water issues are what this municipality should have addressed, rather than telling us about Giant reefs gravel roads. After all, some of us don't have cars.

As usual, in the middle of the last hour, as usual, the presenter read out the public announcements to the audience until the program concluded at three o'clock. As like other reviewed shows, there were so many activities that took place during the show, which included the commercials, radio promos, general announcements, traffic, weather, competitions and including other invited guests for other topics not related to this study. However, this study only focused on the aspects of the show which addressed pertinent issues to the research question 2 and the research problem at large.

However, it is important to highlight that the show would, as usual, feature the drama series known as 'Swa misava aswi heli', which had to be featured after the 13H00 news. The Xitsonga drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place of birth for fear of being persecuted by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later married her.

The following songs were played during the show:

- Khatisa Chabalala, Mfundhisi
- Caiphus Semenya, Nomaliso
- Mzwake Mbuli, Africa
- Sello Twala, We miss you Manelo
- MG NTlemo, Hostela
- Umanji, Salani

- George Maluleke, Xirhandza thyaka

The ninth show for analysis, under 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki' programme, took place on the 03 March 2015. It was also presented by Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni. The following is the presentation of the transcribed show. The transcription, in some other instances, was verbatim and accompanied by summaries of the conversations where necessary. As usually, the show was broadcast from 12pm to 15pm.

Show 9: 03 March 2015

Show Presenter: Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni
Language of broadcasting: Xitsonga language
Floating song: Jonathan Buttler: Dancing on the shore
Time slot: 12pm to 15pm (Monday to Wednesday)

Like all other reviewed shows, this was preceded by the news bulletin at 12 pm. The news was presented in Xitsonga language by Tracy Nobela:

> Inkomu ku siyeriwa nkarhi, mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi mi hlayeriwa wona hi Tracy Nobela. Ku tsandzeka ka president Jacob Zuma ku fika stadium xa ka Malamulele, swi vangile madzolonga lamakulu. Vaaki va sungule ku toyatoya hi matimba nakambe. Ku vuriwa leswaku shutdown ya vuya nakambe. Vaaki va lemukisiwa leswaku eka doroba ra ka Malamulele a ku ngheni munhu nakona a ku humi munhu. Task Team yi kombela vaaki ku lehisa timbilu.
>
> **Loosely translated:** Thanks for the time, the twelve o'clock news is read to you by Tracy Nobela. President Jacob Zuma's failure to arrive at the Malamulele stadium, sparked violence. The residents began to protest violently again. The shutdown is said to be coming back again. Residents are warned that no one is entering or leaving the town of Malamulele. The task team is asking the public for patience.

The presenter appeared to have no specific topic prepared for a show other than to announce that the Malamulele Task Team had just entered the studio to update listeners on President Jacob Zuma's failure to appear at Malamulele Stadium. This was how the host or presenter welcomed the listeners to the show:

> I nhlekanhi lowunene eka vayingiseri va Mala fm 101. Ndzi mi amukela nakambe eka nongonoko wa Nhluvukiso wa vaaki lowu wu vaka kona Musumbhunuku ku fika Ravunharhu, namuntlha eka nongonoko hi ta va ni vuyeni ku suka eka va Task Team ya ka Malamulele mayelana na xitshembhiso xa president xa ku vhakela vaaki va ka Malamulele. Xitshembhiso xi tikomba xi ri na vunwa hikuva president a nga ha fikaka ku ta hlamula vaaki mayelana na masipala lowu va wu koxaka.
>
> **Loosely translated:** Good afternoon to all our listeners and welcome to Nhluvukiso wa vaaki, the programme that comes directly to you from our studio, Monday until

> Wednesday every week. Today, we have in our mist the guest from Malamulele Task Team, Mr Nukeri to discuss with us the reasons why the president of South Africa Mr Jacob Zuma failed to come and address the people of Malamulele on the issue of territorial demarcation and the new municipality, as he promised.

The host/presenter welcomed the studio guest and instantly asked to give an account on why the president Mr Jacob Zuma failed to show up in Malamulele to address the concerned community on the issue relates to the new municipality.

The presenter:

> Tatana Nukeri, byelani vayingiseri leswi swi nga hi xiswona mayelana na ku tsandzeka ka ku fika ka president le stadium.

In his response, Mr Nukeri responded by saying that:

> Hi kuya hi hi office ya vupresident president Zuma ango ka anga swi lavi kuta eka Malamulele kuta vulavulisana na vaaki. Kambe vavula leswaku uva na migingiriko leyi yinga va emahlweni ka ka leswi hina hinga swikoxa. Kambe vatlhela va tivisa leswaku loko a kuma karhi uta fika. Kambe leswi hi lavaku ku switivisa vaaki tani hi va yimeri va vona iku hi lwa nyipi yinwe na vona. Swi dingo swa vona iswi dingo swa hina.
>
> **Loosely translated:** The Presidency has on short notice announced that President Zuma has failed because he wanted to first attend to some other issues of national importance that arose before our issue. However, the office also confirmed that he is set to come and speak to the people of Malamulele to see through their concerns sooner than later. We are equally concerned on this issue. There is no way we can be coopted to work against the will of our people we are representing as professed.

During the call-in session, the listeners were given the opportunity to comment on the issue and most of them were not impressed with the position that had been taken by the Task Team regarding the issue of the president not coming to address the people of Malamulele. One of the listeners had this to say:

> Mina Task Team leyi a ndza ha yi tshembhi, swa tikomba leswaku impela va xaviwini. A hi nkarhi wo yimelela makhomoredi lowu. Loko Task Team yoleyo yi nga ha swi lavi ku tirha a va hi byeli hi lava van'wana.
>
> Loosely translated: I don't trust this Task Team anymore, and for me it seems they are indeed bought. This is not the time to stand up for comrades. If that task team doesn't want to work anymore, they must tell us.

Muyingiseri:

> Tatana Nukeri tani hi matsalani va Task Team ya ka Malamulele hi vona vanga tshama vavula eka yinwana ya ti shows leti ta Hluvukiso wa vaaki leswaku loko president a tsandeka kuta switа vula leswaku shutdown yiya emahlweni. Kambe sweswi vancica mihlovo.

> **Loosely translated:** Mr. Nukeri, the secretary of Malamulele Task Team was the one who in one of the shows explained the circumstances of the shutdown to the communities of Malamulele where he said that "if the president does not respond, the shutdown continues". But today he is changing colours.

As like other reviewed shows, there were so many activities that took place during the show, which included the commercials, radio promos, general announcements, traffic, weather, competitions and including other invited guests for other topics not related to this study. However, this study only focused on the aspects of the show which addressed pertinent issues to the research question 2 and the research problem at large.

The drama series known as 'Swa misava aswi heli' was played right after the 13H00 news. The Xitsonga drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place of birth for fear of being persecuted by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later married her.

The following songs were played during the show:

- Thomas Chauke: Yehovha
- Comrade Xigevenga, Swa boha
- Doctor Sithole: Tava mbirhi
- Jabu Khanyile: Bayethe
- Chicco, Mjaji
- Elias Baloyi and Mamba Queens, Hlayisa xaka

The tenth show for analysis, under 'Hluvukiso wa Vaaki' programme, took place on the 04 March 2015. It was also presented by Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni. The following is the presentation of the transcribed show. The transcription, in some other instances, was verbatim and accompanied by summaries of the conversations where necessary. As usually, the show was broadcast from 12pm to 15pm.

Show 10: 04 March 2015

Show Presenter: Tinyiko Lucky Ngobeni
Language of broadcasting: Xitsonga language
Floating song: Jonathan Buttler: Dancing on the shore
Time slot: 12pm to 15pm (Monday to Wednesday)

This show began with the news at 12:00 read by Rhulani Mzamani:

> I nhlekanhi vayingiseri, mahungu ya awara ya khumembirhi mi hlayeriwa hi Rhulani Mzamani, Hungunkulu, Ku tlhakisiwa ka n'wana hi mutirhela mfumo wa xisati swi endle leswaku vaaki va le ka Xikundu va hlundzuka swinene. Shutdown yi ya emahlweni ka Malamulele. Vadyondzo va swikolo eka Malamulele ku vuriwa leswaku va salele ndzhaku hikokwalaho ka shutdown ya swikoxo sw masipala hi vaaki.
>
> **Summary:** In the news, a case of a missing child who was reportedly abducted by a female civil servant caused a stir in the community of Xikundu. In the same news, it was reported that the shutdown was about to continue in Malamulele, while at the same time school pupils in the very same area were said to have been left behind due to the shutdown in in the previous protests.

After the 12h00 news, the presenter of the show Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni introduced the topic entitled "Mfuwo na Ndxhavuko". This was a cultural educational topic that focused on the preservation of cultural heritage of the indigenous people of South Africa. In this show, the host of the program, Hluvukiso wa vaaki, did not invite a studio guest to discuss this topic. Instead, the program host aimed to engage with the Hluvukiso wa vaaki listeners. However, since it was cast during a crucial time of the protests in Malamulele, the host encountered the backlash with the listeners in the open line sessions. The listeners were not impressed with the choice of the topic as, according to them, it was a diversion from the issues affecting them. It should be remembered though that this was the time the people of Malamulele were fighting for their own municipality. And therefore, during the show the host was often interjected by the listeners demanding a change of a topic and replace it with municipality-related one. To the listeners, the topic of the day was at odds with what was happening in the communities of Malamulele. And what was a bone of contention and very crucial was the discussion about when the then president of South Africa Jacob Zuma would come and address them on the issue pertaining to the municipality and their breakaway intention from Thulamela Municipality, which they claimed was for the Venda-aligned municipality. The audience who called in the show were completely unimpressed with the topic, and one of the notable listeners had this to say:

> Muhaxi, hi kombela timhaka leti hisaka ta ku koxiwa ka masipala, hi lava ku tiva leswaku president u ta hi hlamula rini swikoxo swa hina. mhaka ya Arts and culture hi ta yi vona hi heritage month.
>
> **Loosely translated:** Host, all we are asking for is to know when the president will answer our demands. the issue of Arts and culture we will see in heritage month.

The host:

> Vayingiseri, ndzi ta kombela leswaku hi nga humi eka nhlokomhaka hikokwalaho ka shutdown na swikoxo swa masipala, loko hi lava leswaku mi kuma tinhlamulo, hi fanele hi vulavurisana na task team hi va kombela ku fika haleno ka radio ya n'wina.
>
> **Loosely translated:** Listeners, I would ask that we do not get off the topic because of the shutdown and municipal demands, if we want you to get answers, we must talk to the Task Team and ask them to come to our studios.

The interaction between the presenter Mr Lucky Tinyiku Ngobeni and the listeners on the topic of the day regarding the change of topic prolonged for about half an hour on the show. The listeners demanded the host to change the topic to accommodate topics related to service delivery issues affecting the people of Malamulele and their demand for a new municipality. As result, the host assented to the demands of the listeners, as those appeared to be the most pressing issues on the show. Suddenly, the host introduced the studio guests from the Malamulele Task Team to give an update on the issue regarding the then President Jacob Zuma coming to Malamulele. As with other reviewed shows, there were so many activities that took place during the show, including the commercials, radio promos, general announcements, traffic, weather, and competitions. However, this study only focused on the aspects of the show which addressed pertinent issues to the research question 2 and the research problem at large. The following songs were played during the show:

- Avante, Iyeza
- Conny Nwa Xinyori Chauke, Buldozer
- Sunglen Chabalala, Beer 3
- Florah Chauke, Xivundza
- Joe Shirimani, Juliah
- Eckson Maluleke, Xipapilani
- General Muzka, Wansati

The drama series known as 'Swa misava aswi heli' was played right after the 13H00 news. The Xitsonga drama was about internal infighting of family members over the kingdom and legibility of who is supposed to be a king of the kingdom of Jandirivha. The drama also touched on the life of a young Venda woman called Lufuno, who happened to escape her place of birth for fear of being persecuted by her own people. She arrived in Jandirivha where she was welcomed and taken care of by one of the Vatsonga caring men who later married her.

Vuwani FM: 'Hot Time' program

Show 1:

Name of the Radio: Vuwani FM 88.7
Name of the show: Hot Time
Name of Presenter: Nemadimahulu
Time: 12:00-15:00
Monday to Friday
Date: 20 March 2020
Frequency: 88.7

The show opened with news on top of the hour 12. The following is an extracted part of the news bulletin presented by Nompumelelo Matumba in Tshivenda language:

> Mapholisa vha tshilwavhusiku vha Kati na fulo lau todana na vhahumbulelwa vhevha thuntsha vha vhulaha mulinda wa tsireledzo vhaita nau shavha nga modoro wawe wa mushumo ngei Madombidzha zone 4 nga sondaha. Muambeli wa mapholisa vunduni la limpopo Lieutenant General malesela ledwaba vhari mapholisa vho swika afho he tshiwo tshaitea vha wana mulindi wa tsireledzo o taluswaho sa vho Vincent sivhada vho risiaVho ledwaba vhari modoro wa khamphani ya mulindi wa tsireledzo yo wanala yo dzumbiwa nga musumbuluwo ngei vhukati ha muvhundu wa tshiozwi na Madombidzha. Mapholisa vho vula mulandu wa bulayo nau tangula.
> **[English Translation]** The police are still searching for the suspects are also associated with the murder of a security from the Madombidzha Zone 4 village on Sunday. Limpopo Police Speaker Lieutenant General Malesele Ledwavha said the incident occurred at around 10:30 pm local time (10:30 pm GMT). Mr Ledwavha said the company motor vehicle, which was driven by the security guard was found hidden in the Tshiozwi area on Monday. The police have opened a case of murder.

This show was hosted by Nemadimahulu and broadcast in Tshivenda language. It was broadcast during the time when the people of Vuwani had just rejected their integration with the people of Malamulele to form Collins Chabane Municipality and opted instead to be incorporated to the district municipality of Vhembe while solutions to their problems are found. It should also be noted that, following the 2016 violent protests in Vuwani, the communities of Vuwani and neighbouring areas- which were predominantly the Vhavenda people decided upon themselves that they were not going to be part of the Collins Chabane Municipality. They wanted to remain part of Makhado, the municipality under which they were placed following the reconfiguration process of apartheid spatial demarcations in the post-apartheid South Africa. After the 12-hour news, the host welcomed the listeners to the show, while at the same time introducing the topic of the day. The topic sought to explore the reasons why the people of Vuwani resoundingly rejected to be part of the newly formed Collins Chabane Municipality and chose to be placed under the district municipality of Vhembe. In the first hour of the show, the host took time to give a breakdown of the topic to the listeners. The host was very neutral in his approach of the topic and inclusive in encouraging all listeners of Vuwani FM to

participate on the show. These were his opening and welcoming remarks as expressed in Tshivenda language:

> Ndi masiari kha vhathetshelesi, hanefho hothe hune vhavha hone umona na Vuwani na kha mashango othe a tsini kha mbekanya mushumo yashu ya duvha na duvha,Hot Time. Tshau thoma nauto thoma rido humbela pfarelo khau kundelwa uvha na muambeli wa Pro-Makhado Task Team Vho-Nsovo Sambo kha situdio tshashu, sa zwe ra fulufhedzisa zwone risathu khunyeledza na mbekanya mushumo yashu yau fhedza. Nahone,vho humbela pfarelo khausa do kona nau fareledziwa uvha narine nga mutangano wa duvha lothe. Zwone ria zwidivha, sa izwi zwo ima kha vhupo ha Vuwani, musi rikhou vhona ho vheiwa lwa tshifhinga nyana nga fhasi ha vhulanguli ha masipala wa tshitiriki tsha Vhembe musi vhatshe vho lindela thandululo ya thaidzo dzavho. Ubva kha mavhari-vhari, hezwi zwovha u gwalabela upangwa kha masipaa wa Collins Chabane. Zwino rikhou nyaga udivhesa uri ndingani vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vho nanga uvhewa ngaa fhasi ha tshitiriki tsha Vhembe ufhira uwana tshumelo kha vhurangaphanda vhuswa ha masipala wa Collind Chabane. Rikhuouya uvula thingo thendeleki yashu nga u tavhanya rivha tendele vha tahise mbuno dzavho kha fhungo heli. Rido tama u tutuwedza avho vhane vhavha kha vhurangaphanda ha Pro-Makhado Task, arali vhatshinga kona, vhari founele urifha vhutanzi kana uri bvisela khagala kha fhungo helinoni .
> [**English Translation**] Good afternoon to all our listeners, wherever you are around Vuwani and neighbouring areas to our daily programme, Hot Time. First and foremost, we would like to apologise to you all for our failure to have Pro-Makhado Task Team Spokesperson Mr Nsovo Sambo in our studios, as we promised before the end of our last show. In fact, he sent an apology indicating that he would be locked up the whole day today in the meeting. Of course, we all know that, as it stands, that the communities of Vuwani have been temporarily placed under the district municipality of Vhembe while waiting for a solution to their problems. From the rumours, this was another form of protesting their inclusion to Collins Chabane Municipality. We really want to know why the people of Vuwani have opted to be placed under the district municipality of Vhembe rather than to receive the services from the newly formed municipality of Collins Chabane. We are immediately going to open the lines and allow you to share with us your views on the topic. We also would like to encourage those in the leadership of Pro-Makhado Task Team, if they can, to call us to give clarity on the issue.

After the welcoming remarks and introduction of the topic, the host of the show using Tshivenda language continued by opening the lines to get the sense from the listeners of the show of why the people of Vuwani rejected their integration with the people of Malamulele to form Collins Chabane Municipality and chose to be placed under the district municipality. This was the host's first line of questioning in his engagement with one of the first callers on the show and the engagement was in Tshivenda:

> Vhanga rifha vhutanzi uri naa ndingani vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vho nanga uvheiwa nga fhasi ha masipala wa tshitiriki tsha masipala wa Vhembe ufhira uvheiwa nga kha vhurangaphanda ha Collins Chabane, une watovha tsini na vhupo ha Vuwani ufhira ro kwakwanyisa na masipala wa Makhado. Vhatshi humbula, tsheo iyi idovha yo itiwa ngau khethekanyiwa ha dzitshaka nahone ho iteani ha Malamulele musi hutshivha na mugwalabo hoyu utshi itelwa masipala wa Thulamela?
> [**English Translation**] May you please give us reasons why people of Vuwani opted to be placed under Vhembe District Municipality rather than to be serviced by the newly formed Collins Chabane, which is equally close to the Vuwani as compared to Makhado

> Municipality. Do you think the decision may have been inspired by tribalism and what first happened at Malamulele during their protests against Thulamela Municipality?

It appeared to the researcher that all the listeners the host engaged with during the call-in session were Venda speaking people. None of the callers he engaged with spoke or commented in Xitsonga language, implying that the target audience were the Venda speaking people. There was nowhere in the show, even during the call-in session when the host encouraged the Vatsonga listeners to partake on the discussion. It appeared, judging by the monolithic use of Tshivenda language during the show, that the host was aware of who the target listeners were and the language with which they could receive the message. Reverting to the host's question regarding the choice by the communities of Vuwani to be placed under the district municipality of Vhembe, the callers provided the same answers/reasons. Some of dominant reasons by the callers were that people of Vuwani were not consulted regarding the formation of the new municipality and therefore being under the district municipality was another form of protest. They also alluded that they were coerced to be part of the new municipality. Hence, they rejected their integration with the people of Malamulele to form a new municipality. The following were the first callers' comments regarding Vuwani communities' rejection of the newly formed municipality of Collins Chabane and their reasons for choosing to be placed under Vhembe District Municipality. The comments were expressed in Tshivenda language (translation to their comments was made in English language):

> **Caller 1:** Mudavhidzani wau Thoma(1): Tshauthoma,ari tutuwedzi u khethekanya nga tshaka nahone futhi ria zwiiledza nga ndila inwe na inwe. Vhathu vhatea uzwi divha uri kha la Vuwani huna Vhavenda na Vatsonga. Zwine rakhou lwela zwone ndi mbofholowo ya vhadzulapo vha Vuwani. Ro khakha naa rari hofuna vhothoma u amba narine vhapfa vhupfiwa hashu musi vhasathu dzhia tsheo hei. Ezwi asi zwaha vhadzulapo vha Vhavenda vha Vuwani vhane vhakhou hana utanganywa na Vatsonga. Fhedzi ndiu shaya u na nyambedzano kharine sa vhathu vha Vuwani. Ndingani vhatshi bvisa vhathu afho kha masipala vhane avhongo gungula uri ngahau diselwa ha tshumelo. Ro ima ro khwatha kha nndwa yashu. Athi vhoni zwotea udisa u khethekanya ha tshaka –ari Vhavenda kana Vatsonga, mara ri vhadzulapo vha Vuwani. Masipala wa Collins Chabane ndi masipala wo vhumbiwaho nga Vengo nau nyaliwa ha Vhavenda nga Vatsonga vha Ha-malamulele. Izwo zwo tutuwedziwa ngau khethekanyiwa ha tshaka zwo tutuwedzwa kha Vhavenda husi kha Vatsonga. Kharine rikhouri aridi vhoni ri tshipida tsha masipala une u khethekanya nga tshaka utshi tutshela na u imedzana na Vatsonga vha Ha-Malamulele. Vhasa ri humisela murahu Makhado, ndi khwine rihanefha nga fhasi ha tshitiriki tsha masipala wa Vhembe uswikela hutshi wanala thandululo.
> [**English Translation**] Firstly, we are not tribalists and we condemned it in any term possible. People must know that in Vuwani, there are Vhavenda and Vatsonga people. All we are fighting for is justice for people of Vuwani. Are we wrong if we then say they should have consulted us for our opinion before they took such a decision. It is not about the Vhavenda people of Vuwani not willing to integrate with the Vatsonga people, as suggested. But is simply the lack of consultation on our part as people of Vuwani. Why do you remove people from the municipality in which they never

complained about service delivery. We remain resolute that our fight is genuine and legitimate. I do not think it is fair to bring tribalism on this- we are not Vhavenda's or Vatsonga, but people of Vuwani. Collins Chabane is the municipality formed of the hatred of the Vhavenda people by the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. It was purely inspired by tribalism perpetuated against the Vhavenda people than the other way round. For us, we are saying we do not see ourselves being part of the municipality that is ethnically aligned to Vatsonga people of Malamulele. If they cannot take us back to Makhado, we better remain under the district municipality of Vhembe until a solution is found.

Caller 2: Mudavhidzani wa Vhuvhili(2): Ri khwine musi ringa fhasi ha tshitiriki tsha Vhembe naho zwitshi amba usa wana tshumelo. Ringa namba ra tambula nga fhasi ha masipala wa tshitiri ufhira u tanganiswa na vhathu vha Ha-Malamulel vhano khethulula nga tshaka. Ari khou nyaga uvha tshipida tsha masipala wo sikiwahongakha u khethulula ha tshaka na vengo kha lushaka lwa VhaVenda. Ria zwidivha uri masipala wo sikiwa ngau khethululiwa ha lushaka nga vhadzulapo vha Vatsonga vha Ha-Malamulele vhane vha vhona zwisongo fanela u rangiwa phanda nga Vhavenda kha masipala wa Thulamela. Masipala muswa ndi masipala muswa wo iteliwaho Vatsonga vha Ha-Malamulele. Ria zwidivha uri vhathu vhashu, vhadzulapo vha Vhavenda vha Vuwani na mashango a tsini vhangasi vuwe vho wana tshumelo kha masipala ngauri wo sikiwa hu u itela u lifhedza zwe Vatsonga vha fariswa zwone nga fhasi ha masipala wa Thulamela.
[English Translation] We are better under Vhembe District even if it means not getting the service. We rather suffer under the district municipality rather than to be integrated with the tribal people of Malamulele. If they cannot take us back to Makhado Municipality we will remain in the district. We do not want to be part of the municipality that is formed based on tribalism and hatred levelled against the Vhavenda people. We all know that the new municipality is born out of tribalism by the Vatsonga people of Malamulele who felt it is wrong to be led by the Vhavenda people in the Thulamela Municipality. The new municipality is just the municipality meant for the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. We know so well that our people, the Vhavenda in Vuwani and the neighbouring areas will never get services from this municipality because it was formed to avenge the treatment of the Vatsonga people under the Thulamela. Hence, we reject the new municipality. So, why are we now forced to work against our conscience".

Caller 3: Mudavhidzani wa Vhuraru: Ari myagi uvha tshipida tsha masipala hoyu nauri vhathu vhatea uzwi thonifha. Kani vhakhou nyaga uri vhidza vhakhethululi nga tshaka, izwo ndizwavho zwine vhangato funa. Rina vhaTsonga vhane vhakhou dzhenelela mugwalabo hoyu narine. Muambeli wa Pro-Makhado Task Team vho-Nsovo Sambo ndi muTsonga. Zwino vhakhou amba nga mini. Rine ri vhakhethululi nga tshaka? Nndwa yashu asi yakha vhaTsonga mara kha khoro ya masipala , ine yo dzhia tsheo isongo thoma yapfa vhupfiwa hashu sarine vhadzulapo
[English Translation] We do not want to be part of this municipality and the people must respect that. Do you want to call us tribalists, it's your own call to make. We have the Vatsonga people in this area who participating with us on these protests. The spokesperson of Pro-Makhado Task Team Mr Nsovo Sambo is Tsonga. So, what are you talking about. Are we tribalists? Our fight is not against the Vatsonga people but against the municipality board, which took a decision without consulting with us on the ground".

It must be mentioned the callers above were not the only callers on the show to comment on the issue, but there were many more callers who called and commented in the same way the three identified callers did. Callers' (Callers 1-3) identification numbers placed on each comment were meant to show that the comments were from different people. However, there

were those amongst the callers who expressed ethnic cultural stereotypes and tribal remarks against the Vatsonga people in their comments. This persisted for a long period of time despite the host's effort to discourage such comments. In most cases, the host was heard so many times warning listeners who called during the call-in session to desist from expressing ethnic divisive and tribal comments during the shows. Some of the ethnic and tribal remarks by the listeners who called in the show include:

> **Caller 4**: Mudavhidzani wa Vhuna: Ringasi rangiwe phanda "Tshibelane"(Tshiambaro tsha sialala tsha vhaTsonga tshiambareswaho nga vhafumakadzi). Avhavha na masipala wavho vhavhothe usina rine. Ringa namba raya makhado. Uvha ha vhaTsonga ulwela uvha na masipala hoyu zwiou sumbedza uri vhakhou nyaga tshumelo itshi isiwa kha vhaTsonga fhedzi vha Ha-Malamulele. Ritea uzwi divha futhi uri Vuwani ndiha vhaVenda nahone ra roluga nga fhasi ha masipala wa Makhado. Ringasi rangiwe phanda nga VhaTshangana vhane vhatou divha u tshina "Tshibelane" fhedzi.
> **[English Translation]** We cannot be governed by 'Xibelani' (Xitsonga traditional outfit popularly worn by women). Let them have their own municipality alone without us. We rather go back to Makhado. The fact that the Vatsonga people fought to have this municipality literally shows that they want the service delivery to be prioritised to Vatsonga people of Malamulele. Again, you must know that Vuwani is for Vhavenda people, and we were fine under Makhado. We cannot be governed by the Shangan people who only know how to dance 'Xibelani'.
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> **Caller 5:** Mudavhidzani wa Vhutanu(5): Rikhou ofha, ngauri rine ri kusi kuno amba Tshivenda, udiselwa ha tshumelo hudo hudzwa u isa kha vhaTsonga vha Ha-Malamulule. Zwino ripfa zwikhwine udzula nga fhasi ha masipala wa Makhado. Ari vhoni uvha tshipida tsha masipala wa vhaTshangana zwitshi dovha zwavhudi kha vhadzulapo vha vhaVenda vha Vuwani. Vho luga vho ralo vhasina rine. Avha tendele vho rapolotiki vhatshi rihumisela murahu Makhado kana vharilitshe roralo kha tshitiriki tsha masipala wa Vhembe zwazwino.
> **[English Translation]** We are afraid that, because we are the Venda speaking communities, the service delivery would be prioritised to Vatsonga people of Malamulele. So, we feel it is better we remain in Makhado. We do not think being part of the Shangaan municipality is a good thing for Vhavenda people of Vuwani. They are fine alone without us. Please let the politicians take us back to Makhado or leave us under Vhembe District Municipality for now.
>
> **Caller 6:** Mudavhidzani wa Vhurathi(6): Rine ari vhakhethululi nga tshanga, vhatsonga vh Ha-Malalmulele ndivhone vhau khethulula. Ro zwivhona ngau jia nndwa yau khethulula nga tshaka vhatshi isa kha masipala wa Thulamela. Zwino ringasivhe tshipida tsha masipala hoyu. Zwine rakhou humbela zwone ndiu humiseliwa murahu kha masipala wa Makhado kana lwa tshifhinga nyana rivhe rifhasi ha masipala wa wa tshitiriki tsha Vhembe khau diseliwa ha tshumelo musi vhatshivha vhakhouda na thandululo kha thaidzo dzashu. VhaTshangana vha Ha-Malamulele ndi vhakhethululi nga tshaka
> **[English Translation]** We are not tribalists, the Vatsonga people of Malamulele are. We have seen how they took their tribal and ethnical fight to Thulamela Municipality. Collins Chabane is the municipality to avenge what the Vatsonga people call 'the ill-treatment of the Vatsonga people under Thulamela Municipality'. So, we cannot be part of this municipality. All we are asking for is to be reintegrated to Makhado or temporarily remain under Vhembe District Municipality for service delivery while they find a lasting solution to our problems. The Shangans of Malamulele are tribalists.

Caller 7: Mudavhidzani wa Vhusumbe (7): Redio ya vhupo yo iteliwa vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vhaVhavenda, nahone rikhou nyaga u lugisa fulu lashu nga ndila yashu-kana vhaya zwivhidza u khethulula nga tshaka ndi thaidzo yavho.
[English Translation] This community radio is meant for Vhavenda people of Vuwani, and we want to discuss our own plights our own ways- whether they call that tribalism is their own problem.

Caller 8: Mudavhidzani wa Vhumalo(8): Roto mangala vhukuma uwana uri huna luta lwa mafhungo a TshiTsonga. VhaVenda ndivhone vho livhanyiswaho na mafhungo na tshititshi ndi tshavho. Rito mangala naha u vhalivha ha mitambo nga TshiTsonga. Rikhou tea u mafhungo nga TshiTsonga naa? Hai ringasi kone
[English Translation] Caller 8: We are even surprised that there is a slot for Xitsonga news. Vhavenda people are the rightful target audience and owners of this station. We also wondering why sports news is presented in Xitsonga. Do we have to receive information in Xitsonga? No, we cannot.

Caller 9: Mudavhidzani wa Vhutahe(9): Nyimbo dza sialala dza VhaVenda dzitea u tambiwa ngauri dzi bvisa vhupfiwa naudi tongisa zwine VhaVenda vhavha nzwo kha luambo lwavho nan a sialala sa tshigwada tsha sialala. Tshinwe tshifhinga ari pfesesi uri dingani ritshi tea u kombetshedziwa u thetshelesa muzika wa TshiTsonga nga ndila ine rikhou kombetshedziwa u u languliwa nga Collins Chabane une wavha wa VhaTsonga vha Ha-Malamulele- vhathu vho tutshelaho masipala wa Thulamela nga ndavha yau khethulula nga tshaka vhane vha nyala u tanganiswa na VhaVenda vha Thohoyandou.
[English Translation] Caller 9: Tshivenda cultural music must be played because it expresses the pride that the Vhavenda people have on their language and culture as a cultural group. Sometimes we do not understand why we should be forced to listen to Xitsonga music the same way we are forced to be serviced by Collins Chabane which is for Vatsonga people of Malamulele- the people who left Thulamela Municipality because they are tribalists who hated to mix with Vhavenda speakers of Thohoyandou.

Music was another aspect that was examined during the show. With this one, the goal was to determine how many songs each of the two community radio stations under investigation played in both languages. Finding out if the music played during the performance was inclusive and reflective of the two ethnic groups was the goal. The following songs were played during the show: Kokovha, Tshikiri poto; Makhadzi, Shumela Venda; Jekete, Rwani Lende; Lucky Dube, Ohh my son; David Mmumbi, Mukegulu; DJ Mfundhisi, Kwala ka tolo; Colbert Mukwevho, Ndikho vhuya nae; Celin Dion, Love doesn't ask why.

A significant number of other show components, such as quick weather reports, were presented in Tshivenda. with an English-language radio promo being given. Both English and Tshivenda were used in the advertising. Tshivenda and Xitsonga were used interchangeably for sports and field reports, with many translations coming from Xitsonga to Tshivenda. For instance, during the final hour of the broadcast, main presenter Nemadimahulu once highlighted Norman Maluleke to provide a brief update on sports news. He was audibly heard delivering the sports news in Xitsonga. The show's host introduced him using Tshivenda language in the manner indicated below, and he promptly took it away:

> **Host, Nemadimahulu:** Kha tshitudio tshashu, ndina vh-Norman Maluleke urifha mafhungo azwa mitambo. 'Avuxeni', vho-Maluleke, vhori farela zwifhio zwa mitambo namusi?
> **[English Translation]** In the studio, I have Mr Norman Maluleke to give us the sport news. 'Avuxeni' Mr Maluleke, and what do you have for us regarding the sports?
>
> **The sport presenter, Norman Maluleke**: Ndaa Vho Nemadimahulu. Eka vayingiseri va Vuwani FM hikwakwako laha minga kona. Hi karhi hi langutisa eka mitlangu ya bolo eka Dstv Premiership. Laha hingata languta eka defending champion Sundowns leyi ya ha riku emahlweni hi mikutlunya leyi tsongo yi landeleriwa hi Kaizer Chiefs na Pirates eka xikundla xa vunharu. Leyi I league leyi ekarhi wa sweswi yi langutekaka yi ri ya mani na mani...
> **[English Translation]** To Vuwani FM listeners wherever you are. We are looking at the football matches in the Dstv Premiership. Here we look at defending champion Sundowns who are still leading by a few points followed by Kaizer Chiefs and Pirates in third place. This is a league that at the moment looks like it belongs to everyone…

From the analysis of the entire show, Hot Time programme has been anchored in Tshivenda language, despite one or two segments which minimally featured Xitsonga languages and other languages, such as music and sport updates.

Show 2

Name of the Radio: Vuwani FM 88.7
Name of the show: Hot Time
Name of Presenter: Nemadimahulu
Time: 12:00-15:00
Monday to Friday
Date: 25 March 2020
Frequency: 88.7

The show started with the news at 12pm. The news was read in Tshivenda language by Nompumelelo Matumba:

> Vhadzukapo vha Vuwani nga nwaha wa 2019 vho fulufhedzisa ugwalabela vhanangi vho nwalisaho vhane zwa zwino vho tendelwa u dzhenelela kha dzikhetho dzamuvhusowapo dza nwaha wa 2021. U yan ga ha tshikimu tshama Pro-Makhodo Task Team, dzibada dzo vhalisalaho, u shothelwa nga madi zwo vha ita uri vha dzhihie tshipida kha dzikheto. Varhangaphanda vha Task Team vha khou koedzana uri vhadzulapo vhothe vha bve vha ye kha dzikhetho dza mavhusowapo dza nwaha wa 2021 vha di nangele dzitshumelo dzavho zwi sin a ndavha uri vha kha divha fhasi ha masipala wa tshitirikini tsha Vhembe. Tsheo ya dzikhakhathi uri vhadzulapo vha nange a i ngo to dzula zwavhudi na vhanwe vhadulapo vhane vha tenda uri vhanwe vha varhangaphanda vhane vha khou rengisa u kondelela.
> [**English Translation**] Vuwani residents who in 2019 have vowed to boycott the voter registrations have now undertaken to participate in the 2021 local government elections. According to Pro-Makhado Task Team, damaged roads and lack of water drove them to partaking in these elections. The leaders of the Task Team are urging all the residents to go all out in the 2021 local government elections and vote for their services despite that they still under the district municipality of Vhembe. The decision to mobilise the communities to vote did not sit well with some of the residents who believe that there are some people in the leadership who are selling the struggle.

The conversation segment, which was hosted by Nemadimahulu, was the most significant aspect of the program. The language of the show was exclusively Tshivenda. The show was broadcast at the period when the Vuwani people were still voluntarily and temporarily subjugated to the Vhembe district municipality. The host's chosen topic for the show was the district municipality of Vhembe's provision of services to the people of Vuwani, as well as the communities' preparedness to take part in the upcoming local government elections in 2021. It should be mentioned that the inhabitants of Vuwani vowed in 2019 to boycott voter registration drives in protest of their issues with demarcation. This suggested that they would not be participating in the 2021 local government elections. The open line portion, when listeners called in to join the presenter in discussion, was part of the conversation segment of the show. The host, who was speaking in Tshivenda, gave the audience an overview of the subject and urged them to get involved because it dealt with topics that affected them. His opening words on the matter were as follows:

> Ndaa,ndikho vha tanganedza vhathetshelesi kha mbekanyamushumo ya vuwani fm ndi masiari, namusi rikho sedza khaedu dza ndeme dzine dza kwama masipala muhulwane wa tshitiriki tsha vhembe, hutshi katelwa na vhadzulapo vha vha vuwani rikho livha kha khetho dza mivhuso yapo husikale Namusi Ridovha na Vho Mr mulaudzi muthusa mudzulatshidulo wa tshigwada tsha pro makhado ndi vhane vhadori dalela nduni dzashu dza khasho hune rakho do lavhelesa nau haseledza ngaha nyimele ya vuwani ,ine ifhasi ha masipala wa tshitiri tsha vhembe khathihi na nzudzanyo dzavho dza khetho dzapo dzinokho tevhela. Rikho livhuwa u daleliwa vho Mr Mulaudzi.
> **[English Translation]** Greetings and welcome to the show, Vuwani FM listeners. Good afternoon. We are discussing one of the most significant issues today, which has to do with Vhembe district municipality service delivery, as well as Vuwani residents' preparedness for the next local elections. Your opinions are highly valued in this program. Additionally, Mr. Arnold Mulaudzi, the deputy chair of the Pro Makhado Task Team, is visiting our studio to discuss with us the state of affairs in Vuwani, which is under the district municipality of Vhembe, as well as their preparedness for the next elections. Thank you for visiting our workshop, Mr. Mulaudzi.
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> **Mulaudzi:** ndikho livhuwa muhashi (sir)
> **[English Translation]** Thank you sir.
>
> **Host:** avhado ri bvisela khagala afha uri vhupo ha vuwani ,vhune havha tshipida tsha masipala wa tshitiriki tsha vhembe vhuhani siani la ndisedzo ya tshumelo ? Vhunga munwe na munwe atshi zwidivha uri vhadzulapo vha vuwani vho thudzela kule masipala wapo wa collins chabane musi vhatshi takalela masipala wa makhado vhasathu swikelela pfano na masipala muhulwane wa tshitiriki tsha Vhembe.
> **[English Translation]** Could you kindly let us know how the Vuwani community, which is part of the Vhembe district municipality, is doing in terms of service delivery? As everyone knows, the residents of Vuwani rejected the Collins Chabane local municipality in favour of Makhado, with the district municipality of Vhembe reaching an amicable agreement.
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> **Mulaudzi:** Vhathu vha Vuwani vha do tambula u swikela vha tshi dzheriswa nga huswa kha masipala wa Makhado, fhedzi kha izwo ri tea u vha nangoho khazwo. Inwe ndila in era nga hana u ya kha Masipala wa Collins Chabane ndi uri ri dzule fhasi ha tshitiriki

tsha masipala. Sa izwi manwe na manwe a tshi zwidivha, ahuna na tshithihi tsha na khou shuma Vuwani. Fhedziha naho zwo ralo ringasi nyame u swikela zwe ra humbela zwi tshi bveledziswa. Ri nga vha fhethu hothe fhedzi r inga si vhe fhasi ha Collins Chabane sa izwi hu songo thoma ha ambiwa na rine nga ha uvha tshitha tshithini na vathu vha ha Malamulele.
[English Translation] The people of Vuwani will suffer until they are reintegrated into Makhado Local Municipality, and we must be honest with you about that. Another way to reject going to Collins Chabane Local Municipality is to decide to stay under the district municipality. As everyone knows, nothing is working in Vuwani. However, we're not giving up until our requests are fulfilled. We can be anywhere, but we cannot be under Collins Chabane since we were not consulted about our integration with the Malamulele people.

Host: Ndi zwone nah u amba uri vho hana Masipala nga mulandu wa u khethekanywa ha vathu zwi tshi ya nga dzitshaka?
[English Translation] Is it true that you rejected this municipality because of tribalism?

Mulaudzi: Rine ri khou vha khethekanya nga ndila de? Vhavenda na Vatsonga vha Vuwani ndi vhone vhathu vhane vha khou hana Collins Chabane Municipality.
[English Translation] In what way are we tribalists? The Vhavenda and Vatsonga people of Vuwani are the people who refused to be part of Collins Chabane. Not the Venda speaking people only.

Host: Zwi khou divhalea uri vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vho tendelana uri nga nwaha wa 2019 vha nga si dzhenele khau nangiwa u nwalisiwa vho humbuka uri vho pulana u di bvisa kha dzikhetho dza muvhusowapo nga nwaha wa 2021. Vha kha di dipfa hani nga hazwo?
[English Translation] It is well known that the residents of Vuwani declared in 2019 that they would not participate in voter registration drives, suggesting that they planned to abstain from local government elections in 2021. Is that still how you feel about it?

Mulaudzi: Ro vha ri tshi fara ho vhula vhuimo, fhedzi ri tshi sedza tshiimo tshi kondaho tshe vhathu vhashu vha dzula khatsho iwa tshifhinga tshilapfu u bva tshe ra thoma u gwalaba, ro mbo di da ra shandukisa mihumbulo. Ri tenda zwa uri vhathu vha vho rine vha tea u vha vha tshi khou neiwa naho ri tshe ro Lindela dzinwe tsheo. Ee, ri khou zwidivha uri vhanwe vha vhathu vho no tenda kha uri ri khou thoma u dzhiela vhasi vhukondi. Naho ri songo to ralo, vhathu vhahashu vha toda thuso ngauri vho kondelela u tambula zwo lingana. U bva a fho, nga u nanga ri fulufhela u amba thaidzo dzine dza ri kwama. Ni nga si ambe uri muvhuso a u kho ita tshithu nga u hana u dzhenelela kha mushumo wa matshelo. Ri khou humbela uri tshivhalo tshinzhi tsha vathu vhashu vha nange u humela kha Makhado tshifhingani tshi daho.
[English Translation] We used to hold that position, but considering the hardship our people have endured since we began protesting, we have subsequently changed our minds. We believe that our people need to be served even while we wait for decisions. Yes, we are aware that some individuals already believe we are downplaying the difficulty. Although we are not, our people need assistance because they have endured enough suffering. Therefore, by voting, we hope to have a say on the problems that affect us. You cannot say the government is doing nothing by refusing to participate in such activities tomorrow. We are requesting that many of our people vote to return to Makhado the next time around.

Just as on the first show of Hot Time programme, the dialogue was in Tshivenda language. The open line segment, in which the host spoke with the audience, was an additional captivating feature of the program. The host urged the audience to participate in the conversation and

interact with the studio guest throughout this segment. The host began by extending a warm welcome to the listeners before diving right into the topic of the upcoming elections to gauge the level of readiness in the Vuwani community. This was confirmed by the deputy chairperson of the Task Team. Tshivenda language was still employed in the exchange between the presenter and the audience:

> **Host, Nemadimahulu:** Zwazwino rikhoyo vula thingo thendeleki uri na vhathetshelesi vha dzhene vha ambe vhupfiwa havho kha fhungo heli Vhadzulapo vha vuwani vho swikelela dzulo line lakho divhiwa uri avhanga dzheneleli khau di nwalisa kana udi dzhenisa kha zwa dzi khetho Vha tshigwada tsha pro Makhado Task Team vhari vhadzulapo vhado dzhenelela kha khetho dza mivhuso yapo Ndi mini zwine zwa sumbedza mbonalo ya vhadzulapo vha vuwani ? Rikho tama u tanganedza mueni washu wau thoma, vho Rendani rikho vha tanganedza kha mbekanyamushumo.
> **[English Translation]** We're going to open the lines right now so that our listeners can get involved in the discussion. The Vuwani people initially held the position—as is well known—that they would not cast ballots. The Pro-Makhado Task Team has finally declared that you will participate in the local government elections. What precisely is the status of the Vuwani people? We would like to welcome our first caller. Rendani you are welcome to our show.
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> **Rendani:** Ndi zwavhudi u vha fhano, ndi khou livhuwa. Ndi kale ri tshi khou ita dzitsheo dzi si dzavhudi u bava tshe rat homa u gwalaba. Vharangaphanda vhane vha se divhe mishumo ya vho ndi vhone vhane ra tea u pomokedzela vhone zwothe hezwi. Sa vhathu vha Vuwani ro fhedza ro fara kuitele kwa r inga si nange lwa tshiphirini nga nnda ha musi zwe ra amba uri khou zwi toda zwo itiwa. Ro da ra zwi wana nga murahu uri ri khou tea u nanga. Vhanwe vha vhathu vha nga fhedza vha tshi khou fhuriwa ka dzinwe ndila dzine dza do ita uri mishumo yashu I dzhieliwe fhasi. Kha dzikhetho dzi da hon di do tendela vha nangi/vhakhethi vha Vuwani vha tshi nangela tshiphirini. Ri do takusa maipfi ashu nga u sa dzhenelela.
> **[English Translation]** It's a pleasure to be here and thank you. We have been making erratic decisions since the start of our protests. The leadership, who don't appear to know what their duty is, is mostly to blame for this. As Vuwani people, we initially held the attitude that we would not cast a ballot unless our demands were satisfied. We find out later that we are going to vote. Some people might be getting bribes or other forms of inducement to undermine our efforts. In the upcoming municipal elections, I oppose allowing voters in Vuwani to cast ballots. We will be raising our voice by not participating.
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> **Elliot**: Zwazwino ri fhasi ha ndango ya tshitiriki tsha Vhembe District masipala. Zwazwino ni khou toda ri tshi nanga kha dzikhetho. Ndi inwe ya dzindila dza gwalaba. Zwino mulandu ri tshi tea u nanga? Ri tshi khou itela mini? Mikhou toda Collins Chabane tshi tanganedza dzikhetho dzashu? Zwezwo zwi nga si konadzee. Ri nga si tanganisiwe na vathu vhane vha kovhekana muhumbulo muthihi na lushaka lwa ha Malamulele.
> **[English Translation]** We are currently under the jurisdiction of the district municipality. You now want us to head to the polls. This is another form of a protest. So, why must we vote? For what purpose? Would you like Collins Chabane to receive our votes? That is not possible. We will not mix with persons who have tribal mindset of the Malamulele tribe.

There were no Vatsonga callers throughout the show. Just as on the first show, a significant number of other show components, such as quick weather reports, were presented in

Tshivenda. with an English-language radio promo being given. Both English and Tshivenda were used in the advertising. Tshivenda and Xitsonga were used interchangeably for sports and field reports, with many translations coming from Xitsonga to Tshivenda. For instance, Fihleko Baloyi reported in Xitsonga during the broadcast about the mood in the Malamulele neighbourhood after violent protests in Vuwani. He presented his report as follows in Xitsonga:

> **News Reporter, Fihleko Baloyi:** Eka Malamulele, xiyimo xikahle na nswona aku na madzolonga. Vanhu vakarhi va gingirika vati endlela swa vona. Ni kumekile ni vulavurisana na va aki va ka Malamulele hi xiyimo xa la Vuwani ehenhla ka ku ri va aka tik ova ndhawu leyi va kuma vu korhekeri eka district municipality wa Vhembe ematshanweni ya Collins Chabane. Vo tala va kombisile leswaku vanhu va le Vuwani vo ka vanga lavi ku fumiwa hi Vatsonga leswi swinga xihlawuhlawu xa ririmu. Hambi switetano, va nwana va kombisile leswaku vanhu va le Vuwani ava na xihoxo na swona ava kombelanga masipala na switsongo.
> **[English Translation]** In Malamulele, everything seems calm, and people are going about their everyday lives. To find out what the inhabitants of Malamulele thought about the situation in Vuwani, I was able to speak with several of them about it. Many of them have said that the people of Vuwani, especially the Pro Makhado Task Team, are pushing the tribal agenda as payback for the Malamulele people's rejection of the Thulamela Local Municipality. They contend that tribalism, not the provision of services, was the root of the Vuwani residents' grievance with the Collins Chabane Local Municipality. Still, some contend that the inhabitants of Malamulele, not the people of Vuwani, were the ones who requested a municipality, and they have a point.

Music formed part of the show. The following songs from the show's repertoire were played: Prefix, Funanani; Gusba banana, Mashonzha; Dalom Kids, Vhana vhanga; Celin Dion, I love you; Dr Bishop Madzinge, rido ima; Mahlathini and Mahotela Queens, Gaza.

Show 3:

Name of the Radio: Vuwani FM 88.7
Name of the show: Hot Time
Name of Presenter: Nemadimahulu
Time: 12:00-15:00
Monday to Friday
Date: 27 March 2020
Frequency: 88.7

This show opened with the news bulletin on top of an hour 12pm. The news was read by Mbedzi Takalani in Tshivenda language under the heading ‘Split over the municipality boycott as the lack of services grows "unbearable," Vuwani’.

> Vhanwe vhadzulapo vha vuwani hanefha kha tshitiriki kha vhe be hanefha Limpopo vha khou takalela u tanganedza tshumelo ino bva kha Collins Chabane local municipality nga murahu ha musi vho hana tshumelo ini bva kha municipality wonoyo. Vhadzulapo vho hana iyo tshumelo lwa minwedzi nga maandesa vhadzulapo vho no dzula hanefho vhuponi ha Vuwani. Vhadzulapo vhari vho neta nga uri vho tambula lwa tshifhinga tshilapfu na u kondelela nga tshumelo ye ya vha ikhou disiwa murahu mathomoni ha musi oyu masipala utshi Thoma u takutshedza. Zwino vha ri vho no

> lugela uri tshumelo i de khavho habe. Vhathu vha khou ri vho tambula lwo lingana habeha zwe vha vha vha khou Toda ndi tshumelo.
> **[English Translation]** Some Vuwani inhabitants in the Vhembe District Municipality of Limpopo are willing to accept services from the Collins Chabane Local Municipality after rejecting services from a municipality that the community refused to recognize for months. The community, particularly the residents of Vuwani Township, have endured long enough, according to the recently established Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team, and they are ready for service delivery to begin. They claimed that people had suffered enough because of the boundary issue and that all they wanted was for the locals to have services.

Like the earlier show, the chat segment was the most significant portion of the program and was presented by Nemadimahulu. The language of the show was limited to Tshivenda. This section took a lot of cues from the newscast. The purpose of the topic was to explore the causes behind the disagreement among Vuwani people on the boycott of Collins Chabane Municipality. The host hinted that the newly formed Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team was the cause of the differences. The host informed the audience that while both the newly established Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team and Pro Makhado representatives were invited to come and explain these divisions, only the former committed to being in the studio. In the studio was Mr. Aluwani Mulaudzi, the former treasurer of the Pro Makhado Task Team, which oversaw demarcation. Following a song, Nemadimahulu, the host, continued in Tshivenda to introduce the studio visitor to the audience:

> Namusi rina nduni dza khasho rina vho mulaudzi, muhulwane wa kale wa tshi iwiswa tsha pro Makhado task team, huna uri zwazwino hu na u sikiwa huswa ha Vuwani service delivery task team. Vho mulaudzi, ndi masiari vho tanganedziwa nduni dza khasho. Vha tshinga ribvisela khagala kha muvhigo u ne vhadzulapo vha vuwani vha khou u fhandekanyiwa nga zwitereke zwa masipala wa collins chavhane. Arali vha tshi ngari bvisela khagala u tshivhangi tshi nga vha tshifhio kha vhathu vhe vha vha vha tshi tshilisana u bva murahu. Zwi khou itisiwa nga u sikiwa ha Task Team inwe ntswa
> **[English Translation]** Today we have in our mist Mr Mulaudzi, a former treasurer of the Pro Makhado Task Team, and now with the newly formed Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team. Mr Mulaudzi, Good afternoon and welcome in our studios. Take us through the reports that the residents of Vuwani are divided over the boycott of Collins Chabane. What brought these divisions among people who were united on this issue. Is it because of the formation of the new task team of which you are part or what?
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> **Mulaudzi:** Ndi masiari. Ni nga si ri hu na khethekanyo vhukati ha vhathu vhashu. Sa vhathu ri dzulela u sedza ndila dzothe dzine ran ga kona u tandulula mathada ashu. Humbulani, vhathu va Vuwani vha khou tambula zwino zwi tshi khou bva khau shothelwa ha tshumelo ya u nekedwa ro di tsireledza kha u gwalabiwa hu ne a hu kho ri disela dzi mvelele. Dzibada dzo tshinyala zwifhato zwa vha zwo swa nga mulandu wa ha masipala nge vha si kone u wana tshumelo ya madi na mudagasi. Ahuna zwiliwa kha mavhengele. Zwino ri chou ri ri khou toda ndila dzo fhambanaho kha thaidzo dzashu. Ni to zwidivha zwavhudi uri ro nanga u vheiwa fhasi ha Chembe ngauri ro vha ro sa kho toda u ya kha Collins Chabane. Fhedzi fhasi ha Vhembe nyimele yo you nana, na vhathu vhashu vha khou thoga tshumelo. Ri nga kona u tamba dzi polotiki.
> **[English Translation]** Good afternoon. I cannot say there are divisions among our people. As people, we always look for alternative solutions to our problems. Remember, the people of Vuwani are suffering now from lack of service delivery. We

had protracted protests that are not yielding the results. The roads are damaged, buildings were torched because of this government's failure to listen to our people. Our people cannot access the basic services like water and electricity. No food in the shops. So, we are saying we need to look for an alternative to our problems. You know so well that we chose to be placed under Vhembe because we did not want to go to Collins Chabane. Still under Vhembe the situation is worse, and our people desperately need service. We can play politics here.

Host: Ro pfa zwa uri hu na vhane vha khou toda u ya kha Collins Chabane vha tshi khou toda u ya kha Collins Chabane vha tshi khou yela tshumelo u fhirisa u dzula fhasi ha tshitiriki tsha masipala hu sin a tshumelo. Kani tshumelo ya Vuwani Delivery Task Team i murahu ha zwo?
[English Translation] We heard that there are those among who want to go Collins Chabane for service than to remain under the district municipality without service. Is Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team behind this move?

Mulaudzi: Dzangano linwe na linwe li tea u u sedza na u thetshelesa mi humbulo ya vhathu vhane la vha bveledzisa. Ndo vha ndi tshipida tsha tshikimu tsha Pro-Makhado Task, na vhuimo ha tsho vhu khagala. I khou toda ri tshi gwalabela dzikhetho dzi daho. I khou toda ri tshi gwalabela Collins Chabane. I khou toda ri tshi gwalabela dzikhetho dzi daho till our demands are met.I khou toda ri tshi dzula fhasi ha tshiririki tsha masipala zwi sin a ndavha uri ri khou shothela nga tshumelo. Fedzi ari khou kunda vhathu vhashu vha na ndala, vha khou tod ana tshumelo.
[English Translation] Any organization that claims to represent people must pay attention to their thoughts and ideas. The Pro Makhado Task Team, of which I was a member, has a clear position. The Team wants us to abstain from the upcoming elections, as a way show that we are unsatisfied with the decision to take us to Collins Chabane. Despite the dearth of services, it insists we must in the meantime stay part of the district municipality until our problems are solved. However, we are losing patience, our people are in need of assistance and hunger.

Host: Ni khou nyama, khau kakariki. Vhunzhi ha vhathu vha nga di bvelela sa izwi ni tshi khou latela taula khau kakariki.
[English Translation] Are you giving up the struggle. To many people you may appear as you are giving up the struggle.

Mulaudzi: Naluthihi. A ri khou latela taula. U thomiwa ha tshikimu tshiswa tsha Task Team ho vha u toda dzi ndila. Fhedzi dzi ndila dzashu dzi khou tutuwedza vhathu vhashu u ri vha ambe nga khau nanga lwa tshiphirini nga mabambiri kha dzikhetho dza muvhusowapo dzi daho. Hone, n inga kona u amba zwa uri ndi hune khethekanyo dza vha hone.
[English Translation] Not at all. We are not. The formation of the new task team was to look at alternatives. And our alternative is encouraging our people to speak through the ballot paper in the forthcoming coming local government elections. Perhaps, you can say that is where the divisions are. There are those would not want us to vote and those who want us to vote. You better vote the government that can listen to you.

Host: Vha khou toda u wela fhasi ha masipala wa Collins Chabane zwino ngauri vhakhou toda disedzo ya tshimelo kana vhakhou tendelana na tsheo yavha bodo yau khethekanya vhupo uri vha tshipida tsha masipala muswa?
[English Translation] Do you want to go back to Collins Chabane for service delivery, as this was the position of the demarcation board?

Mulaudzi: Ee, kharine ndi vhuimo ha vhudi nga maanda. Tsha khwine ndiulwa nndwa dzashu ringa ngomu ufhira ri nnda.Ri khou toda ufha masipala wa Collins Chabane tshikhala tshauri u disele vhathu vhashu tshumelo. Ringasi bvele phanda nga heyi ndila. Ndi tea u zwi vhea nga ngona uri aringo kundiwa ri khou to lingedza u shuma nga ndila kwayo ngauri vhadzulapo vhashu vha khou tambula.

[English Translation] Yes, for us it is an ideal position. We better fight our battle from inside than outside. We want to give Collins Chabane an opportunity to provide services to our people. We cannot carry on like this. And I must state it categorically that we are not defeated but we are trying to be realistic because our people are suffering.

The host of the show went on to open the lines to allow listeners to be part of the conversations. Only the Venda speaking audiences partook in the conversation. The talk segments continued in Tshivenda language with the listeners. The host welcomed the callers to share their opinion on the topic.

Host: khavhari ndi dzhie muthetshelesi washu wau thoma. Rina Vho Mulaudzi, mufara gwama wakale wa tshigwada tsha Makhado Task hafha.Huna zwine vhanga tama uzwi fhirisa kha zwe Vho Mulaudzi vha tahisa?
[English Translation] Let us take our first caller. We have with us in our studios Mr Mulaudzi, the form treasurer of Pro Makhado Task Team. Do you have any comment to his comments?

Anonymous 1: Zwauri maanda ashu o lozwea zwia mbaisa. Zwazwino rina zwigwada zwivhili zwine zwa sumbedza uri nndwa yashu aina tshipikwa. Tshigwada tsha Pro Makhado Task tshono di dzhenisa nga maanda kha zwadzi polotiki na uri tsho nobva tshothe kha tshipikwa tshihulwane. Zwi vhonala huna u vhengana kana usa farana zwavhudi kha lushaka lwa Malamulele. Vha khoudi dzhenisesa kha polotiki, zwine rakhou toda fhedzi ndi disedzo ya tshumelo. Zworalo , ndi ngoho u amba uri rovha ro fushea nga tshumelo ine roi wana i tshibva kha masipala wa Makhado na zwauri rovha ri sazwi todi u bvisiwa kha uyo masipala.Khumbelo dzashu dzo haniwa nga khothe zwine zworalo ndikhou tendelana na vhane vho tenda ufha masipala muswa tshikhala nauri hu shumisiwe khetho dza muvhusovhapo uri u tshimbidze zwithu.
[English Translation] That our efforts have been in vain disappoints me. We currently have two task teams, which indicates that our fight lacks a shared goal. The Pro Makhado Task Team has become politicized and has strayed from the original goal. It appears that they harbor animosity towards the Malamulele community. They are engaging in political games; all we require is the provision of services. Indeed, it is accurate to state that we were content with the services we received in Makhado Municipality and that we did not want to be removed from it. Our pleas have been rejected by the courts. Thus, I agree with those who suggest giving the new municipality a chance and utilizing the forthcoming local government elections to handle matters from there.

Takalani: Naho ndi tshi zwivhenga uri rikhou tangana na vhathu vhau khethulula vhane vhabva ha Malamulele fhasi ha masipala wa Collins Chababane , ndipfa uri vhathu vhashu vhono pfeledza nga migwalabo heyi. Vhana vha vhorine vho salela murahu kha pfunzo dzavho ngauri avhakhou tendelwa uya zwikoloni.Disedzo ya tshumelo yashu i tambula nau fhirisa na musi i tshikhoubva i kha masipala wa tshitiriki, ahuna ane ukho toda uri thetshelesa.Ngazwo ri tshikhou toda uya kha Collins Chabane ngauri aringa koni u humela murahu kha Makhado.
[English Translation] Although I hate going to mix with the tribalists from Malamulele under Collins Chabane Municipality, I feel our people had enough of these protests. Our siblings are behind with their academic programmes because they were not allowed to go to schools. Our service delivery struggles exacerbated even under the district municipality, no one was willing to entertain us. Hence, we want to go to Collins Chabane because we cannot go back to Makhado now.

Anonymous 2: U vhumbiwa ha tshigwada tshiswa tshau shuma azwi pfali.Ari koni u pfesesa uri ndi ngani tsho vhumbiwa ngauri ronovha kha tshigwada tsha Pro Makhado

> ro imela vhadzulapo vha Vuwani. Ari todi u humela kha masipala wa Collins Chabane une u vhusiwa nga Vhatsonga .Havhala vhathu vho tuwa kha masipala wa Thulamela ngauri vhana tshikhethululo vha dovha hafhu vha vhenga u vhusiwa kana u rangiwa phanda nga Vhavenda. Ri ngasi tende uvha vhathihi na havhala vhathu.
> **[English Translation]** The formation of the new task team is so weird. We do not understand why it is formed because we are already Pro Makhado Task Team on behalf of the people of Vuwani. We do not want to go back to Collins Chabane the municipality that is ruled by Shangans. Those people left Thulamela because they are tribalists and hate to be governed by the Vhavenda people. We cannot allow ourselves to be part of these people.
>
> **Anonymous 3:** Tshivhalo tsha vhathu vhane vha amba tshi Shangani hangei Malamulele ndi tsha vhathu vharena tshikhethululo.Ri to zwidivha ra zwifhedza uri vho shumisa luambo lwauri "vhone vha ngasi rangiwe phanda nga vhathu vhane vha amba Tshivenda" musi vhatshi khou sumbedzisa uri vhakhou toda masipala wa Collins Chabane.Tshipikwa tshavho tsho vha tshauri vha vhuse ngannda ha disedzo ya tshumelo ine yo humbeliwa. Ndi zwifhio zwine zwo sala uri zwi itee kha rine? Ahuna na tshithihi.Zwino vhadzulapo vhashu vho kaidzeliwa usa tikedza masipala hoyu muswa une wavha hone une nau u humbela avhangou humbela.Uya nga kuhumbulele kwanga ndo sedza ndila ine vhadzulapo vhakho u tshila ngayo ,ndi khouri ndi khwine ritshi tanganedza tshumelo ine masipala muswa wakhou disa kha tshi tshavha. Na kha khetho dzine dzakhouda , zwililo zwashu ridozwi swikisa ngakha balotho.
> **[English Translation]** Malamulele's Shangan-speaking population is tribalist. We are fully aware that they used the slogan "we cannot be ruled by the Venda speaking people" in their demonstrations to have Collins Chabane Municipality. Their goals were to rule rather than the proposed issue of service delivery. What actions are available to us? Nothing at all. Now, our people are being penalized for not supporting the newly created municipality that they did not request. In my opinion, given the conditions of our people, I propose that we obtain the services that the new municipality provides to us. And in the upcoming elections, we will voice our concerns on the ballot.

It is sufficient to say that while these comments were not the only ones made throughout the broadcast, they do reflect the majority opinion. It should be mentioned that no callers used the Xitsonga language to comment during this episode. It's also crucial to note that the program includes a newscast in the Xitsonga language. Fihleko Baloyi delivered the news bulletin as follows:

> Va aki va ndhawu ya Vuwani vavula leswaku swita vatikela ku vuyela eka tshamiseko wa tolovelo lowunga kavanyetiwa hi switereka hikwalaho ka Covid 19. Xitsongwatsongwani xa Covid xivuriwa ku va xa nghoxi swinene emisaveni hikwayo. Va rhangeri va Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team vatsunduxa va aki kuri loko vahari bizi no lwela swikoxo swa vona ava fanerile ku ti hlayisa hi ku ambala ti mask.
> **English Translation:** Residents in the Vuwani area say it will be difficult for them to return to normalcy that was disrupted by strikes due to Covid 19. The Covid virus is said to be the most dangerous virus in the world. Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team leaders reminded residents that while they are busy fighting for demands they should protect themselves by wearing masks.

Radio commercials were broadcast in English. The show also featured music. The following songs were played: Maiwangu tshilombe by Naledzani Netshirembe, Ndido mulwela by Worth Vee, Ohumbula murahu by Meskay, Bivhili by Rev Mugeri, Mmbya yanga by Ntshengedzeni

Maphodo, and Original roots by Tshenge. Like the previously reviewed shows, this show was broadcast in Tshivenda. None of the callers during the show were Vatsonga. During the show, the host Nemadimahulu was always heard leading the show and interacting with the studio guests and listeners using Tshivenda language. However, the Xitsonga language was only represented in one of the news bulletins.

Show 4:

Name of the Radio: Vuwani FM 88.7
Name of the show: Hot Time
Name of Presenter: Nemadimahulu
Time: 12:00-15:00
Monday to Friday
Date: 6 April 2020
Frequency: 88.7

Like past reviewed episodes, the news bulletin was presented in Tshivenda at the beginning of this show. In this time, it was presented by Ndifelani Madima. The news report below concentrated on Collins Chabane municipality's preparedness to provide services to Vuwani.:

> Thendelano vhukati ha thanganelano ya mivhuso, muhasho wa vhathu na ku dzulele na muhasho wa zwa mvelele (Coghsta), MEC Vho- Basikopo Makamu , masipala wa Collins Chabane na tshigwada tsha Pro Makhado Task yo sainiwa , hu u tendela uri masipala u thome u disa tshomedzo kha vhupo. Tshigwada tsho imelaho vhadzulapo vha Vuwani tshi khaditea u wela fhasi ha masipala wa Makhado une u fhasi ha mutsiko une wo vhangiwa nga shothodzo ya disedzo ya tshumelo nau dovha hafhu wa tenda tshumelo inobva kha masipala wa Collins Chabane . MEC Vho-Makamu vho dovha hafhu vha vula ofisi dza masipala dzare ngei Vuwani u itela uri masipala wa Collins Chabane u dise tshumedzo tshitshavhani. Vho-Makamu vho saina lunwalo lwaudi nekedzela vha na tshigwada tsha Pro-Makhado Task u humbela bodo ya u khethekanya vhupo yaha masipala uri i humbule nga hau todulusisa, u humbula hafhu ha mikano ya masipala. Mudzula tshidulo wa tshigwada tsha Pro-Makhado Task Vho- Takalani Mukhudi vho khwathisedza uri vho saina thendelano yau vhuedzedza hafhu tshumelo, fhedzi vho vha vhasakhou latedza muhumbulo: tshipikwa tshi hulwane tshau humiselwa kha masipala wa Makhado. " Ro tendelana na muvhuso uri rido shumisana na masipala wa Collins Chabane kha disedzo ya tshumelo."

> **[English Translation]** An agreement was signed between Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs (Coghsta) MEC Basikopo Makamu, the Collins Chabane Municipality, and the Pro-Makhado Task Team to allow the municipality to start providing services to the area. A task team advocating for Vuwani residents to remain under the Makhado Municipality have seemingly bowed under the pressure brought on by a lack of service delivery and have agreed to services provided by the Collins Chabane Municipality. MEC Makamu has now reopened the Vuwani municipal offices to allow the Collins Chabane Municipality to provide services to the area. Makamu has signed a commitment letter with the Pro-Makhado Task Team to request the Municipal Demarcation Board to consider an investigation into the redetermination of municipal boundaries. The Pro-Makhado Task Team chairperson, Mr Takalani Mukhudi, has confirmed that they had signed the agreement for the restoration of services, but said they were not abandoning their mission to be returned to the Makhado Municipality. "We have agreed with the government that we will cooperate with Collins Chabane Municipality in delivering services."

The 12 hours news bulletin served as the inspiration for the content of this show. The host, Nemadimahulu, provided the audience with a brief synopsis of the show and its topic in Tshivenda right after the news. During this broadcast, no studio guests were invited. It was only a call-in show, or rather a listeners' show, where viewers engaged in conversation with the presenter or host. It should be noted that the presenter and the audience engaged in conversation for about two and a half hours. The broadcaster and audience were heard exchanging differing opinions in Tshivenda. The topic of discussion was the agreement reportedly signed by Collins Chabane Municipality, Pro-Makhado Task Team, and Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs (Coghsta) MEC Basikopo Makamu to enable the municipality to begin offering services to the area. The host wanted to find out what the listeners thought about this agreement. The majority's opinions on the aforementioned agreement, as reported in the news, indicated that the Vuwani people were not content with their integration with the Malamulele people. The majority also said that they consented because they needed service delivery, which was lacking in the Vuwani areas at the time. According to certain opinions, the locals' reluctance to receive services from Collins Chabane Municipality stemmed from their fear of being victimized and their ethnic identity. The following are quotes from a few callers that the researcher felt represented the consensus opinion on the subject:

> **The host:** Muhumbulo wavho ndiu fhio ro sedza thendelano yo swikeleliwaho nga vhadzulapo vha Vuwani na Coghsta u tendela masipala wa Collins Chabane uri u dise tshumelo Vuwani na vhunwe vhupo ho kwameaho hanga tsini?
>
> **[English Translation]** What is your opinion regarding an agreement reached between the people of Vuwani and COGHSTA to allow the municipality of Collins Chabane to service Vuwani and affected neighbouring areas?
>
> **Anonymous caller 1:** Nne athi humbuli heyi thendelano itshi imelela vhathu vhothe vha Vuwani na vhupo hanga tsini hune vhathu vha Vhavenda vha dzula hone, Vhathu vha fanela uzwi divha uri vhadzulapo vha Vuwani avha ngo gungula nga thaidzo ya disedzo ya tshumelo , naho vha fhasi ha masipala wa Makhado.Thaidzo ya disedzo ya tshumelo yovha hone zwino ngauri ro pfulusiwa kha masipala wa Makhado ra isiwa kha wa Collins Chabane.Thaidzo yashu ubva uthomani hovha husi disedzo ya tshumelo ngauri rovha ri tshikhou wana tshumelo yothe ubva kha Makhado. Thaidzo yovha ya uri ro kombetshedzwa u bvisiwa Makhado ra isiwa Collins Chabane. Vhathu vho tenda uri masipala uyu muswa u dise tshumelo kha vhupo hothe ha Vuwani ngauri huvhonala husina inwe ndila yau tandulula heli datetande. Naho zwo ralo ri do isa phanda na u lwa uri ri humiselwe murahu kha masipala wa Makhado ngauri rine aringo humbela masipala muswa sa vhathu vha Malamulele.
> **[English Translation]** I don’t think this agreement represents all the people of Vuwani and the neighbouring areas, where the Vhavenda people reside. People must know that the residents of Vuwani did not complain about any service delivery issue, even under Makhado Municipality in the first place. The issue of service delivery emerges now that

we are moved from Makhado. Our issue was not service delivery because we were getting it from Makhado Municipality. Our issue has been our forced removal from Makhado Municipality to be part of Collins Chabane. Our people agreed to allow the municipality of Collins Chabane to provide service to the communities of Vuwani and neighbouring areas because there seems to be no alternative to this issue now. However, we will continue to fight to be brought back to Makhado Municipality because we did not ask for a new municipality but the people of Malamulele did.

Mbedzi: Ngauri vha imeleli vhashu avhakhou humbula zwavhudi, zwine zwoita uri vhadzulapo vha satsha vha na fulufhelo lune vhakhou vhona zwakhwine hu tendela masipala muswa utshi ri shumela. Vhaimeleli vha tshigwada tsha Pro Makhado Task tsho vha vhaisa kana uvha latedza. Ndi tshikhou dadzisa khala tshumedzo ya zwiliwa , ri khou toda na dzibada, na pfunzo ya vhana vhashu. Zwino zwi vhonala hutshinga ahuna tshi nokho itea, husina na zwi tetamende zwine zwakhoubva kha vhathu vhane ra vha vhidza vharangaphanda vhashu . Khethululo ya luambo ndi yone ine yakhouri thivhela uri ri ye kha masipala wa Collins Chabane. Masipala muswa ukho rangiwa nga vhathu vha Vhatsonga vha henengei Malamulele.

[English Translation] Because our representatives are disoriented and our people have lost faith in them, our people believe it is preferable to let the new municipality serve us. The Pro Makhado Task Team representatives have disappointed them. In addition to food and service, we also require roads and education for the kids. Right now, it seems like nothing is happening, and none of these so-called leaders of the people are making any statements. Tribalism is the only thing that keeps us from joining Collins Chabane. The new municipality is ruled by the Vatsonga people of Malamulele.

Anonymous 2: Nne ndi touvha ndisa divhi uri tsheo yashu yau ya kha masipala wa Collins Chabane i do kona u khwinisa zwipikwa zwe ravha rikhou lwela zwone. Honeha nga mbilu yanga yothe ndi tendelana na vhane vhakhou khwathisedza uri masipala wa Collins Chabane ndi wone thandululo ine yavha hone, nauri vhadzulapo vhakhou toda thuso zwashishi.Ro di lugisela u isa phanda na ulwa nndwa dzashu nau tanganedza tshumelo ibvaho kha masipala muswa. Vhanwe vha songo zwi dzhia ungari rikhou latela thaula kha nndwa heyi. Musi zwi tshida kha thaidzo yeneyi ya ndisedzo ya tshumelo riapfa ri tshi tshuwa uri fhasi ha masipala muswa ridovha vhapondwa vha khethululo ya luambo.

[English Translation] I genuinely don't know if our decision to join Collins Chabane Municipality now advances the goals we were battling for. However, I wholeheartedly concur with those who assert that Collins Chabane is the only viable option and that our people require assistance right now. We are prepared to continue fighting our battles and receiving services from the new municipality. This must not be interpreted by some as giving up the fight. When it comes to the same issue of service delivery, we fear that under this new municipality, we will become the victims of tribalism.

Anonymous 3: Tshigwada tsha Pro-Makhado Task tsho dzhia tsheo,ine aringo dzhenisiwa khayo na luthihi.Zwia konadzea uri vha imeleli vhashu vha vhe vho to rengwa. Sa lushaka lwothe lwa Vuwani , tshipikwa tshashu tsha vhukuma hovha hu uri ri lwe uswikela khumbelo dzashu dzitshi swikelelwa. Ro tshinyadza thundu ine yavha yashu , na vhana vha vhorine vho fhedza tshifhinga tshilapfu vha siho zwikoloni. Zwino rikhou tea uri mini kha vhana vhashu? Ri khou zwidivha uri sa Vhavenda ri ngasile ludifhaho hangei Malamulele.Khethululo ya luambo ido kwama ndila ine vhathu vhashu vhado thuswa ngayo.Vhatsonga vhone vhado vhoniwa vha vha khwine kha masipala muswa nga nwambo wa uri , vhadi vhona vhe vhanntha ufhira Vhavenda.

[**English Translation**] The Pro-Makhado Task Team made the decision; we were not involved in it at all. It's possible that our representatives were bought. As the Vuwani community, our original aim was to struggle until our requests were fulfilled. We ruined our own possessions, and our children spent a lot of time away from school. Now what

> should we tell these kids? We are fully aware that, as Vhavenda speakers, we will not be having an easy time at Malamulele. Tribalism will affect the way our people are served. The Vatsonga people will be given priority in the new municipality due to their numerical superiority.

It was evident from the show's call-in segment that the Vuwani people's initial resistance to joining Collins Chabane Municipality was motivated by tribalism. They appeared to be concerned about being treated unfairly because of their ethnic identification by the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. The host's interactions with callers during the show revealed that their fear of tribalism was a prevalent viewpoint. But even though they stated that they were afraid they would face tribalism upon joining the new municipality, their remarks against the Vatsonga people also seem to reflect a tribal attitude. The host urged some of these listeners not to express their opinions in a tribalistic manner, and those who insisted instead were taken off the air. Speaking in the Tshivenda language of the program, a few chosen tribalists' observations from the listeners included:

> **Itani:** Sa Muvenda ndi khou vhenga u tangana na vhathu vha Malamulele vha Vhatsonga.Ndovha ndi savhuyi nda humbula uvha thipida tsha masipala muswa. Ngoho, nyimelele dzi shushaho dzine vhathu vhashu vhakhoudi wana vhe khadzo dzori kombetshedza uri ri wele kha masipala wa vhathu vha Vhatsonga.
> [**English Translation**] As a Venda person, I detest (hate) being connected to the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. I never would have imagined becoming a part of the new municipality. Indeed, the harsh circumstances in which our people find themselves compel us to join the Vatsonga people's municipality.
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> **Mulaudzi:** Vhavenda vha a vhengiwa nga Vhatsonga vhano wanala Malamulele. Itouvha ngoho u amba uri fhasi ha masipala muswa Vhavenda vha Vuwani vhado tangana na khakhathi musi vhatshi toda tshumelo. Vhodi vhudza u lifhedza kha u kondelela nazwe vha tangana nazwo musi vha tshi khadivha kha masipala wa Thulamela. Rine ri khouya hangei ngauri vhathu vhakhou tambula husi ngauri ri na lutamo lwau toda u tangana na havha vhathu.
> [**English Translation**] The Vhavenda-speaking people are hated by the Tsonga-speaking Malamulele people. It is accurate to say that under this new municipality, the Vhavenda people of Vuwani will experience tribalism in the provision of services. They intend to exact revenge on Thulamela Municipality for the treatment they endured. We are going there because our people here are suffering, not because we wish to mix with these people.
>
> **Anonymous 4:** Ndi zwifhio zwikili zwau vhusa zwine vhathu vha ma Shangan vhavha nazwo?Avhana tshiitisi na tshithihi tshine tsha ita uri vha vhenge rine Vhavenda,Ndi tshifhio tsha khwine tshe vha ita vha fhasi ha masipala wa Thulamela ngannda hau gungula uri Vhavenda avhakho disa tshumelo?
> [**English Translation**] What governance skills do Shangans really possess? They have no reason to hate us the Venda people. What did they do better under Thulamela Municipality than to complain that Venda speaking people are not giving them service?

Other parts of the program featured news updates in both Tshivenda and Xitsonga by multilingual field reporter Fihlile Baloyi, as well as daily sports reporting in Xitsonga by

Norman Maluleke. Nonetheless, it is necessary to note that Tshivenda was the predominant language used during the entire show when it came to broadcasting. Radio commercials were broadcast in English. Radio jingles were in both Tshivenda and English. The show also featured music. The following songs were played: mahulu wanga by Sankambe, Ntodiseni by Takie Special and Takalani Band, Mafhungo a vhukuma by Vendaboy Poet, Mitodzi by Mizo Phyll, Mukosi by Bonus, Ndo riwa by Ras Canly x Mizo Phyll, Muvenda by DJ Thabz x Wizzy Low x Young King Emo, and Ndono zwidowela (rmx) by Razie Kay x Ramzeey x Profox.

Show 5:

Name of the Radio: Vuwani FM 88.7
Name of the show: Hot Time
Name of Presenter: Nemadimahulu
Time: 12:00-15:00
Monday to Friday
Date: 16 April 2020
Frequency: 88.7

This show, like many others, opened with the Tshivenda news. The news was presented by Ndifelani Madima. The excerpt below was a leading news item in the news bulletin:

> Ofisi dza masipala wa Collins Chabane dze dzavha dzo valiwa nga mulandu wa u khethekanya vhupo ha Vuwani dzido vula hu sikale. Vho Robert Mathye, mu ambeli wa masipala vho sumbedzisa zwauri masipala udo thoma u nekedza kana u disa tshumelo kha vhupo ha Vuwani namusi. Vho khwathisedza uri ahuna muthu kana tshigwada tshine tsha do khethululiwa nga hune vhabva hone kana luambo lune vhalu amba na zwauri vhadzulapo vha Vuwani naho vho fhambana vhado bvela phanda nauvha vha vhuthogwa khau aluwa ha masipala. Naho ri Vhavenda kana Vhatsonga masipala ndi washu rothe.
> [**English Translation**] The offices of Collins Chabane Municipality that were closed because of the Vuwani demarcation demonstrations will soon be reopened. Robert Mathye, the municipality's speaker, has stated that the municipality will begin offering services to the Vuwani community today. He declared that no individual or group would face discrimination because of their ethnic background and that the people of Vuwani, with their different ethnic backgrounds, continue to be essential to the municipality's growth. Since we are all Venda or Tsonga, the municipality belongs to us all.

The host Nemadimahulu then welcomed the audience to the show after the announcement. There were no studio guests for the show. The show happened at the time when the residents of Vuwani permitted the Collins Chabane local municipality to start offering services to their areas. The show's goal was to discuss the two weeks spent under Collins Chabane and the opinions the residents of Vuwani had about the services provided by the newly formed municipality. The host opened the lines right away to discuss the topic with the listeners in Tshivenda.

The host: Ahungavhi na vhueni nduni dza khasho namusi. Ri do livhisa mbekanya mushumo iyi kha vhathetshelesi vhashu . Rikhou lavhelela uri vhane vhadovha vho thetshelesa vhadori founela vhari vhudzavho nga mihumbulo yavho nga ha tshenzhemo ye vhavha nayo nga murahu ha musi vho kona u dzhia tsheo yauri vhado tanganedza tshumelo ine yakhoubva kha masipala wa Collins Chabane. Zwino kha vhari ndi fhindule muthetshelesi washu wau thoma. Ndi masiari ndi khouvha tanganedza. Ndi zwi fhio zwine vhono zwivhona? Naa vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vhakhou wana tshumelo ibvaho kha masipala wavho muswa?
[English Translation] There won't be any studio visitors today. We'll make it a listeners' show instead. We anticipate that those who are listening will give us a call and provide their initial thoughts on their experiences after deciding to accept services from the Collins Chabane municipality. Now, let's answer our first call. Greetings for the afternoon. What do you observe on the ground? Are the residents of Vuwani receiving services from the new municipality?

Caller 1: Nne ndovha ndikhou humbela u dzumbiwa madzina .Maduvha au thoma asi mangana ovha o dala zwipfi zwau tanganana vhukuma ngauri rovha ri khouzwi divha uri asi tshumelo dzothe dzine dzidoda dzi tshikhoubva twi kha ofisi dzashu dzine dzavha Vuwani. Ria zwidivha zwavhudi uri zwinwe zwazwo rido tea uya u dalela ofisi khulwane dzine dzavha ngei Malamulele. Sa Vhavenda ro vha ro lavhelela uri hudovha na khethululo yodi sendekaho kha u fhambana hashu ha vhurereli na luambo. Fhedziha ahuna tshiga tsha khethululo yoraloho vhukati ha Vhatsonga na Vhavenda kha vhupo hendavhu dalela. Vha vhonala vhatshi khou funana nau tanganedza vhuvha havho. Fhedzi udi sola ha migwalabo ya u tshinyadza hukhou vhonala kha vhadzulapo vha henefha vhuponi. Musi u Malamulele uya tshuwa udi sumbedzisa nau amba Tshivenda na zwauri fhungo lau kondelelana ha luambo zwi vhonala i thaidzo hune na Vuwani zworalo. U a kona uzwi vhona uri musi u Vuwani wo lavhelelwa u amba nga Tshivenda ngeno u Malamulele utshi lavhelelwa u amba nga Xitsonga.
[English Translation] I really want to remain anonymous. The first few days were filled with mixed feelings and reactions because we knew that not every service will be received directly from our offices in Vuwani. We know so well that for certain things we will have to visit the main offices in Malamulele. As Venda people, we expected to be discriminated based on our distinct cultural and ethnic identification. However, there is no sign yet of tribalism between the Vatsonga and Vhavenda people in the areas where I visited. They seem to embrace each other. But the stigma of these violent protests can be seen around people in these areas. When you are in Malamulele you are afraid to express yourself in Tshivenda and the issue of language tolerance appears to be an issue and the same happens in Vuwani. You can tell that when you are in Vuwani you are expected to speak in Tshivenda, and the same applies in Malamulele where the expectation is that people must speak in Xitsonga language.

Caller 2: Ndovha munwe wa vhanwe ngei Vuwani vhe vhado dalela ofisi dzare ngei Malamulele u isa CV kha zwikhala zwa mishumo zwe zwavha zwo andadziwa.Zwinwe hafhu ndi zwauri zwovha zwi khagala kha miduba milapfu ye yavha i hone ,uri ulwa kana usa andana hukhadivha hone. Vhadzulapo vha Malamulele vhovha vhatshiu sedzisa zwinwevho hezwi utshikhou amba nga Tshivenda ha vhonga u khou amba luambo lune alu divhei kha vhupo uho.
[English Translation] I was among the Vuwani people that went to the offices in Malamulele to submit our resumes for the positions that were posted. Additionally, it was evident from the long queues that there were still some ethnic tensions. People in Malamulele turned to stare at you when you spoke in Tshivenda, as if you were speaking a language that was not native to the area.

Caller 3: Ridovha ro tavhanyedzesa u humbulela zwine masipala wa Vuwani wado ita kana zwine zwikhadi da itiwa..Kharivha tendele,ri vhafhe tshifhinga uri vha di dzudzanye rido kona uvhona uri vha dzhia tsheo vha ita zwifhio, ndo vha ndi tshinga eletshedza zwezwo. Honeha athi humbuli uri thaidzo ya disedzo ya tshumelo inga lugisiwa nga u fhata ofisi khulwane ntswa ngei Malamulele. Arali vha tshinga kona u

shumela kana u thusa vhathu vhashu ubva ofisini dza Vuwani u fhirisa uri vhadzulapo vha tshimbile lwendo lulapfu uya Malamulele utoda thuso zwovha zwi tshinga ntakadza nga maanda.
[English Translation] It's too soon to predict what the municipality of Vuwani will do—or hasn't done—yet. Let's allow them some time to settle in and see what they decide to do, I would advise. However, I don't think that our service delivery issue would be resolved by establishing our primary headquarters at Malamulele. If they can serve our people from the offices in Vuwani instead of making them travel far to Malamulele, it would make me happy as well.

Caller 4: Ee, nanne ndozwi vhona musi ri tshikhou isa CV kana u ganndisa zwidodombedzwa zwashu ngei tshititshini tsha mapholisa tsha Malamulele na dzinwe ofisi dza masipla uri arali nitshi amba Tshivenda vhathu vhado thoma uni sedza ha vhonga inwi aningo lugela u wana thuso ine vhakhoi wana.Ni fhedzisele ni tshikhou amba Xitsonga ngau shavha hone uvha mupondwa wa khethululo ya luambo.
[English Translation] Yes, I saw it when we were submitting our CVs or certifying our stuffs at Malamulele Police station and municipality offices that when you speak Tshivenda people start looking at you as like you don't deserve to get the services that get. You end up speaking in Xitsonga in fear of being victimised.

Caller 5: Khamusi zwithu zwido vhuyelela ngonani husikale. ubva tsheha gwalabiwa, usa farana zwavhudi ha Vhavenda na Vhatsonga hono kalulesa lune azwitsha kondelelea . Naho arali ri sakhou nanisana, zwitouvha khagala uri ari pfani/u andana. Naho nne mufumakadzi wanga a muTsonga nne ndi Muvenda ndia fulufhela uri kha vhupo ha Malamulele na Vuwani vhadzulapo vha Vhavenda na Vhatsonga vha do dovha hafhu vha farana vha pfesesana. Zwothe zwine zwakhou itea Malamulele zwa zwino zwikhodi itea nakha vhunwe vhupo hune zwigwada zwivhili zwa lushaka lusa fani zwi khou dzulisana nga mulalo. Heyi itouvha nyimele nthihi ine yakho itea Vuwani , hune vhadzulapo vha Vhatsonga vhane vha wanala Vuwani avhango vhofholowa uri vhadi wane vhatshikhou amba nga luambo lwavho lwa damuni lwa Xistonga .Vha ambeli vha Vhavenda vhare ngei Malamulele vhakhou tangana na tshenzhemo yeneyi uya ngau angaredza.
[English Translation] Maybe things will return to normal in due course. Since the protests, the level of hostility between the Vhavenda and Vatsonga people has increased to an unbearable level. Even if we are not arguing, it is clear that we do not get along. Although my wife is Tsonga, I am Venda, and I hope that in the areas of Vuwani and Malamulele, our people—the Vhavenda and Vatsonga—will once again be united. Whatever happens in Malamulele at moment is what is happening in other areas where the two ethnic groups co-habit. This is a similar situation also in Vuwani. In Vuwani communities, Tsonga people are not free to express themselves in their native language. The Vhavenda speakers of Malamulele experience a similar sense of marginalization.

The comments above are not the only comments expressed by the listeners during the call-in session of the show. But their selection was because they reflect the majority of opinions on the matter discussed during the show. It is also important to highlight that this show has other components in Tshivenda language which may not find space in this section due to limits set by study, such as quiz games, whether reports, traffic reports and radio jingles. This show included music as well, and the songs that were played were as follows: Fhumulani by Makhadzi, Kondelelani by April Ramufhi, Nne na inwi by Colbert Mukwevho, Dza Vhavenda by Lee Muvenda, Thoman ga nne Murena by Worship House, Ndi a Mufuna by Ramzeey, Tshira Tsha Muthu Ndi Mbilu by Paul Mulaudzi.

Show 6:

Name of the Radio: Vuwani FM 88.7
Name of the show: Hot Time
Name of Presenter: Nemadimahulu
Time: 12:00-15:00
Monday to Friday
Date: 30 July 2020
Frequency: 88.7

Similar to previous episodes, the news was aired at 12:00 to start this show. Romeo Ndou delivered the news in the Tshivenda language:

> Ho netshedzwa vhatodisisi vhahulwane vha tshipholisa khau todisisa muhumbulelwa ano kho kwamea kha bulayo la murado wa tshitshavha wea vhulawa mudini wawe Ga -botha fhala atlelereng nnda nyana ha sekhukhune nga lavhuna Muambeli wa mapholisa vunduni la limpopo Colonel malesela ledwaba vhari vho Jonas lebitsi mpye vha minwaha ya fuina-rathi vho thuntshwa vha vhulawa nga lavhuna, vho Jonas vhovha vhe murado wa masipala wapo wa tsini Vho ledwaba vhari vhodo kwamiwa nga mirado ya tshitshavha ngah tshiwo itsho,fhedzi mapholisa vhori vhatshi swika vha wana vho Jonas vha tivhani la malofha vha mbonzhe dza gulu kha mukulo. Vho ledwaba vhatshi Isa phanda vhari goloi ya mufu yodo wanala Dasani tsini na uvho vhupo nga murahu ha tsedzuluso dza mapholisa. Mapholisa vhakho ita khuwelelo kha vhare na vhutanzi uri vha Kwame tshititshi tsha mapholisa tsha tsini.
>
> [**English Translation**] Police authorities in Ga Botha, Matalelereng, are searching for a person they think may be linked to the death of Sekhukhune District Municipality councillor Mr. Jonas Lebitsi Mpye, 46. The 46-year-old was reportedly shot last Thursday in Matalelereng, outside of Ga Sekhukhune, and died as a result. According to police spokesperson Mr. Ledwaba, the victim had been discarded in the jungle. He suffered gunshot wounds that resulted in significant blood loss. In Dasani, his automobile was also located. Ledwaba also stated that they are making all effort to look into this matter and determine the reason for the murder.

Following the news, Nemadimahulu, the host, was heard announcing the topic of the day and extending a warm welcome to the audience in Tshivenda. As the theme attempted to address issues that they were personally affected by, he invited the listeners to participate in the broadcast. He also reminded the listeners of the studio guest from Collins Chabane Municipality. This is what he said:

> vhatshi sedza kha vhupo havho, vhavhona huna fulufhelo uri hunga dovha ha shanduka? Siani la ndisedzo ya tshumelo? Ndi masiari Vhathetshelesi vha vuwani fm namusi nga musumbuluwo wavhudi, ndikho vha tanganedza kha mbekanyamushumo ya hot time hune ridovha rothe khaino mbekanyamushumo awara tharu dzothe, huna zwazwino rikhdo fara nyambedzo na muambeli wa masipala wa Collins chabane vho Robert mathe, rikhodo lavhelesa u fhatiwa ha robotho vuwani , khathihi nau vulwa ha mi makete Vuwani.
>
> [**English Translation**] Greetings to everyone who is tuning in this afternoon. I'd like to welcome everyone to the show, where we will spend three hours together. Mr. Robert

> Mathe, the Collins Chabane municipality's speaker, is here in the studio to discuss the opening of markets and the installation of robots in Vuwani.

The host, Nemadimahulu went on to engage with the studio guest to discuss issues regarding the opening of markets to boast the local economy following protracted protests and to touch on issues pertaining to the installation of robots in Vuwani town. The interaction between the host and the studio guest was in Tshivenda language. This how the conversation unfolded:

> **The host,** Nemadimahulu: Ndi masiari Mr Mathye, vha tanganedza kha mbekanyamushumo.
> **[English Translation]** Good afternoon, Mr Mathye, and welcome to our show.
>
> **Guest** : Ndi masiari avhudi muhashi na vhathetshelesi vha vuwani fm.
>
> **The host**: Vho Mathe robotho khedzi vuwani ,vhadzulapo vho takala nga maanda ngadzo fhedzi huna khaedu ya uri adzikho shuma , kani hukhoiteani.
>
> **Guest** : rovha ro tea rori ritshida hafha muyani namusi ravha rikho di tongisa ngadzo fhedzi Rina khaedu ya vhaiti vhadzo ngauri nadzo adzongo dzulisa zwone , goloi dzingadi ime ngauri robotho hedzila dzo shandiwa muhashi.
>
> **The host:** Ngauri robotho dzo shandiwa, sa masipala vhakhodo ita zwifhio, vhado litsha zworalo kana hudovha na nyito?
>
> **Guest:** rikhodo tangana na zwiimiswa ufana na sanco khathihi na Vuwani service delivery hafha doroboni ya vuwani, ridodzudzanya navho uri navho vhasa vhone Unga rikho sa fulufhedzea , zwino ro humbula uri heyi vhege ndi vhege yau khakhulusa vhukhakhi hashu, khathihi na makete ikhodo thoma ushuma husika. Hotea mayor vhoda hafha u fhirisa na helo, fhedzi Ali dini.
>
> **The host:** Vho mathye , vhone vhana fulufhelo uri afha vuwani hudo shanduka , siani la ndisedzo ya tshumelo?
>
> **Guest:** Muhashi, Rina pulane nnzhi, khathihi na project dzine dzakhodo takuwa hafha vuwani husikale ,ngauri za vhadzulapo vha Collins chabane, rikhotoda uvhona dorobo heyi ya vuwani yo Naka sa dzinwe muhashi.
>
> **The host:** Vho mathe rikho livhuwa nga maanda Tshifhinga tshavho
>
> **Guest:** Na nne ndo livhuwa ndaaa

The host in the discussion above inquired on behalf of the listeners about the issue of the broken robots that have been placed in the town of Vuwani for a long time. Collins Chabane Municipality Speaker Mr. Mathe transferred the blame to the contractors in response to the query, claiming that they had installed the robots wrongly and that is why they weren't functioning. To address the problem, the guest agreed to meet with forward-thinking community organizations including Sanco and the Vuwani Service Delivery Task Team. He did, however, affirm that the mayor's office will handle the matter of markets opening for small enterprises. During the discussion, Mr. Mathe assured the audience that preparations were in

place to improve Vuwani town. The host thanked the speaker for spending time with the listeners at the conclusion of the discussion. At the same time, the host went on to open the lines to allow the listeners of Vuwani FM to share their opinions regarding the issues of development in the rural town of Vuwani. The opinions below were a few of many from the listeners of the show which were expressed in Tshivenda language on the issue of service delivery.

The host: Zwazwino ndi vha tanganedza muthetshelesi ripfe vhupfiwa havho.
[English Translation] Greetings to our listeners, welcome to our show. Share your opinions and views.

Caller 1: Vhuponi hanga ndina fulufhelo uri idovha hone ngauri mukhantselara uyada tshitshavhani.
[English Translation] I hope that the services will be rendered because the Cllr visits our areas. The waiting though has been far too long. We need service delivery.

Caller 2: Nne fulufhelo athitshena aribve kha sia la tshumelo. There is a lot that needs to be done not only in Vuwani town, but also in the communities around Vuwani. People are suffering and the situations are unbearable. Young people are indulging in crime because they do not have jobs after completing their studies. Others are indulged in drugs and alcohol. The future of our communities is at stake if young people are in this situation.
[English Translation] Huna zwinzhi zwine zwa khadi fanela u itiwa na kha vhunwe vhupo vhune ha wanala nnda ha dorobo ya Vuwani.Vhathu vha khou tambula vhakhou tshila fhasi ha dzinyemele dzisa kondeleleiho. Vhaswa vhakhoudi dzhenisa kha zwiito zwa vhutshinyi ngauri nga murahu ha u thaphudza pfunzo dzavho avha wani mishumo.Vhanwe vhakhoudi vhakhodi dzhenisa kha zwikambi na zwidzidzivhadzi. Vhumatshelo ha lushaka lwashu vhu khomboni vhukuma vhunga vhaswa vhashu husina zwine vhakhou dibveledzisa ngazwo.

Caller 3: Ngoho rikhou toda mveledziso kha dorobo yashu sa dorobo ya Malamulele.Ri khou toda dzibada,zwifhato zwa mihasho ya mutakalo na zwinwe zwikolo hafhu. Tshau fhedzisela , masipala u tea u vulela ndila mabindu matuku a vhupo hashu uri adi bveledzise. Vha re na dzangalelo la zwavhubindudzi vha tea u thusea nga masheleni, ndi ngazwo ri tshikhou amba nga fhungo la thengiso na thendelanl ya vhurengi sa zwone thikho ya ikonomi ya vhupo hashu.
[English Translation] We really want our town to be developed as Malamulele town. We need roads, health centres and more schools. Lastly, the municipality must pave a way for local business development. People who have the interest in business must be funded. Hence, we talk about the issue of markets and free trade as the backbone of the local economy.

Caller 4: Goloi dzashu dzo tshinyala nga mulandu wa dzibada dzine adzi tshimbilei nga madindi ane o vhangiwa nga dzimvula na u fhira fhira ha matiraka mahulwane. Masipala u fanela u sedza fhungo la bada dzine dzikhou shumiwa dzasa fhele.
[English Translation] Our cars are destroyed because of gravel roads which are already destroyed because of rain and big trucks constantly moving around. There is also a ring road that is not yet completed, and the road is bad. The municipality must look at these issues.

Caller 5: Nne ndo kwamea nga fhungo la vhugevhenga umoma na vhupo hashu,Ri tea u farana sa lushaka ra vhumba zwiimiswa zwingaho tshiimiswa tsha foramu ya

> mapholisa a lushaka. Fhedzi zwiimiswa izwi zwi di toda thikhedzo inobva kha masipala malugana na zwishumiswa na thodea dzine dza todea.
> **[English Translation]** I am concerned with the issue of crime around our communities. We need to beef up the community structures such as community police forums. But these structures may need support from the municipality regarding equipment and tools to work with.

Throughout the show, Tshivenda was used to discuss a variety of topics during the program. Only Tshivenda language speakers were audible on the show, offering their thoughts on these subjects. One of the most important parts of the show for analysis was the music. The following songs were played during the show: Zwivhuya by Makhadzi, Babe by King Kruize, Muvenda ngani by Paul Mulaudzi, Hafha by Esther Badzhi, Nwari by Tedious Matsito, Nwana o ngalangala by Adziambei, Zwoluga by Lufuno Dagada.

Show 7:

Name of the Radio: Vuwani FM 88.7
Name of the show: Hot Time
Name of Presenter: Nemadimahulu
Time: 12:00-15:00
Monday to Friday
Date: 6 August 2020
Frequency: 88.7

This show has opened with the news bulletin at twelve. The news was presented by Nompumelelo Matumba in Tshivenda language:

> Mapholisa vha tshilwavhusiku vha Kati na fulo lau todana na vhahumbulelwa vhevha thuntsha vha vhulaha mulinda wa tsireledzo vhaita nau shavha nga modoro wawe wa mushumo ngei Madombidzha zone 4 nga sondaha. Muambeli wa mapholisa vunduni la limpopo Lieutenant General malesela ledwaba vhari mapholisa vho swika afho he tshiwo tshaitea vha wana mulindi wa tsireledzo o taluswaho sa vho Vincent sivhada vho risiaVho ledwaba vhari modoro wa khamphani ya mulindi wa tsireledzo yo wanala yo dzumbiwa nga musumbuluwo ngei vhukati ha muvhundu wa tshiozwi na Madombidzha.Mapholisa vho vula mulandu wa bulayo nau tangula.
> **[English Translation]** The Tshilwavhusiku police are actively searching for suspects connected to the Sunday killing of a security guard from the Madombidzha Zone 4 community. It was stated that these criminals killed the deceased with a gun and then fled with his company car. Lieutenant General Malesele Ledwavha, the speaker of the police in Limpopo, said that when officers got at the scene of the incident, they discovered the body of the security guard, named as Vincent Sivhada. According to Mr. Ledwavha, on Monday the campany car was discovered stashed in the area known as Tshiozwi. A murder case has been opened by the police.

Right after the news bulletin at 12pm, the host Nemadimahulu welcomed the listeners of Vuwani FM to the show using Tshivenda language. He even promised the listeners that they invited again in the studio as matter of urgency Mr Mathye the speaker of Collins Chabane to come address the people of Vuwani on the issues of service delivery, which the residents of

Vuwani complained to have not yet been receiving. Mr Mathye requested to use English to reply to the questions, as he expressed that he struggles a bit with Tshivenda language. In his outline of the show, this what he had to say:

> **The host:** Mbekanyamushumo vhoi diselwa nga murahu ha mugwalabo une wakhou humbulelwa uri vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vhakhou lila vhari masipala wa Collins Chabane ukhou kundelwa u swikelela dzinwe dza dzi pfulufhedziso dze vha masipala vha ita sa u pangiwa ha mavhone, u thogomela dzibada nau engedza mbalo ya dzigoloi dzau endedza vhalwadze (ambulances). Vho dovha vha pomokedza masipala u ita pfulufhedziso dzi si dza vhukuma sa u fhata stadium na mavhengele (mall), hu u itela u kunga vhadzulapo na uri vha hangwe ngau toda u humela kha masipala wa Makhado. Kha vhathetshelesi vhothe kha vha nthendele ndi tanganedze Vho Mathye vhane vhavha muambi wa masipala wa Collins Chabane.Vho Mathye ndi khouvha tanganedza.
> **[English Translation]** This show came at the backdrop of the alleged complaints by the residents of Vuwani that the municipality of Collins Chabane was failing to meet a few of their promises, such as installation of lights, maintenance of the roads and increasing the ambulances. They also accused the municipality of making unrealistic promises such as the erection of the stadium and mall to entice them move away from the thought of going back to Makhado Municipality. To all our listeners, allow me to welcome Mr Mathye, the speaker of Collins Chabane Municipality in the studio. Mr Mathye, we welcome you.
>
> **Mathye:** Ndi masiari muhashi na vha thetshelesi. I may request you to allow me to speak in English because I am not that fluent in Tshivenda. My mother tongue is Xitsonga. I wish the listeners can bear with me on this one. You have seen how much I struggled on the last show when I tried to communicate with you in Tshivenda. I feel to express all I need to be in a language with which I am comfortable.
>
> **The host:** We hear you Mr Mathye and you are free to speak to us in English and later we will interpret to the listeners. Hu khou pfala hovha nausa fushea ha disedzo ya tshumelo kha vhadzulapo vha Vuwani.Vha khou sumba masipala nga minwe uri wo fulufhedzisa vhathu vha Vuwani zwithu zwi si zwone.Vhadzulapo vhari masipala u khou rangisa u isa tshumedzo kha vhadzulapo vha Malamulele ufhira vha Vuwani. Vho Mathye vha ri mini ngau pomokedziwa uhu?
> **[English Translation]** We hear you Mr Mathye and you are free to speak to us in English and later we will interpret to the listeners. Rumour has it that Vuwani residents are dissatisfied with Collins Chabane municipality over problems with service delivery. They are accusing the municipality of having empty promises to the people of Vuwani and only seem to prioritise the service to the people of Malamulele. What it your response to these allegations?
>
> **Mathye:** We really do not know where these allegations are coming from because our aim is to deliver the service to the people of Vuwani. Remember that the community of Vuwani has recently decided to allow us as the municipality to deliver the service to them after protracted protests. We have, in short space of time, installed streetlights to control high level of crimes affecting our communities since our offices have reopened in Vuwani. This is the project that we have already rolled out in Malamulele. Plans are underway for damaged roads as well in Vuwani including reparation of D4 Road which connects Malamulele to Elim.
>
> **The host:** Zwihulwane khau pomokiwa ha masipala ndi zwauri vho fulufhedzisa u fhatela vhadzulapo mavhengele (mall) na u linga nga ndila dzothe uri robotho dzine dzo dzhenisiwa dzi shume.

[English Translation] In the main of these allegations is that you promised them a mall and operation of the installed robots.

Mathye: Yes, we promised to improve the lives of our people in Vuwani and the neighbouring areas. It is not like we are not at all doing anything, but we have a plan of action where we roll out projects based on the budget available to us.

The host: Fhedzi manwe akho uri vha isa tshumelo kha vhathu vha vhupo ha Malamulele fhedzi hune vhunzhi havho ndi Vhatsonga
[English Translation] But there is a rumour that you only prioritise service delivery to the people of Malamulele where the Vatsonga are the majority.

Mathye: That is not true. The allegation is purely tribalistic and must be discouraged. Our role as the municipality is to ensure that service delivery is roll out to all the communities in Collins Chabane Municipality irrespective of ethnic identification of people.

During the show, there was an open-line segment where viewers may call in and discuss the current issue. Tshivenda was the language used for broadcasting the entire session. Even though some of the callers were aware of the municipality's stance, they were nonetheless irritated by the speed at which the development program was being implemented. They maintained that the municipality takes too long to carry out the plans for development projects. Following are some of the views voiced by a few chosen callers from the list during the show, verbatim stated in Tshivenda:

Caller 1: Ndi ngoho u amba uri masipala udi tika mga masheleni ane avha hone na uvha na vhutanzi uri mishumo yothe i khou bveledzisea. Fhedzi naho zwo ralo nne ndikhou kwamea ngala uri vhado dzhia tshifhinga u shuma.Vho ri thembisa uri tshumedzo dzothe dzido diswa ngau tavhanya fhedzi ahu athuvha na tsho itwaho.
[English Translation] It is accurate to say that the municipality bases its operations on the available funds and prioritizes its tasks. However, I'm concerned that it will take them some time to carry out their plans. They assured us that the service will be provided quickly, but nothing has materialized yet.

Caller 2: Ndi thaidzo arali tshumelo i tshikhou ya kha vhupo ha Malamulele husina u lenga ngeno rine vha vhupo ha Vuwani ri sakhou wana tshumelo na nthihi naho ritshi khou wela fhasi ha masipala muthihi. Vha tea u zwipfisisa uri migwalabo aingo vha yau tshinyadza ndaka/thundu fhedzi , nauri vhadzulapo vha Malamulele na Vuwani vha farane. Vhathu vhabvaho kha vhupo ha Vuwani vho lavhelela uri disedzo ya tshumelo i lingane musi i tshi isiwa Malamulele na musi itshida Vuwani.
[English Translation] It is a problem when service delivery is only continuing smoothly in the areas of Malamulele while us here in Vuwani are part of the municipality. They really need to understand that the protests have not only damaged the infrastructure but also the unity between the people of Malamulele and Vuwani. People from Vuwani would expect parity of service delivery between the people of Vuwani and those in Malamulele.

Caller 3: Masipala wa Collins chabane a una ndavha nau thusa vhathu na luthihi, vhori vhudza uri vhado disa dzi robotho fhedzi adzi athu swika. Vhathu vha Vhatsonga ndi vhone vhane vha masipala wa Collins Chabane. ahuna tshine tshado itwa tshine tshado thusa Vhavenda kha vhupo ha Vuwani.

> **[English Translation]** Collins Chabane Municipality does not really care to help; they told us they would send us a robot, but they haven't followed through. The Vatsonga people are the owners of this municipality. Nothing will be done to help the Vhavenda community in Vuwani.
> **Caller 4:** Ndikhou vha fulufhedzisa, vhadzulapo vhado humela zwitaratani u gwalaba hune tshinyalelo yahone idovha khulusa. U thivhela uri zwisa itee masipala au rangise u disa tshumelo ngau tavhanya ngauri sa vhadzulapo ri khou thoga.Ngauri zwino vhathu vha vhona unga masipala u touvha hone hu u itela u tsireledza dzangalalelo la lushaka lwa Vhatsonga vhane vha wanala kha vhupo ha Vuwani na Malamulele.
> **[English Translation]** I promise you; our people will go back to the streets and this time around things will be bad. To avoid this, the municipality must prioritise service delivery to the need people of Vuwani, they need it. Because now, people are of a view that the municipality is just here to protect the interest of the Vatsonga communities in Malamulele and Vuwani.

The opinions listed above reflect the majority opinions on the topic that was discussed between the host and Mr. Mathye, the speaker from Collins Chabane Municipality, even if they were not the only opinions voiced on the show. Similar to other Hot Time program reviews, this show has Tshivenda-language radio jingles, Tshivenda-language advertisements, a Tshivenda-language quiz and riddle game, and Tshivenda-language weather and traffic updates. The second news bulletin which came about at the hour 14 p.m. was a repeat of the news bulletin read at 12 p.m. and was given in Tshivenda. It is described below:

> Mapholisa vha tshilwavhusiku vha Kati na fulo lau todana na vhahumbulelwa vhevha thuntsha vha vhulaha mulinda wa tsireledzo vhaita nau shavha nga modoro wawe wa mushumo ngei Madombidzha zone 4 nga sondaha. Muambeli wa mapholisa vunduni la limpopo Lieutenant General malesela ledwaba vhari mapholisa vho swika afho he tshiwo tshaitea vha wana mulindi wa tsireledzo o taluswaho sa vho Vincent sivhada vho risiaVho ledwaba vhari modoro wa khamphani ya mulindi wa tsireledzo yo wanala yo dzumbiwa nga musumbuluwo ngei vhukati ha muvhundu wa tshiozwi na Madombidzha.Mapholisa vho vula mulandu wa bulayo nau tangula.
>
> [**English Translation**] The Tshilwavhusiku police are actively searching for suspects connected to the Sunday killing of a security guard from the Madombidzha Zone 4 community. It was stated that these criminals killed the deceased with a gun and then fled with his company car. Lieutenant General Malesele Ledwavha, the speaker of the police in Limpopo, said that when officers got at the scene of the incident, they discovered the body of the security guard, named as Vincent Sivhada. According to Mr. Ledwavha, on Monday the company car was discovered stashed in the area known as Tshiozwi. A murder case has been opened by the police.

The show also featured music. The following music was featured: lucky Dube, ohh my son; David mmbi , mukegulu; Colber Mukwevho, nga mu fara (Ha nga dovhi); Makhadzi, Shumela Venda; Ramzeey, Ndi a Mufuna; Paul Mulaudzi, Tshira Tsha Muthu Ndi Mbilu.

Show 8:

Name of the Radio: Vuwani FM 88.7

Name of the show: Hot Time
Name of Presenter: Nemadimahulu
Time: 12:00-15:00
Monday to Friday
Date: 7 July 2021
Frequency: 88.7

This show began with the Tshivenda news at twelve, just like any other show that has been reviewed before. Pfano Ndou read the news, which was as follows:

> Huna mugwalabo une wo takutshedza ngei muvhunduni wa Kurhuleni , Vuwani fhasi ha masipala wa Collins Chabane.Vhadzulapo vho ana uri mugwalabo udo bvela phanda uswikela masipala u tshi swikelela zwipikwa zwavho.Hukhou pfala hovha na usa tendelana vhukati ha vhadzulapo, mukhantselara na komiti ya thandela ya madi. Vhadzulapo vhakhou pomokedza mukhantselara wavho zwa u khethekanya (u thusa vhane vha vhadivha)/ talulala. Vhadzulapo vhakho vhilaedzisiwa nga tshumelo ine masipala ukho balelwa u disa tshi tshavhani. Tshigwada tshashu tsho tielela nauvhea ito uitela hutshivha na mveledziso kha fhungo ili.
>
> **[English Translation]** A shutdown is taking place in Kurhuleni, Vuwani, under Collins Chabane Local Municipality. The community members vowed that the shutdown would continue until the municipality fulfils their demands. Community members reportedly had a disagreement with their ward Cllr and committee for the water project. The community members have accused their ward Cllr of nepotism. They asserted that there is no service delivery from the municipality. Our team is keeping an eye on the developments.

The host of the show Mr Nemadimahulu welcomed the listeners of Vuwani FM to the show. Speaking in a fluent Tshivenda, the host took time to reflect on number of developmental issues that concern the communities of Vuwani, such the escalation of crime, and number of incomplete projects. His interest of the show was the issue of crime, which included house breaking, burglary and the bombing of the ATMs around Vuwani. He also recounted on one callers' plea in one of previous shows that the municipality should install the streetlights in all villages to manage the movement of criminal elements. In the plea was also the issue of police response to the reported crimes, which was alleged to be delayed or at times it is non-existent. The host states that there are number of Somali nationals who phoned to notify the radio that the locals are now targeting their shops and that most shops are looted. Against this background, the host instantly introduced the studio guest Mr Sergeant Vuledzani, police spokesperson of Vhembe district to this the issue.

> **The host:** Ndaa! Ndi masiari ndi khou vha tanganedza kha mbekanya mushumo , vho sedzheni.Huna dzi mbilaelo malugana na tshivhalo tsha zwiito zwavhugevhenga tshine tshavha ntha vhukuma fhala vhuponi ha Vuwani, na ndila ine tshitshavha tshono shanduka fhethu hune vhathu vhakhoudi dzhenisa kha zwiito zwa vhutshinyi na vhugevhenga nga vhunzhi.Hu khou pfala huna mavhengele o vhalaho ano langiwa nga vhabvannda ane onodi hombokiwa. Ri tshi khadivha kha lenelo huna mune wa vhengele ane abva khala Somali ane o bvisela khagala uri huna lugwada lwa vhanna vhane

vhakhou homboka vhabvannda thundu dzavho mavhengeleni avho , vho vha sumba nga zwigidi, ndi tshikhou da kha vhone vho sedzheni aya mafhungo vha a divha?

[English Translation] Greetings and welcome to the show, Sergeant. There are complaints about Vuwani's high crime rate and how the region has turned into a haven for criminal activity. Many foreigners' shops have allegedly been stolen by these thieves. Speaking under the pseudonym, a Somali national said that a group of armed men were robbing foreigners at gunpoint of their belongings while they were in their shops. Do you know this?

Sergeant Vuledzani: Ndo livhuwa muhashi, mafhungo a vhugevhenga ari a divhi nga nnda ha musi vhadzulapo vho vhiga vhutshinyi uhu tshititshini tsha mapholisa.Arali hu sina mulandu wo vuliwaho/ vhigiwaho , mashudu mavhi rine sa tshipholisa ria kundelwa u dzhia ndango yau fara vhahumbulelwa. Mapholisa adi tika nga vhutanzi hune ho nekedzwa mapholisa ngautou vula mulandu nau nea tshitetamennde.

[English Translation] We won't be made aware of this until locals report it to police stations and satellites. If a case has not been opened, we are helpless to take action. We rely on the information provided to our police stations in order to be aware about incidents occurring in our communities.

The host: Huna vhanwe vha vhadzulapo vhane vho founela thingo dza tshititshi tshashu vha tshikhou lila nga vhugevhenga vhune hakhou itea. Vho bvisela khagala uri tshumelo ya mapholisa a i khou vhonala vhunga vho vhuya vha lindela maduvha o vhalaho uri mapholisa ade a thuse kha tshiwo tsho iteaho nga murahu ha musi vhono vhiga mulandu.

[English Translation] A few locals complained over the phone to the studio about the high crime rates in their communities. They claimed that the police were not very visible in their villages. They even claimed that they had to wait days for the police to show up after reporting the incident.

Sergeant Vuledzani: Muhashi vha fanela uzwi divha uri mapholisa uvha hone a hone, fhedzi adi vhonadza kha vhupo vhune hovha nau tshinyadza ha ndaka/thundu musi hutshivha na mugwalabo wa u fhambanisa/khethekanya Vuwani.Honeha mugwalabo kha vhupo uho utshe wo imiswa lwa tshifhinga nyana.Vhadzulapo vhakho sinyuswa nga tshomedzo dzine Collins Chabane wa lenga u swikisa lushakani.Sa mapholisa a Vuwani ro vha ri tshido humbela muthu munwe na munwe uri a thuse ngau vhiga zwiito zwa vhugevhega na vhuyada.

[English Translation] You must keep in mind that while our police are present, they are only visible in areas that saw vandalism during the Vuwani demarcation protests. You must keep in mind that the protests in Vuwani have only been temporarily suspended. The Vuwani community is reportedly dissatisfied with Collins Chabane Municipality's delayed service delivery, so they may go on at any time. So, we urge our people to assist the police with any information of the suspicion of criminal activities.

On the open lines, the host engaged the listeners on the issue for their view regarding the extent crime in their areas and what the police forums in the villages are doing to assist the police. It is important to also mention that the interaction between the host and listeners was in Tshivenda language. There was no caller who called in to speak in Xitsonga or any other language on the issue. The following were a few of many comments expressed by the listeners during show, as they interact with the host of Hot Time programme, Nemadimahulu on topic:

The host: Rina muthetshelesi washu wau thoma muyani, ndi khou vha tanganedza kha mbekanya mbushimo ya Hot Time, vha khou tama u tahisa lifhio muthetshelesi?
[English Translation] We have our first caller on the line, you are welcome to our show. What do you want to comment about?

Anonymous caller: A touvha masinda mbilu a uri rina muhulwane wa mapholisa muyani vho imela tshitiriki tshothe fhedzi vha khou amba zwauri vhone avha zwidivhi uri tshivhalo tsha vhugevhenga kha vhupo hashu tshi nntha vhukuma. Azwi pfali na luthihi uri muthu are kha vhuimo ho imaho ngauri anga amba ngaurali kha radio ya lushaka.Ndi mushumo wa mapholisa u vhona uri lushaka lo tsireledzea, ngau mona mona kha vhupo hothe uya ngau angaredza. Vhugevhenga ho hulela, vhana vhatuku vha khou tshipiwa vha fhedza vha vhulawa ,ahuna ane akhouri tshithu ngazwo. Vho touri kombetshedza uri ri wele fhasi ha masipala wa Collins fhedzi ahuna tshine vhakhouri thusa ngatsho.

[English Translation] It is a pity that that we have senior police officer in the studio for the entire district, but this person claims that they do not know there is high levels of crime in our area. It is not fair, that somebody like him can talk like that in the community radio. It is the duty of the police to move around all the places. Crime is a reality in Vuwani, young girls are raped and killed, and no one says anything. We do not have any one on our cases. They forced us to join Collins Chabane, but nothing they are doing to us.

Tshilidzi: Rine sa vhadzulapo rido bvela phanda na u gwalaba u swika tshipikwa tshashu tshau humiseliwa kha masipala wa Makhado tshi tshi swikeleliwa naho hutshipfi mugwalabo utshe wo imiswa.Uya ngaha nne ndi vhona unga zwi tshida kha vhugevhenga , mavemu a shumisa migwalabo sa ndila ya u disa nyofho kha lushaka ,u tambudza , u homboka midini , u tshipa vhafumakadzi nau vhulaha vhana. Rovha ri tshikhou tou humbela ngaudi tukufhadza kha masipala uri vhari dzhenisele mavhone ane ado kona u tsireledza zwenezwo litshi kovhela vhunga ri tshi tshila maswiswini hune zwia konda u vhona magevhenga a tshi tshinyadza. Fhedzi naho zwo rali vha sedzesa khau thusa mashango a Vhatsonga u fhirisa lushaka lwa Vhavenda.

[English Translation] We will continue to protest until our demands to be returned to Makhado are fulfilled. Even though it may have been suspended, it remains in place and is just waiting. In my opinion, when it comes to crime, criminals have used protests as a pretext to terrorize our communities by robbing homes, raping women, and killing children. We implore the municipality to put in lamps in order to safeguard our neighborhoods. Since we too live in the dark, it is difficult for us to notice these crooks when they are operating in the shadows. However, they ignore the Vhavenda communities and concentrate primarily on the Vatsonga villages of Malamulele.

Anonymous caller 2: Ri azwi divha uri mapholisa a thusa ngau tavhanya fhedzi arali mupondwa wa zwiito zwa vhugevhenga hu mubvannda. Zwia konda uri vha takutshedze arali mupondwa hu mudzulapo wa henefho. Nne ndi humbulela uri mapholisa aya fhedzi hune havha na tshanda nguvhoni,

[English Translation] We know the police will only run to help whenever it is the foreigner who is the victim of crime. But it is difficult for them to act when it is the local people who are the victims. My suspicion is the police only go where there is bribe.

Anonymous caller 3: Ndi khouto tama u divha uri ndi ngani vho ramba muambeli wa tshitiriki uri ade a fhindule mbudziso dzine dzi toda pholisa la vhupo hashu? Lushaka lono tanganesa na zwinzhi husi kale vhado dzhia mulayo vhau vhea zwandani zwavho ngau toda u fhedza hone vhugevhenga. Zwi vho tou ofhisa na u tshimbila vhusiku vhunga usa divhi uri ukhou tevheliwa nga nnyi nga murahu. Vhathu vhono xelelwa nga

> thingothendeleki dzavho, tshelede na dzinwe thundu dza vhuthogwa zwenezwo vha tshi khoudi tshimbila zwitaratani lokovhela. Ahuna tsho itwaho nga nnda hau thembisiwa mavhone nga wonoyu masipala wa Collins Chabane.
> **[English Translation]** I would like to know why you invited the district spokesman to respond in the studio instead of the satellite police from the area. Our communities have had enough, and they will soon take matters into their own hands because this needs to end. Evening walks are dangerous since you can't see who is following you. People have lost their phones, cash, and other valuables in the late dark hours on the streets, especially women. Nothing was done, despite the new municipality's pledge of lighting.

The show, like previously reviewed ones featured commercials, radio jingles, and sports weather reports. All these were predominantly presented in Tshivenda. The show also including a 20-minute sharing session of biblical scriptures by Pastor Mulaudzi. The preacher preached in Tshivenda language. The music formed part of the show, and the music played included: Bonus by Mukosi, Funanani by Prefix, Vhana vhanga by Dalom Kids, I love you by Celin Dion, Rido ima by Dr Bishop Madzinge, Gaza by Mahlathini and Mahotela Queens.

Show 9:

Name of the Radio: Vuwani FM 88.7
Name of the show: Hot Time
Name of Presenter: Nemadimahulu
Time: 12:00-15:00
Monday to Friday
Date: 25 November 2021
Frequency: 88.7

The show opened with news bulletin at the hour of 12, as presented by Mbedzi Takalani:

> Mafhungo a awara ya vhufumi na vhuvhili vhoa diselwa nga Mbedzi Takalani, ndi masiari.U tshivhalo tshau khetha kha zwinwe zwipidabzwa vundu la Limpopo tsho gonya ubva nga matsheloni, na vharangaphanda vha madzangano oyaho ngau fhambana vha tshikhou lingedza u wana vhakhethi nga murahu hau ongolowa hau khetha musi dzitshi thoma.Vharangaphanda uya ngau fhambanana havho vho khetha kha zwititshi zwau fhambana uya ngau khethekanya hazwo he vhanwe vha vharaphandanda vha vundu vha vhonala vha tshikhou khetha. Muphirimia Vho-Stan Mathabatha vho khetha kha tshititshi tsha Polokwane vha dovha hafhu vha tutuwedza na vhadzulapo uri vha khethe nga hunzhi. MEC wa zwavhuendi na tsireledzo ya lushaka Vho Mavhunha Lerule-Ramakhanya vho amba zwa uri ahuna zwo khakhisaho kana zwiito zwa vhutshinyi zwovhaho hone. Vho dovha hafhu vha amba uri ho rumeliwa vha mulayo na vhulindi uri vhaye u langula zwititshi kana fhethuvhupo hune ha sumbedzisa hutshingavha na zwithithisi. Vuwani kha vundu la Limpop ho vhonala hu na migwalabo ya vhutshinyi fhasi ha masipala wa Collins Chabane hune hovha na zwikolo zwine zwa pada furaru zwine zwo fhisiwa musi zwenezwo vhadzulapo vha tshikhou gwalaba. Mivhigo ya Musumbuluwo yo tahisa uri zwothe zwo vhuyelela ngonani nga murahu ha musi vha siviki vha tshi humbela vhadzulapo uri vha songoya kha zwititshi zwau khetha uya u vusa dzi khakhathi.
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> **[English Translation]** The news at 12 is presented to you Mbedzi Takalani. Good afternoon. Voting in some sections of Limpopo increased up speed as the morning went

> on, with leaders of different political parties making hurried attempts to win over voters after a rather slow start. Different leaders voted at various polling places. Several provincially born national leaders were observed voting at different polling places. Stan Mathabatha, the premier, cast his ballot at a Polokwane station. He left his mark and urged the locals to vote as well in an effort to "deepen democracy". Mavhungu Lerule-Ramakhanya, the MEC for Transport and Community Safety, stated that no disturbances or acts of violence were anticipated. Nonetheless, she said, authorities had sent out staff and resources to keep the calm in places they considered to be at high risk of disturbances. One of these, Vuwani in northern Limpopo, has seen violent protests in the past around municipal limits. During the protests, infrastructure was seriously destroyed and around thirty schools were set on fire. Reports on Monday suggested that everything was quiet, despite the fact that local civic officials had urged residents not to go to the polls.

After the news, the host, Nemadimahulu introduced the topic of the day to the listeners. The topic was centred on the decision by the people of Vuwani to go all out to vote for the African National Congress (ANC) even though their calls to return to Makhado were not as heeded. The results of the elections, in which the ANC won by a majority, verified the information that the people of Vuwani had cast their ballots for the ANC. In the first minutes of the show, the host told the listeners that it was their show, and they were expected to join in on the conversation. Nemadimahulu then used the opened lines to engage in conversation with the listeners:

> **The host, Nemadimahulu:** Kha vhari ndi tanganedze muthetshelesi wau thoma, Ndaa/Aa , ndikhouvha tanganedza kha mbekanya mushumo yashu masiari a duvha la namusi.Ndi ngani vho khetha lihoro la ANC line a lina ndavha nau tandulula thaidzo dzavho, sa musi munwe na munwe a tshi zwidivha? Vhadzulapo vha Vuwani vho di gana uri arali vhasa humela kha masipala wavho wa kale wa Makhado vha ngasi khethe musi khetho dza muvhuso dzi tshi swika vhunga vhakhou amba zwauri vhakhou zwifuna u humela kha masipala wa Makhado,Vhari u humela murahu hovha hu tshone tshipikwa tshi hulwanesa tsha mugwalabo uyu u fhirisa disedzo ya tshomedzo dzavho.
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> **[English Translation]** Let's answer the first call. Hello and welcome to our show this afternoon. Why did you cast your ballot for the ANC- the party that doesn't pay attention to your issues? As everyone is aware, the Vuwani people once passed a resolution stating that they wished to return to the Makhado Municipality and without that they would boycott the local government elections. Returning to Makhado was the main purpose of the protests than service delivery.
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> **Caller 1:** Ndi ngoho nomboro adzi zwifhi. vhadzulapo vho khetha dzangano la ANC. Naho dzangano litshi dzulela uri shonisa ri do isa phanda nau li tikedza. Vhathu vhashu vha khou toda thuso. Ri khou voutela vhurangaphanda vhuswa ha ANC vhune vhu dovha na ndavha na rine ngannda ha ANC fhedzi.Ni ngalwa nndwa dza vheiwe nga yeneyi ndila.
> **[English Translation]** Indeed, the numbers do not lie: people did vote for the ANC. Even when this organization disappoints us, we still support it. This cannot continue; our people require assistance. We are voting for the new ANC leadership that will pay attention to us, not just for the ANC itself. You can only fight your wars in this manner.
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> **Caller 2:** Ro divhadzwa uri u arali vhadzulapo vhothe vhanga khetha lihoro la ANC , vhado thusalea khau humela kha masipala wa Makhado.Ndi khouni vhudza muhashi ndo ita zwe ndavha ndi sakhou zwifuna, ngavhe ndi iteni?Ni livhisa hani mbilaelo

dzanu arali na sa nwala kha balotho.Voutu yanu ndi yone tsumbedziso ya mbilaelo dzanu,zwililo na zwini dinaho. U khetha ho vha hu tshikhou todea.
[English Translation] We were informed that voting for the same party would be the only option for us to return to Makhado. I tell you I had to do something against my will, I did not see a reason to do so. How will you file a complaint if you don't cast a ballot? Your vote is an indication of your worry, cries, and concerns. Voting was required.

Caller 3: Ro vha ri tshikhou voutela uri tshomedzo dzi swikisiwe kha tshi tshavha, naho ra kwata ra gwalaba tshumelo ri khadi i toda. Ndila ya khwinesa kha vhadzulapo vha Vuwani yovha yauri vha khethe nga ndila yevha khetha ngayo Zwauri vho khetha lifhio lihoro ndi zwavho vhone vhane.
[English Translation] We were voting for service delivery. even if we are angry and protesting, we still need service delivery. The best way for people of Vuwani was to vote the way they voted. As to who they voted for its their own conscience.

Caller 4: Arali voutu dzashu dzi ngasi ri ambele, zwi khoto amba fhedzi uri mugwalabo ukhouya phanda u swikela tshomedzo dzashu dzi tshi swikeleliwa. Vhathu vha songo vhuya vha humbula uri ari todi u wela fhasi ha Collins Chabane ngauri ri vhenga Vhatsonga na vhathu vhothe vha Malamulele, hai . Ri navho Vhatsonga na henefha Vuwani vhane avha todi uvha fhasi ha masipala hoyu. Zwino zwauri huna u khethululana asi zwone.
[English Translation] If they our votes cannot speak for us, then we are surely going back to the streets until our demands are met. People must not think we do not want to be part of Collins Chabane because we hate the Vatsonga people of Malamulele. We have the Vatsonga people even in Vuwani who do not want to be part of this municipality. So, calling tribalists is unfair.

The show, like previously reviewed ones featured commercials, radio jingles, and sports weather reports. All these were predominantly presented in Tshivenda. The show also including a 20-minute sharing session of biblical scriptures by Pastor Mulaudzi. The preacher preached in Tshivenda language. The music formed part of the show, and the music played included: Phanda by Colbert Mukhwevho, Mpho yanga by Makhadzi, Ndi ya Tenda, Rofolela by Dan Tshanda, Mitodzi by Mizo Phyll, Muvusuludzo by Ramzeey, Bonus by Mukosi.