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AFRICANISING COMMUNITY RADIO BROADCASTING: THE CASE OF VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR) IN SOUTH AFRICA

Siyasanga Mhlangabezi Tyali

A thesis submitted to University of the Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Johannesburg, 2017.

DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Decolonisation and Africanisation of spaces emerging from administrative and settler colonialism have been suggested as forms of challenging colonial legacies that are still largely present in the Global South and particularly within the African continent. Mainly, this has also been the case in recent South African discourses that have called for the decolonisation and 'transformation' of key areas in the country to build a decolonised African country of the future. This thesis, therefore, deals with the subject of the community radio broadcasting sector that is operating during South Africa's 'postcolonial' era, and the steps undertaken by this sector in Africanising itself. Starting from the conviction that the media has a historical role in shaping and communicating cultures as well as identities of the colonised and 'formerly' colonised, the thesis posits that the community radio sector is one of the vital arenas that can be used to understand the continuities and discontinuities of colonial cultures in media institutions. Thus, to comprehend and establish the state of Africanisation within the community radio sector of the country, the study investigated and analysed the case of Vukani Community Radio (VCR); a community radio station that is easily one of the oldest community orientated broadcasters in South Africa. Furthermore, to challenge the idea of colonised and neo-colonised media spaces, this thesis was grounded on an understanding of the complexities of Africanisation as a decolonising project in a media institution that is operating in the post-settler-colonial administration of this country. Adopting a case study approach, this study attempted to understand the urgency of a broadcast media platform in asserting the cultures and identities of 'previously' colonised Africans on the medium's airwaves. To make sense of the conceptual challenges surrounding the study, the thesis has drawn on decolonial discourses, including the theory of Afrocentricity, the coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge, the coloniality of being and the decolonial turn. The adoption of these theories by the study, therefore, also demonstrates a conscious delinking of this study from the traditional theories of media and cultural studies that have habitually underpinned the South African canon. Moreover, this study has adopted the use of critical decolonised methodologies approach in the pursuit of answers about the extent of Africanisation of the media institution. The decolonised approach of the adopted method lay in revealing the colonial excesses that have underpinned research methodologies as well as an 'auto-critique' of these excesses in the

context of this study. The data analysed to arrive at the findings of this study included several macro and micro policy documents, a content analysis of three (3) categories of community radio programmes [Talk Radio, African Cultural Lifestyle & News Programming] that totalled 270 hours of community radio content. The study also relied on several semi-structured interviews with various internal and external stakeholders that make up the station's key constituencies. In the analysis of evidence that would uncover the extent of the Africanisation of the community radio station, the findings of the thesis revealed several yet overlapping thematic areas that suggest pathways towards the Africanisation of the media institution. These, among others, included the use of this media institution as an African public sphere, its embracing of the philosophy of *Ubuntu*, its role in the decolonisation of African memory and its approaches towards ethnicity and Africanity within the broadcasting area. These themes emanating from the analysed data of the study also illustrate how this media institution is operating as a pocket of resistance against colonial, neo-colonial and imperialistic media cultures. In addition to these thematic areas, the findings of this study also demonstrate that when only media policy documents are adopted, this can lead to ambiguities in the pursuit of Africanisation as decolonisation. The study however also demonstrates that the urgency of the community radio station in catering for the surrounding constituency can potentially demonstrate an eventual Africanisation of the airwaves. Finally, this study concludes that the Africanisation of the airwaves is demonstrable at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) but its permanent enforcement is dependent on the vigilance of the stations constituencies and how they define and enforce the role of their media institution.

KEY WORDS: Africanisation, Africanity; Decolonisation, Colonialism, Culture, Africa, Media, Ideology, Community Radio, Vukani Community Radio

DEDICATION

For my little girl, Zesi-Embo Tyali: “It is a hostile environment for the life of the mind [kodwa ndizamela wena mntanam’” Teju Cole.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANC – African National Congress

AIDS – Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AZAPO – Azanian People's Organisation

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

CALUSA - Cala University Students Association

FM – Frequency Modulation

HIV – Human Immuno Deficiency Virus

ICASA – Independent Communications Authority of South Africa

IDASA – Institute for Democracy in South Africa

IBA – Independent Broadcasting Authority

MDDA – Media Development Diversity Agency

NP – National Party

NYDA – National Youth Development Agency

OSISA – Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa

PAC – Pan African Congress

RSG – Radio Sonder Gense

SABC – South African Broadcasting Corporation

SADTU – South African Democratic Teachers Union

SANCO – South African National Civic Organisation

SMS – Short Message Service

UDM – United Democratic Movement

UNESCO – United Nations, Education, Scientific, Cultural Organisation

VCR – Vukani Community Radio

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

A corpus of research output has been generated on the community radio industry of South Africa (Berger, 1996; Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Bosch, 2003; Tyali and Tomaselli, 2015). Largely the theorisation of the sector has focused on multiple themes including the health communication role of the industry, its history and development as well as the democratic role of these broadcasting mediums. In this study, the focus is on investigating the Africanising processes of the selected case study, and how, through the assertion of a particularised African identity and culture, the community radio station is playing an important role in the decolonisation of the airwaves. Therefore, in its entirety, this study is concerned with examining Africanisation in a micro-media broadcasting platform. This is done through the prism of positioning Africanisation as a form of decolonial thinking within the space of media practice. Figueora (2015:50) argues, "though colonization and slavery ended, their structures remain deeply embedded in the spaces they once occupied and in the psyche of the people they dominated." This perspective affirms the aim of this study which explores the Africanisation of a media platform in the 'post-settler-colonial' era of South Africa.

Within the South African context, ideological questions have been raised about the country's 'post-settler-colonial' media institutions and their commitment to the world views of Africa as its geographical positionality (Chiumbu, 2015; Sesanti, 2011; Nyamnjoh, 2005; cf. Kasoma, 1994, 1996). Critiquing the apparent continuities of the colonial legacy on this country's media landscape, Nyamnjoh (2005:176) argues for instance, that the ownership, partnership and presence in the media of black people of South Africa has not made the sector representative of the "concerns, interests and aspirations of Africans as cultural communities". Chiumbu (2015:422) also asserts that in South Africa, "the political economy foundations of the media have not dramatically changed despite the diversification of racial composition and the emergence of new local media conglomerates such as Sekunjalo."

The reason offered for this resistance of the media to capturing and championing various African cultural interests is that the ideological outlooks of some sectors within the media

are still steeped in the continuities of the colonial legacies (coloniality), including that of racism (Olurinnisola, 2006, cf. Berger, 2002, Tomaselli, 2003, 2001). Furthermore, South Africa's media sector has been criticised as an arena that is preoccupied with Africanisation projects that are purposely engineered to minimise critique of the deep colonial and structural challenges that still inform the functioning of the country's postcolonial media sector (Nyamnjoh, 2005; cf. Fourie, 2001; Sesanti, 2011). In this regard, Willems (2014:422) has indicated that "the end of apartheid also saw increasing debates in South Africa on the need for the Africanisation of virtually all spheres of the society, for example, politics, education, media and journalism…". This study is, therefore, positioned within such debates and investigates matters pertaining to the Africanisation of the community radio industry of South Africa. It primarily focuses on community radio in the context of an African community (see chapter 6 for background of the case study).

In this study, the assertion is that administrative as well as settler-colonialism were instrumental in degrading African cultures, identities and representation of such lived realities among the colonised and neo-colonised subjects (Mamdani, 1996, 2013; Baddat, 2012). The study indicates that, within the dispensation of coloniality (Castro-Go´mez, 2007; Grosfoguel, 2007), it is instrumental to investigate and understand the gains that have been made in the continuing project of decolonising African based cultural industries. Therefore, the central premise in this study is that of exploring how a medium imported from the 'tools' of Western modernity (Rønning & Kupe, 2000; cf. Mano, 2011) such as a community radio platform has been Africanised to such an extent that it forms part of the many platforms helping to represent the character, cultures, values and identity of the selected community.

In a country, whose institutions are said to be Eurocentric (Gocking, 1992) this study explored the assertion of African local identities and their related cultures as represented through a community based broadcasting platform. For Fanon (1961: 196) "culture is an expression of a nation, the expression of its preferences, of its taboos and of its patterns". Thus, culture and its various variables have been closely analysed in the context of this study. Culture becomes part of the many tools that can be used in the road to Africanisation as a form of decoloniality of a media platform. Ultimately, this study focused on linking the issue of a community media platform within the current era of coloniality (Castro-Go´mez,

2007) and how the concept of Africanisation can be used to illustrate the decolonial strides that are being made at a the community media level within the selected case study and its locality in South Africa.

1.1 REGARDING AFRICANISATION: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

The current study is underpinned by the discourses of Africanisation and how this ideological position (Mafeje, 2000) advances the concept of decoloniality within the context of a media institution (also see chapter 2 and 3). In this section, the aim is to briefly introduce the concept of Africanisation and link it to the issue of decoloniality in the Global South, and more specifically, within the African continent (Wa Thiong'o 1981; Prah, 2004; Ntuli, 2004). The objective is also to contextualise this ideological framework in the functioning of media institutions in Africa (also see chapter 3). With regard to broadcasting, Mano (2011) argues that while radio in the African continent has its genesis in the colonial project, in this region the consumption of its content was either rejected or accepted based on how it met the social and cultural ideologies of Africans. Therefore, the embracing of such media institutions by African communities has largely been dependent on how the medium contextualises the question of identity, culture and lived realities of such communities (cf. ibid.). Consequently, the interpretation of Mano's (2011) argument seemingly also illustrates that the embracing of the medium has been historically dependent on how it had been Africanised to reflect the local reality.

However, while there is some correlation between the consumption of media content and the concept of Africanisation, scholarship around this ideological framework (Africanisation) has contested it's decolonial value and contribution (Appiah, 1992; Mbembe, 2015; Fanon, 1961; Achebe, 2009; Wa Thiong'o, 1981; Prah, 2004) (also see chapter 2). With regard to scholarly resistance to the framework, some scholars have counter argued that such resistance was the result of a mischievous intellectual objective that has often required the advocates of Africanisation to come up with a single 'proper' and 'unanimous' definition of the ideological framework (cf. Seepe, 1998; Ramose, 1998). These scholars argue that throughout the world, concepts are defined contextually – including thoughts on

democracy, religion, science, academic freedom – and do not have a single 'universally' accepted definition. Therefore the term Africanisation, as used in this study, did not aim to arrive at a single agreed upon definition of the ideological framework (cf. Seepe, 1998), but rather to borrow various elements and meanings that could be attached to the concept with the objective of ultimately indicating the context of its application in this specific study (see chapter 7, 8, and 9).

From a conceptual perspective, the use of the label Africanisation generally indicates that any discussion and understanding of Africans need to be pursued from their world view and from their cultures and identities (cf. Prah, 2004; Asante, 2003; Wa Thiong'o, 1981). The perspective of the African's lived experiences, therefore takes centre stage in any discussions that aspire to center Africa and her experiences. Makgoba (1997:178) insists that it "seeks to provide a basis for originality and uniqueness that can contribute meaningfully to global knowledge and civilisation". To a certain extent, Africanisation grapples with matters of a common legacy, shared history and descent as well as the process of Africans grappling with their 'post-colonial' experiences. Suttner (2010:515) has argued that the discourse on "Africanisation arises in South Africa in the context of the assertion of values and identities that have been suppressed, and [those] which the oppressors sought to impose by displacing other [world views]" (cf. Louw, 2010; Okeke, 2012; Lopes, 1996; Asante, 2003).

Scholars such as Ramose (1998) have also argued that Africanisation hinges on the view that African understanding in its entirety is the foundation for the rebuilding of all aspects that form the appreciation of the African people and their immediate environments. This perspective contends that the African experience is not transferable and needs to be affirmed as an ideology among many ideologies that exist throughout the world today. In this study, Africanisation has been constructed as a manner of challenging, combating and transcending colonisation and coloniality. It thereby forms part of the genealogy that advances decoloniality within the current 'postcolonial' epoch. In the context of the study, Africanisation, then, becomes a form of decolonial meditation in progress. Mignolo (2011:46) indicates that:

> …decolonial thinking is, then, thinking that de-links and open to the possibilities hidden (colonised and discredited, such as the traditional, barbarian, primitive, mystic, etc) by the modern rationality that is mounted and enclosed by categories of Greek, Latin, and the six modern imperial languages.

In its approach, this study illustrates that the Africanisation of a media platform can and should be approached through the decolonial logic. It is in this context that decolonial theories have been deployed in the study (see chapter 3 for theories applied in the study). Decoloniality buttresse's the affirmation of 'Being' and it is in the context of this affirmation that Africanisation is proposed; that is, in the context of an African based community radio station. In this study, the affirmation of African identities, culture, languages and subjectivity in a media platform, arguably, illustrates the inroads that have been made towards the decolonisation of an African media institution. Furthermore, media policies (macro and micro) that guide the focus and role of a media platform in Africa also illustrate the potential and possibilities of the Africanisation of media institutions (see chapter 7 on policy documents analysed). The investigation and analysis of the Africanisation of community radio by this study is therefore timely, especially when content consumption patterns of such mediums are considered among African societies.

This consumption pattern was acknowledged by Mano (2011) where he concludes that radio remains the top consumed media platform in the African continent because of its ability to overcome several communication barriers including matters pertaining to illiteracy as well as the ability to accommodate the multiple languages of the continent. With regard to radio and other 'offshore' broadcasting cultural institutions, Mano (2011:105) further notes that "westernised communication models and media systems have been indigenised to serve local needs [of Africans]." While this may be the case, this study advances such conclusion by analysing the community radio sector of South Africa [using a case study approach] through the lens of Africanisation as a form of 'decolonising' some western cultural institutions that have become endemic among African societies (see chapter 3 on media, colonisation and de-westernisation). As concluded by Frederikse et al (1988), media platforms tend to transmit world views and social values. Therefore, in this study, the overarching theme is 'Africanisation-as-decoloniality', with a focus on using the concept in the analysis of a micro-media platform – Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

1.2 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

While primarily seeking to contribute to the renewal of scholarship on media and cultural studies in South Africa (see chapter 6), this study also aimed to apply the trans-disciplinary approach when aiming to understand the Africanisation of a media institution. In pursuit of such trans-disciplinary approach, the study has 'appropriated' scholarly contributions from various disciplines such as decolonial studies, history, African studies, sociology, ethnic studies, media as well as cultural studies. The thinking behind this study therefore illustrates that when in pursuit of decolonial knowledge, academic disciplines and their respective canons need to be transcended. Such a view has also been advanced by Gordon (2011) who argues that trans-disciplinary approaches are conducted with the aim of avoiding disciplinary decadence. Gordon (2011:98) argues that "an inward path of disciplinary solitude eventually leads to what I call disciplinary decadence…The discipline becomes, in solipsistic fashion, the world. And in that world, the main concern is the proper administering of its rules…". While the current epistemic epoch forces the study to be situated within the media and cultural studies paradigm (see chapter 6), the subject matter of this study, however, allows it to transcend this paradox by becoming a trans-disciplinary research project that is influenced and borrows from several disciplines.

Muller et al (1988) argue that it is vital in this country's self-understanding project that media and communication be examined from the perspective of the social, cultural, economic and political relationships that are at the core of its society. The rationale of this study was, therefore, to transcend disciplinary decadence by investigating a media broadcasting institution – community radio - through questions that emphasise the trajectory that has been followed in the decolonial project, which is driven by the recognition and affirmation of African personhood and its associated urgency. Therefore, the study is especially relevant in the on-going quest to renew the African continent and put African and decolonially orientated solutions to African problems (cf. Netshitendze, 1999). This study forms part of the movement which seeks to understand the inroads that have been made in 'post-colonial' Africa towards decoloniality since the end of formal settler-colonisation of South Africa (cf. Ntongela, 1988).

The study is situated in the growing response to what Curran and Park (2000) term the 'self-absorption and parochialism' of the Western media study in the rest of the world. Tomaselli and Shepperson (1999) confirm that the assumptions of media research and practice tend to assume a Global North perspective. Furthermore, they argue that media practice in Africa tends to focus on Western media concepts and practices. This manner of operating African media platforms therefore tends to discourage 'home-grown' ways of doing media in the continent. Through this study, the researcher therefore postulates that an understanding of the Africanisation of media institutions is an essential step in the decolonisation of media practice and research in Africa.

1.3 RESEARCH AIM & OBJECTIVES

As illustrated above, radio (including community radio) in the African continent has remained the top medium in the 21st century because of its ability to instantly adapt to the rapidly changing living conditions in the continent (cf. Mano, 2011). In the case of community radio, its main advantage lies in its ability to be a useful channel for communities in the process of enhanced civic and community centred engagements (Mgibisa, 2005; Olurinnissola, 2002). Community radio tends to help social groups to express their priority issues even if they live in remote communities or face linguistic, ethnic and literacy barriers. The medium is also accredited with helping to build sustained capacities, institutions and practices that enhance democracy for its often marginalised constituency, which at times is formed by the poor who live in rural and semi-urban areas (Salaza & Hammer, 2008).

The primary objective of this study was:

i) To investigate and understand how sections of the community radio sector of South Africa have been Africanised[1] by their internal and external stakeholders. This was done using the case of Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

[1] The argument of this thesis highlights that Africanisation is theorised as decolonial thinking in progress. Therefore, an understanding of Africanisation is used to assess the decolonial activities currently taking place at a community radio level. The task was to look at both the 'intentional' as well as those 'unintentional' activities which may be theorised as illustrating forms of decolonial practices in progress. Thus, Africanisation in the context of this study was conceptualised as a form of a decolonial activity in community radio practice.

Chinweizu (1999) argues that the question and challenges facing African media today is how to come up with local media that are: technologically up to date, ideologically African and Afrocentric, socially constructive and lacking vices of the global media which often depicts the African condition as that of hopelessness and backwardness. This study therefore further looked at the ideological nuances facing a community radio station in the context of its surroundings. Community radio is especially important because in Africa, these types of media platforms are generally understood to be operating in the interests of communities, especially in rural and other 'modern' infrastructure disadvantaged areas (see chapter 6 on the background of this study). It allows such communities to have outlets for community wide communication, works to enhance development and allows people to be part of the 'modern nation state' discourse (Netshitendze, 1999).

The sub-objectives that guided this study are the following:

ii) Exploring how Vukani Community Radio (VCR) has adapted its broadcasting format to suit the everyday needs of the African community it serves.

iii) Understanding how external (macro) and internal (micro) policy guidelines help Vukani Community Radio (VCR)to play its role of broadcasting content that is ideologically African.

iv) If any exist, exploring how variables such as the use of language, local voices and opinions, community cultural values and traditions, music and local stories help in building an Africanised identity of Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

As Africa moves from the settler-colonial legacies into a 'post-colonial' era with its hidden fissures and tentacles of coloniality (cf. Quijano, 2007, Wa Thiong'o, 1981), we constantly need to interrogate how its media platforms reshape themselves to suit the needs of African communities. The interrogation of how a community radio station has been Africanised is further affirmed by the need to understand how the case study (Vukani Community Radio) has reshaped itself to centre the lived experiences of its African constituencies.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

It has been reported that, within the African continent, media practitioners and trainers tend to mimic the practices of Euro-North American media practitioners (Kasoma, 1996). This practice has allowed a scenario where African experiences are predisposed to be overlooked in international debates about media practice (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 1999), and as such, has allowed the overlooking of 'authentic' knowledge about media systems and practices from the Global South and more specifically the African continent. Curran and Park (2000) note that we have started to see a routine of universalistic observations about the media and these are advanced by academics from a handful of countries. Willems (2014) also further asserts that the universalisation of the Euro-North American province has also led to the overlooking of media debates in the African continent. This study therefore generates some discussion on the decolonial role of a micro media platform that is situated and broadcasts for an African society (see chapter 6 on the background of the case study) in Africa.

This study was guided by the following key research question:

i) Using Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a case study, what assessments could be made that the community radio sector of South Africa has been Africanised by its internal and external stakeholders?

In the context of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a community radio, it becomes especially important to explore the connections that exist between this media institution and the African community it serves. Therefore, in answering the question of whether the station displays characteristics that can classify it as an Africanised media platform, the study helped to expose the character, interests and relationships that exist between an African community and the local media that serves such a community.

The sub-questions that guided this study are:

ii) how has Vukani Community Radio (VCR) adapted its broadcasting format to suit the everyday needs of the African community it serves?

iii) how do external and internal policy guidelines help Vukani Community Radio (VCR) to play its role of broadcasting content that is relevant to the community?

iv) If any exist, how do variables such as the use of language, local voices, local music and local stories help in building a decolonised identity of the station?

v) Do communities see relevance in the concept of an Africanised media platform?

This study was guided by these research questions in the process of attempting to explore whether Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a community radio station has been Africanised. Banda (2006) argues that conceptually, alternative platforms which include community radio stations have undergone some paradigm shifts (cf. Berger, 1996; Teer-Tomaselli, 2001). This study, therefore, became especially relevant in how we understand the concept of operating a community radio station in a rural and semi-urban space that is mainly occupied by Africans in South Africa. Broadcasting in the 90.6-98.4 frequency modulations, the station under consideration was established in 1993 but was granted an official broadcasting licence in 1996[2]. This makes it one of the oldest community radio stations in the country. It broadcasts to the Chris Hani District Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province. This is a semi-rural area that used to fall under the homeland (Transkei and Ciskei) system of the 'then' settler-colonised South Africa. Most of the programmes broadcast by the community radio station are locally produced and are said to contribute to the 'development' of the station's constituency. The community radio station indicates that it uses the air-waves to educate, entertain and inform the communities that it serves[3].

[2] At the time of writing, the latest listnership figures of this community radio station could be accessed in the following link http://www.brcsa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/BRC-RAM-Radio-Listening-Jan-Sep-2016.pdf

[3] This radio station mainly broadcast in the former homeland of Transkei and in small parts of the former Ciskei. The Transkei is one of several regions that were granted "self-governing" status in 1976 by the apartheid government of South Africa. Essentially these regions became some sort of 'countries' that were meant to belong to the Africans of South Africa under the apartheid era. Therefore, an African would be a Transkei(an) and this would bar them from having a legal South African citizenship. This system was popularly known as the homeland or Bantustan system. For further information on Vukani Community Radio (VCR), see: http://www.vukanifm.org/about.html

1.5 THESIS OUTLINE

The structure of this thesis is composed of several complementary chapters that constitute various debates on the major themes underpinning this study. The applied logic in organising the structure of the thesis for readability was to start from macro themes and from this vantage point move to positioning the design of the study to the conclusion as evidenced by the research findings. Thus, the thesis is structured as follows:

LITERATURE REVIEW: Chapter 2, 3 & 4 of this study constitute the major debates on the following key themes: Africanisation; Media and Africanisation as well as the Community Radio sector. In chapter 2, the discussion revolves around the idea of Africanisation as a sense of asserting plurality in the world. The chapter highlights discussions varying from the critiques of Africanisation to the proponents of Africanisation. The chapter indicates that Africanisation is derived from the broader discourse on "Africanity". It further highlights the identity question on Africanisation and ultimately buttresses the departure point for the study.The discussion concludes with a perspective on the variables of Africanisation, including culture and language. In chapter 3, the focus was on applying the concept of Africanisation to the media industry. The chapter begins by highlighting the intersection of media and Africanisation. It focuses on the history of indigenous 'media' systems, examines the colonial role of the media and ultimately applies the concept of coloniality in the media system. In chapter 3, the theoretical frameworks that have been adapted for the purpose of this study are outlined. This thesis positions Africanisation as a decolonial project, and as such, its theoretical frameworks borrow heavily from decolonial debates. The following theoretical frameworks have been applied in this study: (1) 'Coloniality of power' (2) 'Coloniality of Knowledge' (3) 'Coloniality of Being' and the (4) 'Decolonial Turn'. These are critical theoretical frameworks that have been adapted by the study.

The chapter further pursues the arguments of cultural imperialism as carried out by media platforms and lastly identifies the general functions of radio in advancing cultural affirmation. The last chapter that reviews literature in this study is chapter 4. In its entirety the chapter focuses on the community radio sector. It highlights the different conceptual departure points of the sector, looks at the history of community radio in South Africa, the different functions of community radio, and the cultural impact of this media platform as

well as the concept of community radio as an alternative media sphere. The chapter concludes by looking at the concept of 'community' within the community radio sector.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: The method of enquiry for the study was based on a decolonised exploratory research paradigm and the research strategy was based on a case study research design. Chapter 5 therefore explains the intricate details of undertaking this study using a decolonised case study research approach.

BACKGROUND OF THE CASE STUDY: The chapter that highlights the complexity of the situation as lived through Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is chapter 6 of the study. This chapter illustrates the historical and contemporary geographical context of the study, it further highlights the ethnic question as lived in the broadcast location of the study and lastly the chapter gives a brief examination of the case study itself: Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

STUDY RESULTS: The chapter's 7, 8 and 9 highlight the key research results that were used by this study to arrive at its ultimate conclusion. Chapter 7 highlights the broadcasting policy impact on Africanisation. This chapter gave a critical analysis of the macro and micro policies that have had an impact on the broadcast conditions of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). These include the Broadcasting Act of South Africa, ICASA Act, the MDDA policy on community media broadcasting as well as the micro policies applied at the community radio station to advance the African ideology by the media platform.

In chapter 8, the focus is on the data from the semi-structured interviews as derived from the research area. This constitutes the in-house broadcasting planners and executers of media broadcasting (internal stakeholders). Furthermore, internal stakeholders' perspectives were supplemented by data derived from recipients of the community radio content (external content recipients/external stakeholders). Chapter 9 focuses on the critical analysis of the content that was sourced from the community radio station. This chapter also highlights the execution of broadcasting from this sourced content, and how the idea of Africanising the airwaves was assessed.

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION: Chapter 10 of this study brings the study to a close. The chapter elucidates on the research findings as derived from the research data that were sourced

through the various means of data collection. It gives a conclusive assessment of the concept of Africanisation as evidenced from the research data. These include policy assessment that either facilitates or impedes Africanisation as well as evidence derived from interviews and content analysis. Furthermore, this chapter highlights the research conclusions.

1.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this introductory chapter, the focus has been on giving a broad introduction to this study. Thus, this chapter situates the study within the trans-disciplinary framework because it borrows key concepts and scholarly debates from several disciplines including African studies, sociology, history, media and cultural studies as well as ethnic and decolonial studies. This introductory chapter also briefly alluded to the question of understanding Africanisation as a decolonial framework. This concept has been specifically adapted to the contemporary era of community media practice (community radio) in the current epoch of coloniality. The chapter further establishes the rationale of the study; it highlights the key as well as sub-objectives of the study. Later, the focus is on the research questions that have been identified in coming to terms with the problem of Africanisation in community media practice. Lastly this chapter highlights the thesis structure as followed in organising the various debates that are contained in the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

AFRICANISATION: THE ASSERTION OF PLURALITY

The focus of the previous chapter was on the overall introduction of this study. That is where the rationale, objectives and the context of the research study were outlined. For the purpose of this current chapter, the discussion is centred on the dominant theme guiding the study: Africanising, an idea that is also aligned to the discourse of Africanity/Africanisation and decolonisation. Thus, the central objective of this chapter is to make sense of scholarly debates around the various elements that constitute "Africanisation".

South African academic discourses suggest that Africanisation still forms part of the contemporary discourse on how to indigenise the media systems of the country (cf. Fourie, 2008; Sesanti, 2011; Tomaselli, 2009; 2003; Rodny-Gumede, 2015; cf. Chapter 3 of this current study). As indicated in the previous chapter, the media industry is also understood to be a cultural industry. It portrays cultures and represents world views and identities (Hall, 1997). It is therefore imperative that, within the era of moving from settler-colonialism into a 'post-colonial' or 'democratic' period in South Africa, social research continuously would be required to interrogate how media platforms shape and reshape themselves to also suit the needs of African communities emerging from colonialism and the cultural destruction associated with the subjugation of the African personhood.

It is, therefore, also in this context that this study investigated the Africanisation of a community media platform in relation to its ideological agenda/objectives and strategies of broadcasting. Whether liberalist, communist or authoritarian, media platforms are by nature ideological. According to Teun van Dijk (2000), ideology seems to constitute certain forms of systematic ideas that are most prevalent in social, political and religious settings within a society. These are related to the lived thinking of social groups or movements within a society. "Ideologies are belief of a group and its members" (ibid: 7). As an ideology embodying philosophies about African culture, how it is lived, expressed and shapes a

society, Africanity and its associated belief systems is in this context seen to be central to the idea of Africanisation as decolonisation.

In its entirety, this specific chapter is therefore dedicated to reviewing the literature that grapples with Africanity as a contributing factor to Africanising/Africanisation. The rationale is to analyse critically selected and relevant scholarship on the broad debates that have been raised on the question of Africanity and its implications for Africanisation. While the chapter is devoted to analysing the conceptual, empirical and philosophical question on the meaning of Africanisation, it is also dedicated to reviewing literature that is sceptical and sometimes hostile to the meanings and objectives of Africanisation. The rationality of considering the 'oppositional' literature is in line with the principles of balancing scholarly literature that has been reviewed by a researcher. As Du Plooy *et al* (2014) explain, a literature review serves the purpose of providing the researcher with a firm standpoint regarding the topic, underpinning the research as well as determining the extent of the work done by other scholars in the same field. This chapter therefore covers the following issues: rationality for invoking Africanity, critiques that have been associated with Africanity, justifications for the existence of research that deals with Africanity, discussion of African culture as well as the position and context of the study in relation to the "who is an African" question that is vital in this research study.

2.1 RATIONALITY FOR THE IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION: AFRICANISATION

There exists some scholarly literature which has questioned the commitment of the African continental based media to their societies and those they serve. For instance, Kasoma (1996) has probed the ethical media practice in the African continent and noted that there is compelling evidence to suggest that African media institutions have discarded the mandate of 'serving' the people. Instead they have become self centered and inward looking in their approach to media practice. They zealously guard the operational rules they have inherited from their Euro-North American ideological ancestry. Attributes of this approach can be traced to the colonial media's normative philosophical foundations, its aims and related objectives of media blue-prints that have been un-problematically imported from the Western nexus (ibid.).

It is further noted that the situation has been so dire that even some media experts located in the Euro-North American context have questioned the African continent based media's commitment to an Africanised ideology. For instance, Traber (1989:93 *cited in* Kasoma, 1996) wrote that "if one were to subject African newspapers to a scrutiny of how rooted they are in African values and tradition; the likely outcomes would be that they are foreign bodies in the cultural fabric of Africa" (see chapter 3 for a continued discussion of the media and Africanisation). This section is concerned with providing an explanation of Africanity as a contributing factor to Africanisation. This is done within the context of scholarly discourse about the continent and the politics surrounding the definitions of what scholars mean by Africanity within the discourses of Africanisation. Sithole (2014) for instance has argued that Africanity can be seen as an expression that is meant to uphold African humanity. He indicates that it is a concept that is combative and hostile towards the Euro-North America idea of writing and thinking about African people and their surrounds. It is neither reactive nor corrective discourse. Rather it is an affirmation of the African personhood in which they express themselves from the standpoint of their existence (Sithole, 2014; cf. Mafeje, 2000).

Embroiled in a similar argument, Mafeje (2000:31) has indicated that "whilst we are free to choose the role in which to cast ourselves as active agents of history, we do not put on the agenda the social issues to which we respond. These are imposed on us by history." This argument illustrates the historical position where disempowered people have not been agenda setters, but rather have been framed to be agenda followers. Africans would not have had to proclaim their Africanity and the idea of being Africanised if these had not been denied them or degraded by epistemic champions of Eurocentric hypervisibility. Therefore, if correctly understood and implemented, Africanity has vital political, ideological and cosmological implications (ibid.).

Mukumba's (2007) scholarly work has argued that Africanity is concerned with context and local surrounds, the lived social perspective and the articulation of existence within those surroundings. In defining Africanity, the questions of African identity and African culture are central and cannot be overlooked in the dialogue. Ramose (1998) has postulated that since the colonization of the continent, the people of African descent have been subjected to several self-imposed spokespeople, who in their self-appointed righteousness, have led the way in defining the meaning and experiences of people of African descent (indigenous

Africans). Such actions are also seen as the continuation of the colonization legacy whose enforcers had appropriated and disposessed the indigenous populations of their land and their lifestyles.

The impact of colonisation is further problematized by the legacy of the racial hierarchies it inculcated. While it is justly argued that no hierarchies in human life should exist in the world (Ramose, 1998), in the context of South Africa, the logic of colonization has over several centuries established and buttressed the idea of the hierarchies in the race-social matrix systems of the country (Biko, 1978; Suttner, 2001). This has led to a legacy where white South Africans through the logic of racialising people were at the top of this chain, followed by people of Indian descent in South Africa, Coloureds (people of mixed race heritage) and lastly Indigenous Africans, who were placed at the bottom of this human hierarchy. Thus, for the current generation of indigenous African descendants in South Africa, Mafeje (2000) has argued that we would not be preoccupied with claiming Africanity if it had not been systematically denied by administrative settler colonization and systematic coloniality which underpins the supremacy of the West. Hall (1996:185) indicates that while the concept of the “West” originates from Western Europe, it is worthwhile to remember that "…the West" is no longer only in Europe, and not all of Europe is in "the West"”. The argument behind this claim seems to allude to the positionality and the manner in which Western Europeanism has been imposed on the rest of humanity through the project of European modernity and its markers which include colonisation and the ‘civilising’ mission. Therefore, in essence, most parts of the world have been westernised because of western modernity and its hegemonic presence in the rest of the world. This presence has been achieved through several crimes against humanity, including those of enslaving and colonizing.

More importantly, the history of colonization can never be shifted aside in understanding the paradox of identity and culture as lived by those who are positioned within the ‘belly’ of the Eurocentric ‘beast’ (cf. Hall, 1996). In fact, it is within the history of Euro modernity where people have been negatively defined at the social, cultural, historical and intellectual level. Therefore, an assertion of Africanisation in relation to the contemporary media industry seeks to understand how the media systems in operation today have either been trapped by the history of colonization which had consistently aimed to speak for and define

Africans (Biko, 1978) or whether a new 'post-colonial' assertion of Africanity which is Africanising media content for the benefit of Africans exists. After all, the assertion has been made that "it is only logical to suppose that when Africans speak for themselves and about themselves, the world will hear their voice, and will be forced to come to terms with it in the long-run" (Mafeje, 2000:32).

It is within this context that Africanity, African culture and African identities need to be asserted in South African society. In defining and understanding the conception of Africanity as a contributing factor to an Africanised society, Makumba (2007) further indicates that issues of African identity and African culture have become inevitable within this discourse. Therefore, what qualifies a society to be Africanised and who in this matter qualifies as an African will determine our idea of African thought processes (ibid.). Makumba (2007) therefore asserts that we can define such a concept (Africanity) as that which has in mind a person who is a descendant of Africa and is racially black. However, this scholar further opens this idea of Africanity to also include individuals, whom the scholar notes as people 'of African stock'. It is explained that it is those people who, because of historical developments, are acknowledged as having a claim to the 'Africaness' of Africanity. In understanding Africanity, there should be no de-continelisation and the diaspora African community cannot be separated from their cultural descendants. It is this argument which paves the way for the diaspora community to assert and claim their right to Africanity. The scholarly literature grappling with the understanding of Africanity is therefore varied and such variety indicates the complexity of defining identities and cultures of people (cf. Mafeje, 2000; Suttner, 2010; Mudimbe, 1988; Mbembe, 2001 and Chasi and Omarjee, 2014; Tomaselli, 2009 and Mekgwe, 2010).

Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2013:100) argued that "Africa and African identities still continue to be the subject of contestation in social and political theory as well as in practical political discourse of nationalism and Pan-Africanism". Furthermore, the task is not to consider the idea of African identities in a linear format. Rather the question of Africans should be seen as "…a collectivity organised in pursuit of a common political and cultural end due to existing diversities" (ibid: 102). Depending on the colonial context of each African 'modern state', the identity of being African has been re-conceptualised, in some instances, to include the identities of settler-colonial descendants. Mbeki (1996) in his famous speech on

"being an African" for instance argues that even the Europeans who had colonised South Africa underpin his conception of being an African (cf. Mbembe, 2015). This version forms part of the 'new' and complex definitions which seek to alter or redefine the common idea of African identity. While recognising such diversity of opinions regarding the understanding of African identity, in this study, the focus is on the experinces of an indigenous African community as lived in the research area of the study (see the last section of this chapter regarding the position and justification of African identity as envisioned by this study).

2.2 ON AFRICANISATION: CRITIQUES AND PROVOCATIONS

While various debates and meanings of Africanity in the idea of Africanising have been pursued by scholarly literature emanating from the discipline of African philosophy (Wiredu, 1980); contemporary debates and critiques on what scholars and other disciplines mean by speaking from an African perspective continues to be raised. This section aims to highlight some of the contemporary scholarly debates that have critiqued and questioned the relevance as well as the meaning behind the terms 'Africanity' and 'Africanisation'.

In his celebrated book '*On The Postcolony'*, Mbembe (2001:11; cf. Chasi and Omarjee, 2014; Cesaire, 1952) has concluded that "there is no going back over the hoary question of what it means to be African in the world". Comparing African thinkers to Jewish thinkers, Mbembe (2001) also notes that African intellectuals have been preoccupied and stimulated by a need to rebuild an African history. This determination according to Mbembe (2001) is driven by the idea of highlighting to fellow Africans and the world at large a view of their historical destiny and meaning. These objectives are also driven by the need to showcase the greatness of Africa's contribution to civilisation (ibid. cf. Diop, [1955] 1987). However, this approach has been questioned and some scholars seem to perceive it as a futile academic exercise. According to Chasi and Omarjee (2014; Mbembe, 2001) the problem with this approach is that its objectives are based on a utopian idea of how the logic of the world operates. This project also assumes that having fulfilled the objectives of 'exhibiting' Africa's history, identity and cultural contribution to the rest of humanity, the rest of the world might be open to respect Africa's contribution to the rest of humanity (Mbembe, 2001).

Thus, this debate seems to indicate that Africanisation is an exercise that only just wishes to be recognised by the rest of the Euro-North American matrix.

"To secure emancipation, they thought, required the production of an apologetic discourse based on discovery of what was supposed to be the essence, the distinctiveness genius of the black race" indicates Mbembe (2001:12). Chasi and Omarjee (2014) have further cautioned about speaking of "Africans" in academic and intellectual discourses. They argue that, in addressing the identity of Africans, scholarly literature has pointed to matters of racialisation of Africa and how such racialisation seems to be linked to a socio-economic and historical analysis that has been riddled with the structural violence of colonialism and the South African apartheid policy. Such an outlook on Africa and Africans had relied on myths that had grave notions of the ideas that are driven by the understanding of Africa (ibid.).

Chasi and Omarjee (2014) further indicate that the scholarship on Africanity has been trapped in the idea of freezing Africa and Africans in a certain time and thereby not acknowledging the fusion and the continuities and discontinuities of cultures and identities emanating from the continent as well as those from other continents. Citing the debate on 'Ubuntu' for instance, these scholars argue that as a moral understanding of Africans, the concept of Ubuntu needs to be reexamined as contemporary debates on Ubuntu seem to suggest that Africans subscribe to the same moral and cultural views over time. Such a critique therefore appears to illustrate some of the established concerns of the idea of assuming that Africans are all the same. It suggests that scholarly understanding of Africanity needs to take different generational challenges as well as social nuances into consideration when defining those that are called African and whose identities and cultural outlook seem to be attached to this lived reality (cf. Suttner, 2010). Fanon (1961:215) also critiques the appropriation of the Africanisation ideology by corrupt elites within the context of a liberated African state. In this critique, he writes:

> The native bourgeoisie waves aloft the notion of nationalisation and Africanisation of the ruling classes. The fact is that such action will become more and more a tinged by racism, until the bourgeoisie start saying 'we must have these posts'. The working class of the towns, the masses of unemployed, the small artisans and craftsmen for their part line up behind this nationalist

> attitude, but all justice let it be said, they only follow in the steps of their European bourgeoisie. If the national bourgeoisie goes into competition with Europeans, the artisan and craftsmen start a fight against non-national Africans.

Thus, at the level of the modern African state created by the project of colonisation, there is a real risk that the project of Africanisation may be captured by the elite to suit its narrow and class interests. Fanon (1961:165) indicates that when Africanisation is manipulated by the elite, we tend to see instances where "…we have passed to ultra-nationalism to chauvinism, and finally to racism". Therefore, there is a need to guard against the co-opting of the Africanisation project within the interests of the African bourgeois elite. Appiah (1992:176) is critical of the idea of 'freezing' the identity of Africans and how such an outlook is often blind to the complex and heterogeneous nature of Africa. He argues for a reshaping of the African identity to suit contemporary realities. In this he asserts that:

> If an African identity is to empower us, so it seems to me, what is required is not so much that we throw out falsehood but that we acknowledge first of all that race and history and metaphysics do not enforce an identity: that we can choose, within broad limits set by ecological, political, and economic realities what it will mean to be African in the coming years.

The argument advanced by Appiah (1992) seems to suggest that the very anchors that overtime have shaped the definition of Africanity are 'on trial'. These include race and the historical foundations that have been used to define the lived concept of Africanity (Diop, 1987, Wa Thiong'o, 1981). Appiah (1992:176) further states that "I think it is clear enough that biological rooted conception of race is both dangerous in practice and misleading in theory: African unity, African identity, need securer foundations than race". A similar argument has been advanced by Mbembe (2007:26) in his idea of "Afropolitanism" where he asserts that:

> For many, to be 'African' is to be 'black' and therefore not 'white', with the degree of authenticity being measured on the scale of raw racial difference. Thus, all sorts of people have a link with or simply, something to do with Africa – something that gives them the right ipso facto to lay claim to 'African citizenship'. There are, naturally, those called Negroes. They were born and live

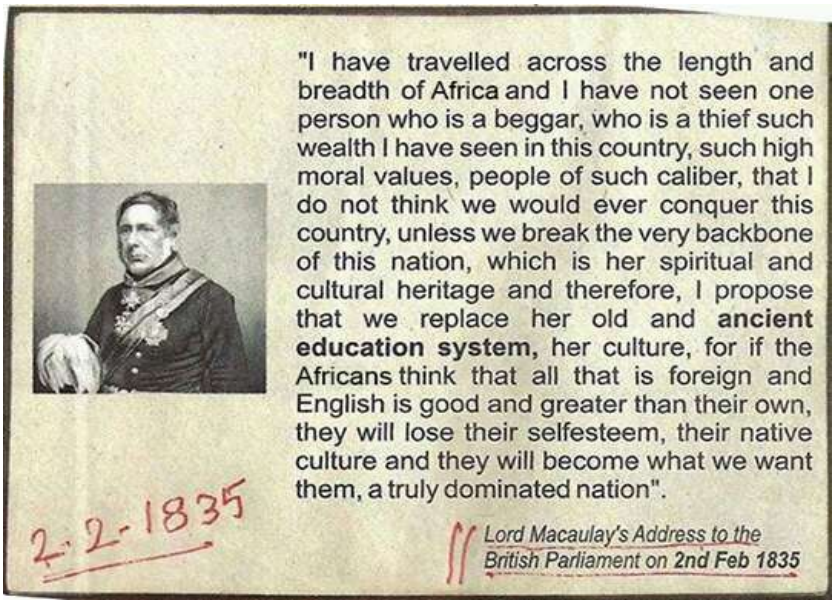
> in African states, making up their nationals. Yet, if Negro Africans form the majority of the population in Africa, they are neither the sole inhabitants nor the sole producer of art and culture of the continent.

This postulation further highlights the seemingly complex nature of culture and identities while also pursuing the questioning of identity within spaces that have been occupied by people of African descent. This assertion is firmly inserted into the debate about the evolving and changing nature of culture and the issue of fluid identities that some scholars argue as being in need of consideration (Tomaselli, 2003). Mbembe (2007) it seems, is striving to continue the argument of cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2007) by compartmentalizing it within the context of African cultures and identities (cf. Appiah, 2007; Selasi, 2005 and Ogbechie, 2008). The narrative of the debate on 'afropolitanism' seems to elevate the idea of an Africa that belongs to everyone (cf. Prah, 1997) thereby making a reference to identities that have been infiltrated to such an extent that they do not belong to anyone. Thus, the history of the coloniser and the colonised is discarded.

The power dynamics that have been shaped by this history are ignored by such assertions. The strength of Mbembe's (2007) argument seems to rest on how different groups of the world's population have permanently settled in the continent thereby claiming and 'adding' to the continent, its identities and cultures. He correctly argues that multiple individuals arrived in this continent as a result of different circumstances that made them depart their original continents of birth and residency. In the context of South Africa, such forced migration includes the Malay enslaved people that were settled in the Cape Town area by settler-colonisers as well as the indentured Indian community which was moved to this country to work on the Natal sugar plantations. Such communities arrived on the continent with their set of languages, their customs, various eating rituals, and different perceptions of fashion as well as their unique outlooks on life in general. Mbembe (2007) argues that overtime such communities have been able to see themselves as fully fledged Africans even though they originate from elsewhere (ibid.). However, this academic discourse seems to be inclined to the objective of erasing the origin and urgency of maintaining particular cultures by those who came to settle in Africa. In the need to insert such identities within that of Africanity, even their descent and how this informs culture becomes erased. Ultimately, Mbembe (2007) illustrates a cultural pattern that is more preoccupied with being

cosmopolitan instead of cultural patterns that are able to recognise and live with their differences.

The discourse on "who is or is not" an African and how one becomes an African has been a preoccupation of scholarly research for decades. On "The Invention of Africa" Mudimbe (1988) writes that the consequences and objectives of colonialism in Africa indicate that the colonisers who settled in and exploited the region had intentions of re-organising and changing the local people into constructions of the European idea. In other words, the migrant and settler colonial communities that took over the African continent had preconceived ideas about the local populations and such ideas resulted in the destruction and annihilation of the cultural identity of Africans (cf. Prah, 1997). In fact, Wa Thiong'o (2003) argued that such colonialism aimed to control the minds of the colonised. It was meant to obliterate any sense of themselves, their history and memory so that at the end, the colonised could see themselves through the prism of the colonising centre[4]. This strategy was succucintly stated by Lord Macaulay[5] in his address to the British Parliament in 1835: (source: online archives)



[4] The statements by Professor Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2003) were made in his Steve Biko Memorial Lecture address. The address was titled "Consciousness and African Renaissance: South Africa in the Black Imagination".

[5] There is an ongoing debate on whether the speech and words that have been attributed to Lord Macaulay are in infact authentic. Further information on the ongoing debate about the authenticity of the speech and it's wording can be accessed in the following link: https://thewire.in/110263/macaulays-speech-never-delivered/

Therefore, the African had to be remodelled and re-created so as to realise the ambitions of the colonising communities. This included the process of infiltrating and forcing indigenous Africans to adapt to colonial languages, cultures, identities and religions. Some of the cultures that today come to 'define' contemporary Africans in some modern states within the continent can be directly traced to those forms of superiority and racism geneology. These were imposed on local indigenous African individuals, meaning that they were not organic developments. This was therefore a process of re-inventing Africans to be 'citizens' whose ideas were palatable to those who settled on the continent – a form of epistemic violence imposed on the African subject. This form of violence was especially acute during the colonial period and in making Africans the objects of the colonial empires (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013).

Mudimbe (1988:17) further indicates that "because of the colonizing structure, a dichotomizing system has emerged, and with it a great number of current paradigmatic oppositions have developed: traditional versus modern, oral versus written and printed, agrarian and customary communities versus urban and industrialized civilization, subsistence economies versus highly productive economies". Contemporary debates on the existence of Africa, its cultures and identities can therefore be seen through Mudimbe's "paradigmatic oppositions". In this context, some scholarly literature points us to debates on African cultures versus Western cultures or on the insistence of some scholars to have new ideas of Africa and Africans instead of relying on 'authentic' African cultural arguments (Appiah, 1992 and 2007; Mbembe, 2007; Chasi and Omarjee, 2014). Mudimbe (1988:18) asserts that when cultural and religious institutions of colonisation broke the cultural unification of Africans through [the] press, audio-visual media, churches, its aims were somehow the means of trivialising the whole traditional mode of life and its spiritual framework. The potential and necessary transformation meant that the mere presence of this new culture was a reason for the rejection of un-adapted persons and confused minds".

In postulating arguments about contemporary Africa, it should be acknowledged that there is no doubt about yesterday's Africa is not being today's Africa (cf. Cesaire, 1952). However, Mazrui (2002) insists that in any type of community, or any culture that exists, its identity must be embedded in its historical backgrounds. This means that they must be aware that

past events have the potential to manifest or shape the present dimensions of a society. Thus, in culture and identity formation, history potentially intersects with the present.

2.3 RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS AND PROVOCATIONS: ON THE RELEVANCE OF AFRICANITY DISCOURSE

In some instances, media commentary in South Africa has been used to cast doubt and attack Africa's contribution to the civilisation of humanity. Writing in South Africa's national weekly newspaper, the *Sunday Times* in 2010, David Bullard[6] in a column that was titled "Uncolonised Africa Wouldn't Know What It Was Missing" argued about the apparent simplicity of Africans and how the indigenous people of the continent owed their 'new' found modernity to colonialism[7]. In short, it was a tongue in cheek and racist argument that invalidated all that had been achieved by Africans before Europe colonised it. It was an erasure of a people's identities and it rather gave an idea of a savage and simple minded people. The argument by Bullard did not appear in the Hegelian period, it rather appeared in 2010, a time when the 'global' community would have been expected to be more sensitized to the contribution of Africa to global human developments – in historical as well as in contemporary periods.

However, because of how Africa has always been seen from the vantage point of the Euro-North American perspective, the idea of a backward continent seemed to have originated from the justification and 'humanisation' of the Western colonial project (cf. Maldona-Toress, 2007). In a critique of Europe's sense of superiority, Wa Thiong'o (2012) was of the view that Africa has been observed through the European practice that has always aimed to make Europe the reference point of the achievements of all that is human in the continent. "Even African history was largely the story of Europeans in Africa. Livingston, Stanley, Speke, and Burton were the larger-than-life bearers of light to a Dark continent" concludes Wa Thiong'o (2012:67). Within the Western modernity project, this assertion illustrates that Africanity has many times been defined by or from the vantage point of the West. It is a continent that has consistently been Europeanized resulting in assertions which indicate

[6] The column by David Bullard is contained in this link: http://www.moneyweb.co.za/archive/uncolonised-africa-wouldnt-know-what-it-was-missin/

[7] David Bullard's views have also been championed by the former main political opposition leader of South Africa; Helen Zille. Her views on South Africa and colonialism can be accessed in the following link: http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2017/03/16/Colonialism-wasnt-all-bad%E2%80%9A-says-Helen-Zille

that an attempt to Africanize the discourse on this continent and its people needs to be carried out (cf. Wa Thiong'o, 2012; Suttner, 2010). Thus, the historical project of the West was not only aimed at capturing the geographic location of Africans, but rather it became a hyper visible idea in the lives of colonised Africans. As Ramose (1998) argues, Africa then needs to find its own voice and speak for itself on the interpretation of the world and the experience of its everyday life. Consequently, Africanity needs to become a visible idea among the many ideas of the world. It needs to inhabit and demonstrate cthe cultural plurality of the world.

Responding to the questioning of African thought processes; Ramose (1998) states that this erasure of Africa's contribution to the rest of the world can also be a strategy to challenge the very humanity of Africans. He asserts that such a question can be interpreted "…as another way of saying that it is doubtful if Africans are wholly and truly human beings"[8]. In our interpretation of the world and with each other as human beings, Teffo and Roux (1998) argue that what often influences these interpretations and views of the world can often be traced from the belief systems of the individual, one's personal history, the social circumstances of one's origin and the language that one speaks among other things.

These scholars show that there are views which seek to affirm that "the conception of the nature of reality varies from culture to culture, almost suggesting that different cultural communities live in different worlds" Teffo and Roux (1998:192). Whilst Tomaselli (2009) has critiqued the talk of Africanity and African culture by stating that, for the nation building processes to positively emerge, it has become vital that Africans surpass their ideas of culture, of African values and identity as that which is unchanging. What Tomaselli (2009) therefore does is to advance the debate which has argued for an all-embracing and accommodating view of culture in Africa. According to these scholars, culture is not African or Euro-North American but should rather be seen as a living and changing culture that belongs to everyone: including the settler-colonialist.

[8] In Chapter 3 of this thesis, I have advance the argument of Africanisation of media by relying on Suttner's (2010) assertions of identity erasure when everything and everyone is seen to be African. Therefore, a further response to the justification and existence of Africanity and its contribution to Africanisation can be read in that Chapter which contextualises the concept of Africanisation in relation to the media.

The ‘continental’ culture from the point of view of these scholars belongs to everyone, thus also meaning that it does not belong to anyone (cf. Prah, 1997). Such arguments have however not been able to answer the questions on identity erasure which systematically dispossesses the African people of their identities, heritage, history and cultural genealogy. Nor do these arguments speak to the issue of strategic particularisation and plurality when viewing the cultures and identities of the various ethnic communities of African descent that make up Africanity (see section on the concept of African culture for a thorough discussion on this concept). When various African people are articulating their lived realities, by default these communities’ participate in the process of Africanising a continent which has largely been Europeanized and silenced for most part of ‘modern’ history (cf. Suttner, 2001). They are in the process of African decoloniality because they articulate their world view within a world that systematically seeks to erase and silence them. Mpofu (2014) explains that in justifying the colonial domination of people of African descent in the continent by colonial empires, often resulting in great crimes, the rationale was solely the defence that people from this continent had ‘lacked humanity’. The African people had been viewed as deficient, and therefore disposable to the rest of humanity. It was a society that was seen to be below the human standards reserved for the human race; standards which have been solely established by Europeans. Africans were understood to be subhuman species that needed the eternal tutelage of the colonialists to instruct them on how to be full human beings (Mpofu, 2014).

Cultures imbibed from the Euro-North American people settling in the continent, including Euro-North American religious concepts and other concepts of monotheist ideas of religion were cultural systems that were introduced to indigenous Africans at the time of the capture of their humanity by colonialists. Discourse on the Africanisation of these ‘imported cultural’ systems is varied. However, on seeing a similar problem in the contemporary university education models of Africa, Makgoba (1997:177) writes that “the opponents of the African university are not Africans themselves, but conservative colonial descendants who fear that Africanisation challenges their identity, culture, mind set and role”. This argument therefore indicates that there is an ideological power-play in the discourse emanating from the contemporary status of ‘former colonies’ in relation to their resemblance to their localities. Scholarly discourse on the state of ‘post-colonies’ therefore

suggests that in 'post-colonial-settler' countries such as South Africa, the culture and traditions of coloniality continue to be un-problematically infused with and sometimes overshadow those of the indigenous populations (cf. Wa Thiongo, 1981; Quijano, 2007; cf. Mbembe, 2007). These cultural legacies though they have been absorbed to a certain extent and may form part of African societies and cultures, however they are yet to be decolonized, as the research legacy in South Africa indicates (a full discussion on decolonization and Africanization is advanced in the theoretical chapter of this thesis in Chapter 3).

Therefore, the ideological existence of Africanity and its justification emanate from the need to be unapologetic on the existence of a humanity that has continuously been challenged by those who uphold racist and inferiorising views of the African continent and its people who are deemed to be lacking in all things humane (Mafeje, 2000). Africanisation therefore exists in these circumstances as a rebellion against erasing the transgressions that have been committed against the indigenous people of Africa. Unlike, Mbembe (2007, 2000) and Appiah (1992) and other scholars who have argued for a progressive embrace of different cultures, including colonial cultures which, over time, have been assimilated into African cultural life; Archie Mafeje (2000) challenges this all-encompassing embracing argument and indicates that, to advance Africanity is to be involved in the conscious rejection of the thinking that calls for Africans to simply forgive and move on with their lives. "For Africans who are at the bottom of the pile, authentic representations need to connote anything more than that 'charity begins at home (a very fitting Anglo-Saxon adage) which is a conscious refusal to be turned into 'free-flouting signifiers'" argues Mafeje (2000:32).

Africanisation, therefore, becomes a way of making sense of power, whilst also grappling with the questions of 'who and what' Africans are in the contemporary cultural era. There is no question about the existence of people who are Africans. Questioning their Africanity is akin to an erasure of their identities, cultures and modes of negotiating existence (cf. Suttner, 2001). Responding to some of the critical comments made by Appiah (1992) on the branch of Africanity that historically argued for Pan-Africanism, Taiwo (1996) asserted that the critiques of the question of "who is an African" have always ignored the nuances of the debates that have been taking place around the concept of Africanity. He writes that scholars such as Appiah (1992) who have criticized this form of a continental ideology have

always showed gross misunderstandings of the sophisticated discourses and contestations that are associated with the ideologies of being African (cf. Ndletyana, 2014). This concept has always been problematically discussed and has never been accepted at a simplistic level. Thus, scholarship and debates on the qualifying indicators of being African show that it is a complex concept that is associated with fraught contestations (Taiwo, 1996; Du Bois, 1903; Wariboko, 2011; Garvey, 1923; Mbeki, 1996).

Challenging the discourse on race elimination in the debates on Africanity, Makgoba (1997) asserts that unlike those who want to erase the race discussion on Africanity, which is a vital process of Africanisation, it is important that such debates be encouraged in societies emerging from colonialism. He argues that the role of Africanisation is that of challenging and questioning the superiority mentality imbibed from colonial history. It further challenges the detrimental effect of mimicking and imitating thought processes that lead to an epistemic enslavement of Africans. The ideological concept questions how foreign and imposed cultures as well as Euro-North America ideas about the 'other' have been imposed on the African subject. Hence Makgoba (1997:178) concludes that in the case of the race and Africanity axis debate in South Africa, it is important to note that:

> The other issue in the Africanisation debate is the fact that the word African has become synonymous with race rather than humanity – the diverse people and cultures of Africa that stretch over centuries. While most White South Africans accept that they are South Africans, they have yet to accept psychologically that they are African. For them an African is Black and not White. This is largely due to our long history of racism that continues to exist amongst Whites in various forms.

Whilst the discourse on Africanity may eventually encompass the experiences of settler-colonialist decedents and other explorers who have come to make Africa their home (Mbembe, 2007) it has been noted by Ackah (1999) that indigenous African experiences are very critical in their justifications of continuing endeavours to research and study Africanity as an open entity. He buttresses this point by arguing that black experiences need to be central and at the forefront in the various means of trying to evaluate the different cultures, politics and economics of people that are both in Africa and those that are in the diaspora.

Thus, as illustrated in the background chapter of this research study (chapter 6) and the geography of the research area, the study has specifically settled on an indigenous African community of a rural and semi-urban district area that is mainly based in the "former Transkei and Ciskei" areas of the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. The area is mainly populated by indigenous Africans who in 1994 'emerged' out of a formalised and brutal structure of settler-colonialism policy.

2.4 THE CONCEPT OF AFRICAN CULTURE: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Though arriving at various and complex conclusions on the topic, some intellectual contributors have asserted and buttressed the existential idea of a culture that is African in style and orientation. The discourses on this topic have ranged from the discussion of culture in reference to language to instances where culture is seen in close reference to religion (Biko, 1978; Wa Thiong'o, 1981; Achebe, 2009 and Sesanti, 2010). In this section, the focus is on the critical discussion of culture, and more specifically on the debates about "African culture". To effectively examine and generally study the idea and the existence of culture, du Gay *et al* (1997) explain that five major cultural processes have to be recognisable (see Figure 1 below). These include: representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation. Thus, this five stage process illustrates instances where the said culture forms part of the dynamic process of representing a certain constituency, up to an instance where some of its cultural markers are 'consumed' by their constituencies. This process therefore constitutes what these scholars identify as the circuit of culture. This is a sort of cyclical process that allows scholars to analyse the "cultural text or artefact if it is to be adequately studied". The media is an important cultural entity. Of interest in this study is the idea of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as an institution that has been Africanised to reflect and portray African aspects of life, including the culture of Africans.

du Gay *et al* (1997) indicate that it is important to acknowledge that as a concept, "culture" is a vague and difficult entity to pin down. They further state that the word will continue to be thorny and so will the process of refining the ideas attributed to culture. It is also noted that the concept had also been previously used in some Euro-North American societies to

highlight a narrow understanding of the meaning behind "culture". Arguments attributed to du Gay *et al (*1997:11) further indicate that:

> During the Enlightenment, culture – and its synonym, 'civilization – were used to describe the general, universal process of human development and progress which – it was assumed – European civilization had achieved, in contrast with that of more 'rude', less civilized societies.

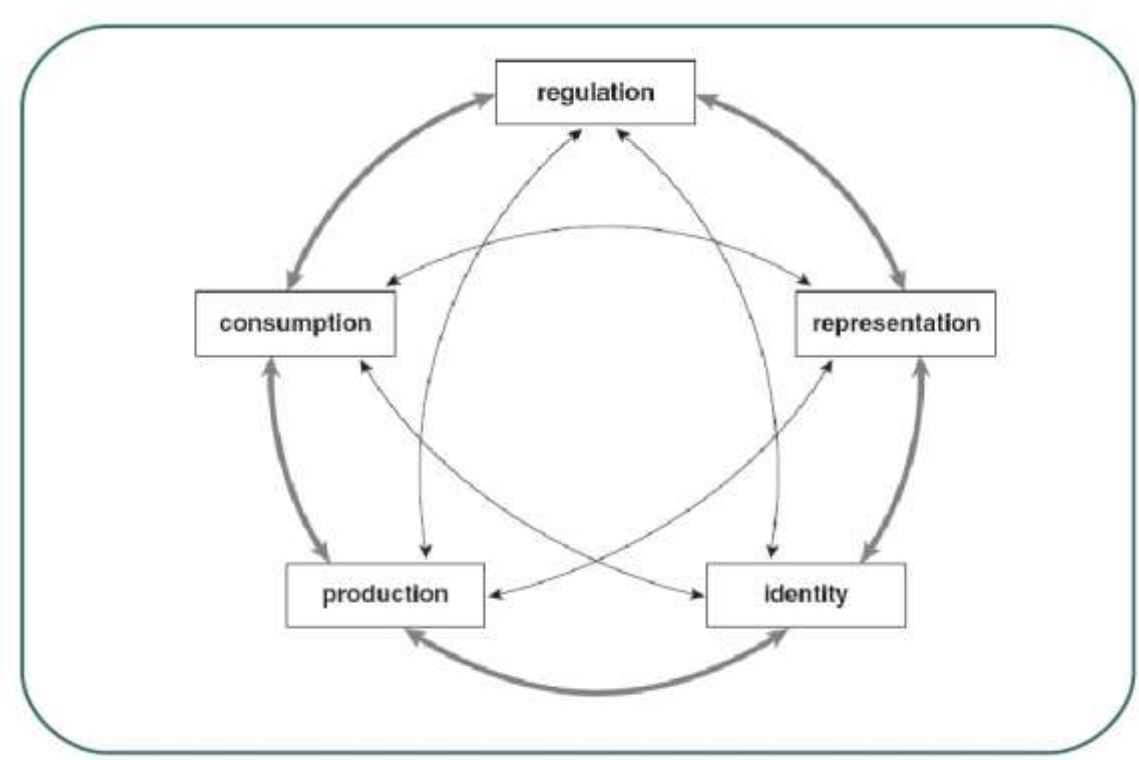


Figure 1: The Circuit of Culture by du Gay et al, (1997) - (source: du Gay et al, 1997:3)

Therefore, these scholars have alluded to the idea of some scholarly literature on 'culture' which seems to suggest that over time, this concept had come to be interpreted in a narrow sense by some societies of the world. Using evidence and examples from the Euro-North American scholarship, du Gay *et al* (1997) also assert that a restrictive interpretation of the word 'culture' had indeed developed over time (cf. Tomaselli, 2003; Sesanti, 2011). They state that this restrictive outlook has led to the concept of culture being used to refer to the "the high arts" rather than the more everyday notion of ordinary living among the so called "unsophisticated" people or that which is titled "mass culture". The latter is often applied to instances of content being beamed to large audiences using the mass media.

In the current study, interest is also expressed in the intersectionality of African culture with a small community media platform in the pursuit of Africanisation as a decolonial process of the tools of western modernity [modern day media platforms]. Arguing on the value of African culture for the continental societies emerging from official colonialism, Sesanti (2010) indicates that increasingly, several scholars have called for African culture and teachings to form part of these societies' core institutions, including educational centres and other areas of the society (cf. Diop, 1955; Biko, 1978; Wa Thiongo, 1980). The premise that inspired such directives and scholarly arguments was the idea that unless Africa takes itself seriously through paying attention to its "way of life", no society would be interested in elevating African culture. *Citing* Prah (2008) Sesanti (2010) further notes that 'postcolonial' societies in the African continent have consistently been in a situation where social scenario's that are produced in those societies continue to be removed from the cultures and realities of the people. Largely this is because an analysis of the impact of colonialism on most societies of the African continent suggests that colonialism has alienated indigenous Africans from their cultural bases. And failure to correct this development would lead to instances where communities completely lose their sense of self and cultural awareness, and thereby becoming vulnerable to cultural imperialism (Sesanti, 2010; Cabral, 1970; cf. Freire, 1970).

The demands for the recognition of African thought processes, including African culture as a way of life, are based on the idea of restoring the humanity of the oppressed (Ramose, 1998). Thus, it is a restoration of humanity that has been 'stolen' by racism, subjugation and superiority complex of cultures that have imposed themselves on African people. As earlier indicated by Mafeje (2000; cf. Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2013) "we would not proclaim Africanity, if it had not been denied or degraded, and we would not insist on Afrocentrisim, if it had not been for Eurocentric negations".

In fact, Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2013) further argues that the concept of decoloniality and liberation points us to Africanity as an affirmation of an African identity, on how Afrocentrism should be used as a liberatory methodology and how processes of decoloniality should be used as an aggressive response system to undesired and imperialist knowledge systems. Therefore, these calls aim to recognise a picture of African identities as lived through history as well as through contemporary societies. Indeed, to advance an

African cultural process is to recognise and affirm societies whose identity and existence had been omitted and devalued by other thought processes (Ramose, 1998). Mafeje (2000) also acknowledges that a discourse on Africa has been linked to racial overtones (cf. Makgoba, 1999). This scholar explains that this was inevitable as such a discourse aims to counter white racism and domination of those who are mostly descendants of the various European ethnic communities. These scholarly discourses therefore aim to advance a sense of affirmation and acknowledgement of Africans and thereby establishing a valid identity of the history and culture of such people.

The advancing "African culture" does not undermine particularism (Mukimba, 2007) and differences among the different ethnic societies that constitute the many cultures of Africa (for this study, Chapter 6 discusses the context of the ethnic groups as served by the media institution under study). In arguing about Africanisation and the centrality of African culture, identity, values and language in this process of anchoring the media in African reality, it is also important to acknowledge those elements within African culture that are recognised as negative by their constituencies. All negative elements in a community should be honestly critiqued by their constituencies. This is unlike the "Afro-radicalists and third world fundamentalists, in their extremism, (who) would only blame colonialism for the ills of their societies and forget to critique internal societal fragiles" concludes Mpofu (2014:04). Using the literary work of Chinua Achebe as an example, Mpofu (2014) illustrates that the writer (Achebe) had used his published material to even critique and denounce the weaknesses of that which is African. This was done from within the constituency of being an African. This critique from within would include violence, corruption, dictatorship, homophobia, genital mutilations and practices that have sparked the incidences of HIV/AIDS and oppression based on sexual orientation for example (Achebe, 2009; Tyali and Tomaselli, 2015).

Critiques surrounding culture should also be directed at the Eurocentric descriptions and ideas of Africa. The argument for an African culture and indicators of all that is African basically point to an affirmation of an identity that has long been denied. It is a Pan-Africanist loathing of external imposition as well as a negation of elements that always dictate to Africans (Mafeje, 2000). Mukumba (2007) argues that culture, identity and Africanity are interlinked (ibid.). In *Redefining Africanity*, Ali Mazrui (2002) has also argued

that the cultural paradigm needs to pay attention to the society from the point of view of its primary values, its beliefs, the symbols of this society, the modes of communication as well as the lifestyles approved by this society. This scholar further notes that all societies or societal cultures are obliged to observe their historical background and examine how this history has been able to manifest and shape the contemporary dimensions of the people. Gyekye (2013) informs us that when a group of human beings comes to co-exist together in a particular locality and live with each other, they develop a need to establish social frameworks that would be used as lifestyle guides. These societies start the process of cultivating certain values, practices, institutions, patterns of thought and ways of behaving. Gyekye (2013:142) asserts that:

> Culture, thus comes into being as a result of a people looking for ways of dealing with the various problems that arise out of human beings living together in a society. The problem of how to service collectively, relate to and help one another leads to the formation of a communal way of life. The culture of a people is their total way of life: it is seen in their views about what they hold to be most desirable for lives (values). In their perceptions of the universe and the postulation of some ultimate being or beings considered worthy of worship, reverence and obedience, in the ways they regulate their social and personal relations, manage the affairs of their estate and educate their children.

This argument suggests that culture is an all-encompassing way of everyday lived experiences of a people. It guides and constitutes the choices that people make daily. Wiredu (1980) argues that in the context of the contemporary life in the African continent, we are placed within a place and people that are undergoing an immense sense of transition. These are changes that are moving the people from a 'traditional society' to a 'modernist' society (cf. Mamdani, 1996). These changes can be observed not only in the spatial and physical transitions, but also in people's mental outlooks. Such outlooks often manifest themselves in the beliefs that people uphold or reject, as well as in the customs that some societies observe and the daily habits and pursuits that individuals of such societies are preoccupied with. Wiredu (1980) correctly argues that at a continental level, it cannot be concluded that the African continent has a homogenous culture (see chapter 3 for a further discussion on the heterogeneity of African identities). Whilst this is factually

correct, this scholar indicates that there are some similarities within the lived realities of the people occupying the continent. These similarities according to Wiredu (1980) justify our speaking of an "African culture" (cf. Suttner, 2010).

To speak of African culture in ethnic groups that are indigenous to South Africa is therefore to observe and affirm their humanity whilst also recognising the impact of colonisation on these ethnic identities (see discussion on ethnicity in chapter 6). It is also to understand the elements that can be conjured as informing their identities. These include the concept of Ubuntu as being part of the cultural fabric of these societies. Ramose (1998:272) indicates that:

> *Ubuntu,* understood as be-ing human (humanness); a humane, respectful, and polite attitude towards others constitutes the core meaning of this aphorism. *Ubu-ntu* then not only describes a condition of be-ing, insofar as it is indissolubly linked to *umuntu,* but it is also the recognition of be-ing becoming and not, we wish to emphasize, be-ing and becoming.

Thus, the act of recognising the humanity in other beings is central to the cultural outlook of African societies. Writing on the importance of culture in national liberation, Cabral (1970) outlined that:

> The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological or idealist plane of the physical and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to be dominated. Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history, by the positive or negative influence which it exerts on the evolution of relationships between man and his environment, among men or groups of men within a society, as well as among different societies[9].

Therefore, the African concept of culture becomes important in all manners of resistance to dominance and imperialism. Dominance can manifest itself in various avenues of the society, including in religious, political and economic avenues (Cabral, 1970). Soetna (2001)

[9] The comments by Amilcar Cabral (1970) were presented at Syracuse University as part of Eduardo Mondlane Memorial Lecture. The comments are available on line and can be accessed at: http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/cabralnlac.html

writes that African culture should be seen as a resistance phenomenon. This culture is further described to include a people's entire life outlook when it comes to the norms that are upheld, ethos of the society, the values of the society, including issues of discipline, elder-youngster relationships, and communality within those societies (ibid.). Culture further includes details of conduct that is socially acceptable, general approaches to life, religion, ideology and philosophy of the particular identifiable society (Soetna, 2001). African culture includes communal and informal education, society's technology as well as their use. The role of this culture is therefore to structure and regulate the workings of social institutions that shape the life of a people. It can be closely analysed on the cultivated and socially imposed behaviour of a society that is communally transmitted from one African generation to the next (Soetna, 2001). For Awoniyi (2015:4), the concept of culture for African societies can be closely examined "as the totality of the way of life of African people including their tangible and intangible products, habits, customs, thoughts as well as the arts, technology, music, literature, theatre, health, drama and education." This argument by Awoniyi therefore illustrates the established notion of culture being closely intertwined with the lived outlooks of societies existing in Africa by Africans. In most of the 'Bantu' speaking communities of Africa, Ubuntu is often seen as an existential cultural philosophy that binds all members of such societies. Ramose (1998) ultimately indicates that Ubuntu is at the very root of the African thought processes. Thus, the very process of being African in the world is also seen to be fundamentally attached to the concept of Ubuntu. Whilst scholars such as Fourie (2008:63) have gone further to describe Ubuntu as "derived from the Zulu maxim of *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, meaning 'a person is a person through other persons' or I am, because of others'", Ramose (1998) has indicated that the maxim of explaining Ubuntu in the English language limits the exhaustive understanding of the term.

Therefore the media as part of social institutions and the cultural industry, and the cultural dominance within such a platform- media institution - allows scholars to critically analyse the power and culture being beamed to a particular society. In the context of this study, the assessment of Africanisation of a media platform is therefore linked to an understanding of the presence of African culture on the community's airwaves. It is an understanding of Africanity as a lived cultural identity (B'beri, 2008). Mafeje (2001) concluded that it is

trusted that honest research into Africanity will, in the end; help to produce a genuine understanding of African cultures and heritage. Such understanding it is believed will lead to the development of theories and paradigms that will allow those who are indigenous to the African continent to intellectually curtail foreign dominance and thus implement an independent identity for Africanity (Mafeje, 2001).

2.5 ON RACE AND AFRICANITY

At a time when the African continent has been compartmentalised into different countries by the Berlin Conference (Wa Thiong'o, 1981; Achebe, 2009; Van Reybrouck, 2014 and Wariboko, 2011), the idea, importance and relevance of who is an African in the discourse of African culture has been raised (Mboti, 2015). Addressing this questions of 'who is African', Prah (1997) indicates that in most instances, the contemporary understanding of being African has been aligned to citizenship (cf. Mbembe, 2007; Selasi, 2005 and Appiah, 1992, 2006). This scholar critiques this idea and notes that this is a distortion of the concept of Africanity. The notion of Africa being an open space which is up for grabs by anyone (Mboti, 2015) who comes into the continent has been delegitimised by this scholar. Prah (1997:34) rather suggests that:

> Without the recognition and usage of our historical and cultural baggage, we are no people. All people in the world develop and advance based on their culture and history, while absorbing whatever can be absorbed from outside which improves what they already have, without abandoning their own.

Unlike the suggestion of a melting-pot, cosmopolitan and 'afropolitan' cultures that are said to exist in Africa (Appiah, 1992, 2006; Selasi, 2005; Mbembe, 2007) but cannot be said to be exclusively/purely of "African descent", the argument by Prah (1997) suggests that Africanity and African culture can, on their own terms, determine which of the "outside" or foreign cultures it wishes to absorb and those it wants to ignore while still maintaining the idea of an African culture. It is also worth noting that the thinking that advances the concept of African culture has been refuted by some scholarly work in cultural studies of South Africa. Tomaselli (2009) for instance has argued that nation-building talks are against what he calls the 'hyper-real notions' of meaning. Such scholarship has called on people of African

descent to transcend their ideas of understanding cultures and identity and instead embrace a cosmopolitan approach to the cultural discourse on Africa.

In addressing the context of research respondents in relation to the question of Africanity, African culture and African identity, this study has only limited itself to indigenous Africans who, at the time of this study, resided in the geographical area covered of broadcasting by the community radio station (also see chapter 6 on the background of the case study). Similarly, for the ideas of black philosophy that emerge as the thought process of those who are at the bottom of interlocking oppressions (Mills, 2013) in their conceptualisation of the idea of "African", this study chooses to be aligned to the indigenous African people of the area. Therefore, its conception of "African" is progressively aligned to those individuals that are often systematically oppressed by Western modernity, colonisation and neo-colonisation of South Africa. Mills (2013) asserts that to be aligned with blackness [and African in particular] simply implies the act of taking a particular position, a position that is particular within that which is seen to be the nexus of multiple oppressions that have been created by colonialism and coloniality (Mills, 2013). It is the European expansionist ambitions in the contemporary era that have internationalised race and in the process, have exported white supremacy to all centers of the world. Therefore, the process of focusing exclusively on indigenous Africans does not aim to deny how people of European and other geographically non-African countries have over time inserted themselves into the matrix of 'being African' (through citizenship or otherwise). It is also not to deny the existence of a limited number of progressive white people who have overcome the supremacist logic and socialization into Whiteness and have demanded the ending of all forms of subjugation.

While some scholars have opted to advance the question of Africanity in relation to citizenship (cf. Prah, 1997; Mbembe, 2007, Selasi, 2005), it is also impossible to ignore the question of race in the unfolding discourse of Africanising a society (cf. Suttner, 2010). This further attest to Mafeje's (2000) statement which argues that Africanity has developed racial overtones in its nature because of how it is also directed at the act of countering white hegemony and racism. It is a philosophy of thought that is intended to restore dignity and recognition of indigenous Africans and thereby assist in establishing the historical identity and culture of people of African descent.

Mafeje (2000) concludes that at this juncture, Africanity should be seen as a discussion that makes it important for African people to be able to differentiate themselves from people of other descents. In the context of the racial question and Africanity, Mekgwe (2010) has argued that in South Africa for instance, the use of either "Black" or the use of "African" points to the complexity of defining and understanding Africanity. It is indicated that this complexity points to the on-going problems in the contemporary and future understandings of Africa. She indicates that traditionally, the African has normally been defined based on geography and the colonial inscriptions of differentiating people along racial lines. It is on this basis that "African" is sometimes preceded by "indigenous" in the quest to demarcate the concept of being African that is instrumental in this study.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In summary, the politics of who and what is African is still entrapped in the evolving discourses of how people inhabiting the continent begin to define themselves. The focus of this chapter was on scholarly debates in the continuing contestations about Africanisation. In disecting these debates, this chapter also highlighted the idea of Africanisation and how it pluralises the concept of culture and also how this points to the idea of a world consisting of multiple approaches to the idea of decolonisation. To reach a balanced discussion of the concept, the chapter detailed the critiques as well as those arguments that are in favour of Africanity. To further contextualise the concept of Africanity in relation to the study, the chapter detailed the concept of African culture and how this is relevant in the quests for Africanisation.

The literature reviewed in this chapter aimed to contextualise the question of Africanisation in relation to the continuing arguments of Africanity. Having detailed the discourse that questions and supports Africanisation as well as the debate on African culture, the chapter lastly detailed the position of the study in relation to the race and Africanity question. The discussion and conclusions arrived at in this chapter are not the entire and definitive discourse of the role of Africanity in Africanisation. Rather, they are selected and relevant arguments that are important to the objectives of this study.

The following chapter is a discussion of Africanisation and the media. It highlights the many ways in which media institutions have an important role to play in the process of identity

formation and sustenance. The chapter also illustrates how media platforms have been used to advance the project of subjugating people and their identities.

CHAPTER 3

MEDIA & AFRICANISATION: DEPARTURE POINTS

As mentioned in the previous chapter, media platforms are often seen as important depositories of ideology. Largely this is because they are filled with overt and subliminal intentions. Hayman and Teer-Tomaselli (1989) indicate that broadcast media, in fact, are usually regarded among the carriers of ideology in both the Global North and Global South. These academics further suggest that radio programmes, including on air discussions, speech, music and other sounds that are broadcast by the medium have socio-political and cultural underpinnings. "Ideology operates to interpellate individuals through the apparently obvious and normal rituals of everyday life" argue Hayman and Teer-Tomaselli (1989:2).

Taking into consideration the media and its ideological impact, this chapter's central objective is to review selected literature and theoretical frameworks from the following areas of academic discourse: a cursory investigation into the development and history of 'modern' media systems in Africa, with a further analysis of the development of 'modern' media platforms in the South Africa context. This is done against administrative/settler colonial projects which played particular roles in the use of such 'modern' media platforms within the African continent and specifically in South Africa. The chapter further looks at the theoretical frameworks that were instrumental in the argument of this study including: coloniality of knowledge, coloniality of being and coloniality of power.

While most scholarly research has been preoccupied with contemporary aspects of modern media systems, this chapter broadens our understanding of the 'media' by conducting an overview into the indigenous media systems that originally existed within the continent. To highlight the on-going impact of colonialism (coloniality), the study further focuses on the concepts of coloniality in relation to media practice in South Africa. This discussion seeks to answer the question of whether 'the empire has really left the colonies within the media practice sphere?' (cf. McCracken, 2014). Such a question continues to receive research and scholarly attention including questions that have been advanced by Castro-Go´mez (2007:

428). He asks whether "do we live in a world where the old epistemological hierarchies made rigid by modern colonialism have disappeared, or on the contrary, are we witnessing a postmodern reorganization of coloniality?"

These questions cannot be entirely answered in this study until we are familiar with the academic movements that seek to dislodge media studies research from the 'West'. This chapter therefore takes into consideration the academic discourse on De-Westernising media practices and the epistemological value of such discourse in matters of decolonisation. This is important because while this study investigates the concept of Africanising in relation to a micro-broadcast media institution, the bigger objective of the research is to position the study findings in the growing discourse around the decoloniality of modern media systems in the Global South.

3.1 A BRIEF EVALUATION OF 'ANCESTORS' TO CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN MODERN MEDIA SYSTEMS: INDIGENOUS MEDIA SYSTEM IN AFRICA

The primary objective of this section is to problematize and historicise the concept of the 'media' as illustrated by the original understanding of this concept within some African societies. Thus, the section is concerned with 'rethinking' and 'reconceptualising' the idea of media institutions, as illustrated by some communication practices within some societies in the continent. Postulating on the destruction of indigenous knowledge systems in Africa, Ansu-Kyeremeh (1998:1) has argued that "there is little recognition of the extent to which the forcible superimposition of Western socio-political structures and values during colonization has suppressed or obliterated valuable indigenous institutions and practices." Africanisation in this study partly considered the presence of culturally relevant and locally grown approaches to practicing media broadcasting at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) and thereby understanding the rootedness of the community radio station as a broadcasting platform which is grounded in the African community within the borders of the Chris Hani District municipality in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. To contextualise these objectives, it became imperative to briefly historicise the concept of indigenous media systems in the African continent.

Some research literature suggests that before the contemporary Western modern and normative role of 'modern' media institutions had been entrenched in this continent, a large majority of ancient African societies relied on indigenous means of communication to spread messages that had been intended for public consumption (Ziegler and Asante, 1992). These scholars have argued that indigenous forms of communication in Africa have been a casualty of indifference and ignorance when it comes to research related to modern media practices in this continent. As illustrated by Uwah (2012) communication today is basically intertwined with some pre-modern practices and also those practices emerging within the Western modernist system of electronic media practice that are often used to interpret and share meaning within contemporary societies.

To indicate how ancient Africans practiced communication using media related practices, Ziegler and Asante (1992) invoke the examples of the indigenous people in Egypt (Kermit) and the San people of Southern Africa. In ancient Africa, it was noted that the Egyptians used hieroglyphics – large picture signs – to share and communicate ideas. These were used to communicate with civic communities on issues that were of public concern. Using today's contemporary understanding of the functions of a media institution; such signage can be seen as a form of print media practice that was popularly used for public communication with members of the community. The rock art communication system of the San community has also been theorised (ibid.) as another form of sophisticated 'pre-colonial' media system which was used by the San community to identify their communities, to record events, illustrate cultural events and sometimes warn people of wild animals that were roaming their surroundings. The printing press of Muslim Africa also point to a sophisticated means of using printing presses and media institutions for various purposes in ancient Africa (Bang, 2008; Stewart, 2008; Hunwick, 2008). "Expert readers and writers, paper and copyist, books – original and copies – were circulated between Timbuktu and its regional counterparts" Diagne (2008, 5). In relation to the ancient technology and printing press role that was played by Muslim Africa and Timbuktu in particular around this era on ancient forms of writing and publishing, Diagne (2008:3) notes that "Timbuktu may be hard to get to but it played an essential role as a center of scholarship under the Songhay state until the invasion from the Marrakesh in 1591, and even thereafter it was revived". Some of these presses "launched an extensive programme of printing key Omani texts written in North Africa and

pressed as manuscripts in Oman" (Bang, 2008:351). These examples thus demystify the idea in some African communities of media system as having been introduced by the Western colonial system. They indicate that the media has been integral and central to the daily activities of some African societies.

Further academic enquiry into various forms of indigenous media systems has been advanced by Ansu-Kyeremeh (1998) who has argued that when talking about the "media", we need to do away with the narrow thinking which assumes that this concept is only that which constitutes 'technology-oriented' communication system. The auxiliary reasons are that the conceptualisation of the term "media" needs to transcend technology oriented communication system to include the Global South's endogenous communication channels. In this instance, endogenous implies the home-grown social and cultural elements and practices that characterised ancient Africa and which in some instances still constitute present cultural expressions of societies within the African continent. Endogenous media are therefore used in some cases of communication research to indicate the culturally relevant media systems that had existed within the continent (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1998; cf. Ziegler and Asante, 1992).

The point of flourishing indigenous media and communication systems in the continent is further advanced by Chinweizu (1999) who argues that 'pre-colonial' Africa had its own established forms of communication and media systems. These were endowed with their own symbolism and cultural relevance. In this Africa which had neither been colonised nor imperialised by the progress and the vices of Western modernity, town-criers, prophets and griots conducted the functions of the media. Chinweizu (1999) explains that in these societies, the responsibility of each town-crier was to 'broadcast' news to the citizens. Idiophonic communication instruments have been acknowledged as important indigenous media systems that were and continue to be used in some parts of Africa. Wilson (1998) indicated that these constitute media and communication instruments that produce a message and are often used to yield signals for the cultural and public communication benefit of a society.

However, within the course of the colonial and Western imperialism projects in Africa, the act of 'modernising' the continent has led to an unnatural 'De-Africanisation' and this has

been acknowledged to be tearing the continent from its indigenous and cultural roots (Deegan, 2009). Such developments have been unfortunate for indigenous communities because the act of communication is often located under specific cultural bases (Ziegler and Asante, 1992). For ancient Africa, such forms of group or mass communication were sustained by indigenous media systems. However, as is the case with societies whose history has been tainted by Western colonialism, most indigenous forms of media have been undermined by the Western-centric media and its technologies.

Patrick (2014:122) identifies cultural/media imperialism as the process which is responsible for the on-going "erosion of cultures in many 'developing' countries in Africa and around the world". This systematic genocide of non-Western cultures is evidenced by the imbalance in the world communication tide. Because culture influences media representation and practices related to it (Martin and Nakayama, 2011), it becomes imperative that the context of the societies in which media practice is undertaken be properly understood. Hence this current study investigated the media and Africanisation praxis in a community broadcasting environment. In reference to the centering of African culture, Ntongela (1988) explained that South Africa needs a certain sense of nativist and Africanisation research so as to inculcate in media practitioners that the country is culturally, intellectually and historically an African country. He also argued that such research should acknowledge the other world views, including those of the West. However, without the privileging of Africanity in media systems of this continent, the lived experience of the people and cultures emanating from its societies risk going systematically unacknowledged.

3.2 ROLE OF MODERN MEDIA SYSTEMS IN [SOUTH] AFRICA: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

3.2.1 The media and the settler relationship in Africa

This section gives an overview of the history of the media in some parts of the African continent. Its aim is to merely capture some important developments and genealogy of the modern media project. In understanding and analysing aspects of contemporary modern media developments in Africa, it was necessary for the postulations of this study also to be contextualised from the historical media context and practice. This objective better allows

researchers and analysts to foreground the contemporary ideological functioning of the media and its related history which may influence the contemporary functioning of the media in most societies emerging from direct settler and administrative colonialism. Nyamnjoh (2005:172) has asserted this point by arguing that "just as it is dangerous to blame everything on the past, it is equally dangerous to deny the power of the past in shaping the present."

As indicated in the section above, the indigenous means of communication (endogenous media systems) have overtime been largely eroded by colonial practices including some of today's western-centric media practices. Thus, in this context, research literature suggests that most media platforms existing today, including radio broadcasting, were designed as part of colonial ideologies and related policies (Mano, 2011; Rønning& Kupe, 2000, Rosenthal, 1974; Switzer and Switzer, 1979; Mhlambi, 2015). This point is further affirmed by Fanon (1965:69) who argues that "Radio-Alger, the French broadcasting station which has been established in Algeria for decades, a re-edition or an echo of the French National Broadcasting System operating from Paris, is essentially the instrument of colonial society and its values". In this sense, the modern media industry is directly connected to the many colonial and cultural institutions that were used to buttress the colonial culture and contemporary public sphere in Africa (Ziegler and Asante, 1992). As a member of the media industry ecosystem, radio platforms, therefore, have a legacy that is directly linked to the days of colonising the African continent (Rønning and Kupe, 2000). Historical literature on the development of the modern media systems in Africa therefore concludes that the media industry cannot be divorced from the legacies of colonialism. It is an important cultural institution that exemplifies how people make sense and represent their social worlds (Hall, 1997).

To forge an all-comprehensive and inclusive future of the media industry within the African continent, researchers have argued that the modern systems of communication should borrow from 'ancient' traditional and culturally relevant systems of broadcasting (Ziegler and Asante, 1992; Chinweizu, 1999). These arguments mainly borrow from the conventional thesis that Africans had established cultures and sense of community that evolved from one generation to the next (cf. Mafeje, 2002). Therefore, an acknowledgement of this culturally relevant history and contemporary developments within the African systems of

broadcasting would positively contribute to the evolving discourse on the need to decolonise 'offshore' cultures and colonial institutions that exist in South Africa today (cf. Mbembe, 2015).

Research literature on media history has argued that the Euro-North American project of colonisation would eventually alter the natural development of Africa's communication system through the imposed and often forceful introduction of modern media platforms that were originally used for the purpose of colonisation (cf. Barber, 2009; McPhail, 2009). Just as in most parts of the colonised world, the concept of economic, social and cultural domination that was established by Europeans over the conquered communities (Quijano, 2007) had a debilitating effect on the colonised and their cultural institutions. Aided by modern media, in most instances, Western culture became the 'universal' culture (Hall, 1997).

Ziegler and Asante (1992) for instance argue that the introduction of the European type of printing press within the African continent can be traced back from the 17th to the 18th century. Whilst Peterson and Hunter (2016:7) argue that in "in most of Africa the origins of the newspaper lie in the Christian missionary endeavors". They state that in West Africa, in the modern state of Nigeria the modern media establishment started in 1859, in Togo it started in 1890s whilst in Southern Africa it started with the introduction of Umshumayeli Wendaba in the modern state of South Africa between 1837 and 1841 (ibid.). Thus "colonial governments were quick to adapt the technology of print in order to disseminate information to their subjects" (Peterson and Hunter, 2016:7). According to Barber (2009), the introduction of modern media in Africa would virtually shape and impact on most of Africa's popular culture, including the production, dissemination and consumption of news.

While an alignment of media and colonialism is generally acknowledged within the African continent, Banda (2007) warns that the task of attempting to undertake a historical literature review on the whole continental media industry is a difficult endeavour. Among noted stumbling blocks in attempting this research task is the sheer size of the continent. Thus, the vast cultural, colonial and political differences in the continent have led to 'patchy' historical media research (Banda, 2007). However, what remains uncontested by researchers and academics when it comes to the continent's modern media history is the

established thesis that this industry is highly implicated in Western type of colonialism that was imposed on the continent (Ziegler and Asante, 1992). As stated above, this history was directly linked to the objectives of the colonising empires.

Faringer 1991 (*cited in* Banda, 2008) for instance suggests that in English colonised Africa, the early media structure was constitutive of the following: (1) official government gazettes, (2) missionary press, (3) privately owned press journals, and later, (4) the underground political and anticolonial media (cf. Switzer and Switzer, 1979; cf. Johnson, 1991; Ndletyana, 2008; Raubenheimer, 1991). Additional research literature has further postulated that the historical role of the media during the colonial period further included the ambitions of colonial expansion, articulating the concept of African nationalism, the "palliative treatment" of the indigenous populations, the colonialist federalism, capitalist expansion and the missionary projects (Banda, 2008). For the purposes of colonial expansion, the mass media was mainly used to inculcate the belief that colonialism was a modernising practice that was provided for the benefit of the native (Fanon, 1961). In essence, this research literature suggests that these media platforms were largely never designed to incorporate the indigenous views and positive perspectives of colonised Africans (cf. Ziegler and Asante, 1992).

The historical role of the media in buttressing the importance of the colonial project has also been linked to the project of African cultural destruction by colonisers. More importantly, for this colonial task to have any sense of credibility, those that 'were' colonised (mainly indigenous communities in Africa) had to be convinced that this was for their own benefit. This persuasion of Africans to embrace the colonial project took the form of what Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986:4) terms the "cultural bomb". According to Thiong'o (1986:4):

> The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland.

The media therefore was an important weapon in justifying the perceived inferiority of indigenous cultures and thereby entrenching the superiority of the colonisers' cultures. In

relation to such colonial attempts, Quijano (2007) has argued that the relationship that came to exist between European culture and the rest of the world was that of 'subject' and 'object'. This subject and object relationship also validates Edward Said's (1977) hypothesis on the co-existence of "the occident" and "the Orient". As explained by Said (1977), the former represents the West and the later represents some 'former' colonies of the West; that which is the 'other'. These arguments also suggest that since the inception of the coloniser-colonised 'relationship', the terms of engagement have always taken the perpetual teacher-student relationship. The historical role of the media has thus been instrumental in maintaining the colonised-coloniser synchronicity.

Besides these stated historical and colonial roles of the media, arguments by Ziegler and Asante (1992) have further noted two additional functions that were served by colonial media. They state that the most important function of this media was to provide the settler-colonial community with news from the Western metropolis (London, Paris, Rome, Munich, Lisbon and Brussels). Thus, for the white settler public, media institutions became an important source of information about 'home'. "On the farms, the radio reminds the settler of the reality of colonial power and, by its very existence, dispenses safety, serenity" Fanon (1965:71). Fanon (ibid.) further notes that:

> Radio-Alger is a confirmation of the settler's right and strengthens his certainty in the historic continuity of the conquest, hence of his farm. The Paris music, extracts from the metropolitan press, the French government crises, constitute a coherent background from which colonial society draws its density and its justification.

Therefore during the era of direct and official settler colonialism, the media also gave access to the world of the colonial settler public by reporting on events, personalities and activities of the colony. The information carried by these media institutions was mainly news 'of and for' the small settler communities within the colonies. Research literature also indicates that the interest of the African population – social, economic, cultural and political – was largely ignored by these colonial media (Banda, 2008; Ziegler and Asante, 1992). After the inception of the Western media in Sierra Leone, research illustrates that the next colonies to have their own modern media platforms were Egypt (1799) and South Africa (1800). For

other African colonies, it would take a number of decades for the modern media systems to be introduced. In Ghana for instance the Western press system only started operating in 1857, Nigeria 1890, Uganda 1911 and Togo in 1924 (ibid.). However, the common denominator in all colonised Africa is that the modern media had its genesis in the interest of maintaining colonialism in the continent.

With the emergence of anti-colonial campaigns in the African continent, modern media systems were also adopted by Africans in their pursuit of cultural, economic and political decolonisation. Ziegler and Asante (1992) argue that the establishment of the black press in Africa was an important process of Africanising the media (cf. Sesante, 2007). To illustrate this point, some researchers have for instance argued that the establishment of *Imvo Zabantsundu* in South Africa by John Tengo Jabavu signalled an intention by Africans to have their own media spaces that spoke from their world view (Switzer and Switzer, 1979; Johnson, 1991). Ntongela (2003:3) reasoned that the media system established by colonised Africans under this era was mainly used "as cultural and political pathfinders in their search for direction toward modernity". Largely these decolonial media institutions therefore were 'alternative' press journals that were established and managed by Africans.

Besides the print media institutions, later day broadcasting media system were introduced and sustained with the same objectives as those that had seen the establishment of the colonial print media system (cf. Lekgoathi, 2011; Mano, 2011, Rosenthal, 1974). Thus, they were also aimed at benefiting the settler community in its advancement of cultural, political and economic destruction of the African masses. According to Ziegler and Asante (1992) this electronic colonial media's main objective was also to reflect the colonial government's official view (cf. Lekgoathi, 2011). Whilst many of these platforms were seen not to be official entities of colonial governments, research literature suggests that what is indisputable is their role in entrenching the ideology of the colonial powers. Though established for the benefit of the colonial project, some of these media systems were positively received by the indigenous African communities of the continent. Mazrui (2009) provided the rationale for this uptake by indicating that the affordability of broadcast media and their friendly usability, made such media institutions an instant success among African communities.

3.2.2 The colonial media *in* South Africa

The historical literature on the South African media suggests that its genealogy is like that of other 'former' colonies within the African continent and to a large extent; this history of the media has had an impact into the structuring and functioning of contemporary media within the country. Wigston (2008) for instance insists that the current understanding of the nature and structure of the South African media has largely been influenced by the past of the industry. Such arguments are explicable as noted by, Upadhay (2013:263) when he asks, "what happens if histories of indigenous genocide, dispossession, displacement and colonization are forgotten from the genealogies of racism and colonialism" in relation to the urgency of continuously researching institutions that are historically connected to the oppression of colonised masses.

Thus, if the contemporary operation and understanding of the media in South Africa has been influenced by the history of its development, then it is important to probe the history of colonialism and racism in South Africa and how such history possibly informs the decolonial debates within the media industry (Chiumbu, 2015). Wigston's (2008) arguments, for instance, suggest that the task of understanding the media in South Africa needs to be contextualised within the role of that history and its influence on the contemporary media industry. Reviewing of literature on the history of the media is, therefore, justified by research that continues to be undertaken into the intersection of the past and the present in current media roles. Such review of literature is especially relevant in this current research study which investigates a 'post-colonial' South Africa media platform in relation to the ideas of Africanisation as a form of decolonisation. Collins (1993:85) has suggested that:

> The broadcasting and media system which post-apartheid South Africa will inherit from the apartheid state shares a major characteristic with South Africa society as a whole. Like the economy, South African broadcasting and newspaper press is dominated by monopolies or quasi-monopolies in both public and private sectors.

Furthermore, this media industry has mainly been dominated by white colonial capital (ibid.). Therefore, whilst this analysis mainly alludes to the control of the media and the

need to transform such control, it can also be deduced from such analysis that for everything that remains unchanged when it comes to systematic transformation of the industry, the consequences would be the continuation of colonial cultures, traditions and attitudes that had been historically entrenched in South Africa's media institutions (Chiumbu, 2015). Tomaselli (1989; Wigston, 2008, Collins, 1993) indicate that broadcasting in South Africa has largely been led by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) since 1936. In its earlier stages of development, this South African public institution was systemically modelled on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The modelling of this country's public broadcaster also potentially underscores the coloniser-colonised relation that existed between South Africa and Britain. In this respect, Zaffirro (2002:40; Rosenthal, 1974) argues that:

> In most of 'British Africa', radio development resulted from, long-term cooperation between colonial administrations and BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) consultants, engineers and managers, beginning in the late 1940s and lasting well into the post-independence period

The involvement of the BBC in South Africa's largest broadcasting tool also indicates the extent to which the country's coloniser was involved in setting up platforms and institutions that would also contribute towards the shaping of the identity and culture of the 'post-colony' for generations.

The print media of the country on the other hand has been largely dominated by the commercial sector with virtually no officially recognised community media until the 'end' of what Frantz Fanon (1961) calls the compartmentalised colonial strategy of South Africa – apartheid. When it comes to the origins of radio broadcasting, research literature has illustrated that from 1919-1936, the elementary processes that would later be ancestors of today's radio broadcasting system in the country were initiated by small private parties (Rosenthal, 1974). According to Wigston (2008) these included the rudimentary gramophone and elementary music broadcasting by John Samule Steeler, Reginald Hopkins and Arthur Sydney Innes. Largely these were experimental broadcasting projects (cf. Tomaselli, 1989; Rosenthal, 1974).

With the nation's radio broadcasting foundations established through the experimental broadcasting projects in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg, subsequent developments within the broadcasting industry would include the formation of the African Broadcasting Company (ABC) (1927). This institution brought about some standardisation and centralisation in the coutry's broadcasting system (cf. Rosenthal, 1974). All the experimental projects were centralised under the ABC. Following the formation of this company, the next big development in history of the country's broadcasting media was in 1936 when the country's public broadcaster began working as an entity. Fourie (2001) outlines the broadcasting periods as follows: 1919-1936, this period saw the emergence and establishment of radio in South Africa; 1936 marks the year when the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was established; while in the year 1994, the broadcasting system was remodelled to serve a democratic constituency. In 1936, a broadcasting legislation was passed for the broadcaster to start complementing what had been English only broadcasting with the Afrikaans language as well. These developments firmly established the standardisation of English and Afrikaans as languages which were a norm in the country's society. For the rest of the South African population (English and Afrikaans non-speakers) it would take approximately 26 years for their mother tongues to be catered for (Wigston, 2008, Tomaselli, 1989; Rosenthal, 1974).

The era of broadcasting for the African community in their own mother tongues officially arrived with what was then called the 'Radio Bantu' system. Lekgoathi (2011) explains that Radio Bantu was fully developed radio platforms which were broadcasting in different African languages. These radio stations were introduced from 1962 onwards and their genesis would later include Radio Xhosa (1963), Radio Zulu (1963) and Radio Tswana (1962) among others.

Instead of being a liberating tool, these platforms immediately proved themselves to be propaganda machines used by the then self-imposed white Apartheid[10] government. Historical literature indicates that this government believed media platforms played

[10] For the purpose of this study when referring to the South African history, the words 'apartheid' and colonialism have been interchangeably used. Largely this is because the apartheid project was a continuation of the colonial project that was established by the British and Dutch settlers in South Africa. As stated in this literature review, the concept of apartheid policy as colonialism was also illustrated by Frantz Fanon (1961) who argued that apartheid was compartmentalisation of colonialism.

important public opinion shaping functions and therefore set about using Radio Bantu for this purpose. The 'Radio Bantu' platform was mainly used to propagate the policies of separate development and such propaganda machinery was directed towards township and remote villages where most of the African illiterate citizenry had been residing (Lekgoathi, 2011; Caplan, 2011). Discussions on politically charged matters on Radio Bantu were never allowed by the Apartheid/colonial authorities – an indication that the media platform was used to pacify the colonised into accepting the then cultural, economic and political status quo of settler colonialism. Topics that were forbidden on the airwaves included matters related to themes of anti-apartheid movements as wells as the struggle to liberate South Africa from the tyranny of settler colonisation.

Additional noteworthy milestones in the history of the South African broadcasting landscape include the introduction of television in 1976. Wigston (2008; cf. Tomaselli, 1989) indicate that after the introduction of television in 1976, the next development was the major commission of enquiry that took place between 1981 and 1991. Research records indicate that the enquiry had reverberating consequences for all the broadcasting sectors of the country (Viljoen and Cronje, 1993; Louw, 1993 and Collins 1993). The objective of this commission was to investigate the structures and functioning of all South African media sectors. The Steyn Commission set up to investigate media freedom in apartheid South Africa was constituted in 1981 and it aimed to investigate the whole media industry of the country.

Carefully considered by the apartheid-colonial government, the findings of the enquiry would have a major impact on the broadcasting aspect of the country's media system. The recommendations of the commission included matters pertaining to the relaxation of government control over the national broadcaster and making the board of the public broadcaster accountable to the president instead of ministers. The commission also made recommendations for the introduction of 'independent radio' in South Africa. However, the recommendations of this commission were not entirely accepted by the government of the day.

Wigston (2008) indicates that the last official development in the broadcast media of apartheid/settler colonial South Africa would be the Viljoen Commission (Task Group on

Broadcasting in South and Southern Africa) in 1991. The objectives of the latter commission were to research and make recommendations about the future of broadcasting in South Africa. These included the broadcasting needs of the then homelands systems that were established by the apartheid-colonial government. These homelands were the Transkei (a historical area which accommodates the case study of this current study), Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei. These were dubbed the 'independent national states' by the settler colonial governments of South Africa. Other homelands that were included in this investigation were KwaZulu, KaNgwane, Qwaqwa, Lebowa, Gazankulu and KwaNdele. The apartheid-colonial government gave these last homelands the 'self-governing national states' title (Viljoen and Cronje, 1993).

Upon the realisation that the homelands broadcasting system could not be investigated in isolation, the task group was mandated to broaden the investigation into the overall broadcasting policy of the then settler colonised South Africa. The commission's recommendations included the establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) (an institution that would be later replaced by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa in 1999).

The commission further made recommendations about the national versus public broadcasting debate. Recommendations were for the national broadcaster to become a public broadcaster and that the ownership of television and radio stations by the public broadcaster should be capped. However, the most important recommendation of the Viljoen commission that mainly affects the history of this study was the recommendation that the future of South African broadcasting consist of the community radio service (see chapter 4 for extensive discussion on community radio broadcasting) (Wigston, 2008). By the time that the work of the commission was concluded, community broadcasting had not officially been recognised in South Africa. Therefore, the following section discusses selected literature on the development of broadcasting in the 'new' democratic/ postcolonial era of South Africa. These discussions briefly touch on developments that included the official legislated recognition of community media broadcasting in post-colonial South Africa.

3.3 AN OVERVIEW OF POST 1994 BROADCASTING MEDIA AND THE THREE-TIER STRATEGY: PUBLIC, COMMERCIAL AND COMMUNITY RADIO

For the 'post-apartheid/postcolonial' era, the South African Broadcasting Act of 1999 officially recognises a three-tier broadcasting system for the country (also see chapter 7 for the analysis of macro and micro policy documents). Under this broadcasting policy system, provisions were made for the following: public broadcasting, commercial broadcasting as well as community broadcasting. Collins (1993) outlines the most important broadcasting policy goals as adhering to the following: accountability to citizens, ensuring a space for pluralistic voices, and responsiveness to the changing needs of media consumers. Furthermore, Collins (1993) indicates that the broadcasting policy was required to reflect and champion the linguistic and cultural differences of those targeted by the media content. Lastly, they were expected to encourage social solidarity as well as provide a universal service.

With regards to the enactment of legislations affirming such a broadcasting system, Bardoel and van Cuilenburg (2008) indicate that the 'communications policy' including the broadcasting policy, is a term that collectively refers to all policies and laws that assist with the establishment of efficient public communication processes. Such public communication is often carried out by the following publicly accessible mediums: the press, broadcasting channels, telecommunications channels (internet as well as telephones) as well as postal services and libraries. Policy involves planning and strategies of how the public communication is to be carried through. Thus, the three-tier broadcasting system established in South Africa ideally should adhere to all these policy principles.

Much of the 'post-apartheid' South African media policy and practice, structure and ideology reflect global trends (see Chapter 7 on further discussion of the selected analysed policies). Glenn and Mattes (2011) indicate that the colonial legacy shaped this country's media landscape. According to these scholars, this can be proven by the country's public broadcaster which as mentioned has been overly modelled after the BBC as well some newspaper titles that resemble the tabloid philosophy of the United Kingdom (the empire which colonised part of South Africa) (see previous section for a discussion on the impact of colonialism in media).

As the focus of this current study is Africanising media and the cultural orientation of a community radio, it is imperative that this form of broadcasting be contextualised within the macro-broadcasting policy systems operating in South Africa. While forming part of the three-tier broadcasting strategy, community radio is also seen as an important sector that is philosophically, structurally and practically distinct from both the commercial and public service broadcasting models (O'Brien and Gaynor, 2012). The aim of this section is to briefly highlight the areas of difference among the three distinct forms of broadcasting in South Africa: commercial, public and community broadcasting (further discussion on community radio can be accessed in chapter 4).

The three-tier form of broadcasting in this country represents a new 'postcolonial' broadcasting model that was adopted by the post-apartheid policy frameworks of South Africa. The model also represents a 'new' era in the country's broadcasting history. Importantly, this new model officially recognises the role of community broadcasting. Louw and Rama (1993) indicate that community broadcasting - including community radio - fundamentally is historically and contemporarily different from both commercial and public service broadcasting. This is because the model of commercial radio operating in this country mainly exists on media companies' need to make commercial profit. This type of radio model is financed through advertising revenue and their programming is market driven (Fourie, 2001). A report by the Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa (2010) recognises a wide spectrum of commercial broadcasters in South Africa. These form part of the radio and television broadcasting spectrum. Such commercial broadcasters are further divided into 'free-to-air' as well as those that broadcast under the subscription service framework.

The OSISA (2010) report explains that in the context of South Africa, the broadcasting policies of the country mandate that commercial broadcasters bear some of the public service responsibilities. Some of these requirements include the mandate for commercial broadcasters to have a minimum of 30 minutes of news per day. In some instances, the country has also noted a trend where some commercial broadcasters have news segments in African languages. At the time of the OSISA report, the country had 16 commercial radio stations. Their broadcasting geographic location is spread out, with most stations having a City as well regional presence in some cases.

While South Africa has a relatively healthy commercial broadcasting media system, the largest and most popular generator of media content in South Africa is, arguably, the public broadcaster whose broadcasting mandate is affirmed as part of the three-tier national broadcasting strategy. The SABC was established to be a flagship broadcasting company of the country. As indicated by the history of broadcasting in this country, the sole shareholder of the public broadcaster is the government. In the transition from the apartheid to the 'post-apartheid' governing systems, the country maintained most of the structures established by the apartheid government (cf. Duncan, 2001). This includes the running and models of the public broadcaster. As was the case with the apartheid government, in the 'post-apartheid' situation, the public broadcaster simultaneously owns a substantial proportion of television as well as radio broadcasting systems of the country. The radio element is the most relevant in this study.

According to OSISA (2012) the national broadcaster has about fifteen radio stations and these include eleven full-spectrum services that respectively broadcast using the countries eleven official language[11]s. Among the public broadcaster's flagship radio stations are uMhlobo Wenene FM, uKhozi FM, Thobela FM, Igwalagwala FM, SA FM, Radio Sonder Gense (RSG) and Lotus FM. These stations serve the purpose of advancing the countries three-tier broadcasting model. The public radio broadcasting model is an important member of the three-tier broadcasting strategy. It is designed to serve various cultural and language groups, normally at a national or regional level with no stringent commercial interest. Such services are offered by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and they enhance public service to all recognized languages of South Africa (ibid).

The third member of the South African three-tier broadcasting strategy is the community media broadcasting model. Most researchers agree that part of the impetus for the development of a vibrant community radio system in this country comes from the anti-apartheid/anti-colonial movements (cf. Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Rama & Louw, 1993; Bosch, 2003). Olurinnisola (2002) also indicates that the rise of a flourishing community radio sector comes from the transition to a 'multi-racial' South Africa in 1994 and that this transition required multiple and diversified forms of media institutions (also see chapter 4).

[11]The official languages of the Republic of South Africa include: IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, English, Afrikaans, TshiVenda, Sepedi, SeSotho, SeTswana, IsiNdebele, SiSwati and XiTsonga

Before the transition to a post-apartheid government, the concept of community radio existed informally and stations such as Bush Radio in Cape Town or even Zibonele Community Radio in the Khayelitsha township of Cape Town formerly broadcast their content illegally (Bosch, 2003).

However, after the transition to a democratic society, South Africa saw a spike in the community radio sector with an initial 65 licenced radio stations operating in 1999. Among the first radio stations to be licensed in post-apartheid South Africa were Radio Maritzburg, Bush Radio, Radio Zibonele and Vukani Community Radio (VCR). In post-apartheid South Africa, the model of this radio system has taken the participatory and developmental outlook (Olurinnisola, 2002; Mhlanga, 2006; Hart, 2011, Tyali and Tomaselli, 2015). According to the Broadcasting Act of 1999, No. 4, community radio stations should (1) be fully controlled by a non-profit entity and used for non-profit purposes (2) serve a particular community or people associated with promoting the interest of *such a* community, (3) allow people to participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast. The Act indicates that these stations should be funded by donations, grants, sponsorship, advertising or membership fees, or a combination of all of the above. Lastly, this Act concludes that the programming services of a community radio must reflect the needs of the constituency it represents including cultural, religious, language and demographic needs of the community (also see chapter 7 on the ideological analysis of policies guiding the community radio sector).

This study is only concerned with the community radio broadcasting aspect of the three-tier broadcasting model. Pather (2012) argued that the community radio industry in South Africa remains among the most under-researched and misunderstood sectors. Largely it is the cultural role of the community radio that continues to be under researched in South Africa. Unfortunately, this has led to a scenario where there are key information and knowledge gaps that prevent researchers from understanding the nuances that exist within the country's community radio sector (Pather, 2012). This is the information gap that this study seeks to fill. By examining the community radio sector from the Africanisation as a decolonial perspective point of view, the study has been able to contribute new knowledge about the concept and practice of community radio in the context of culture, coloniality, de-Westernising media practices and Africanising media systems at a community radio level.

3.4 COLONIALITY & SOUTH AFRICA'S MEDIA SYSTEMS

As discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of Africanization is being adopted in this study as the antithesis of coloniality within the African continent. Therefore, this study argues that decoloniality needs to be constituted as Africanisation in the context of the history and geography of this study (cf. Biko, 1978). Quijano (2007) contends that while the concept of political colonialism may be an issue of the past, what is still firmly entrenched, in fact, is the unhealthy relationship between Europe and the rest of the 'formerly' colonised world. This scholar argues that the cultural relationship that exists between Europe (also known as the 'West') and the rest of the world indicates the continuation of colonial domination. This continuing cultural domination results in circumstances where the 'formerly' colonised subjects continue to under-value their culture in relation to the culture of the coloniser (cf. Biko, 1978, Freire, 1970). Wa Thiongo (1987) further supports Quijano's observation in stating that Western imperialism continues to ravage and control the economies, politics and cultures of Africa. In the context of South Africa, Biko (1978) has argued that for the African societies of this country, the year of 1652[12] marks the beginning of a period where the indigenous populations started to experience a sense of 'acculturation'. In reference to the gradual acculturation of Africans, Biko (1978:51) further argued that "whenever colonisation sets in with its dominant culture, it devours the native culture and leaves behind a bastardised culture that can only thrive at the rate and pace allowed it by the dominant culture".

What Quijano (2007); Wa Thiongo (1987) and Biko (1978) also illustrate in their analysis of society is the existence of cultural imperialism. McPhail (2009) explains such imperialism as a process where a few rich countries rule the rest of the world. This system operates through a process where dominant socio-political groups actively and systematically influence and mould the cultures of those groups that are deemed weaker or inferior. It has also been argued that the media and more specifically the Western and Westernised media institutions continue to be used for such cultural imperialism. Largely this is because the

[12]In the South African history, this year marks the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck. His arrival would mark the settlement of the European community in South Africa and a long period where this European settler community started to systemically dislodge indigenous communities from their land, cultures and all other general ways of life in South Africa.

media have formed a powerful oligopoly of cultural industries (McPhail, 2009) and therefore are giving the Western culture a continuing presence in the lives of those who don't belong to or ideologically share the cultural prism of Western societies.

Such invasion of media spaces by Western cultures therefore points to the on-going legacy of colonialism. The history of the media is implicated in the injustices perpetrated by the West. Njumbi (2001) explains that like most other communication technologies that were used to advance the interest of colonial oppression, broadcast media – including radio, television and film – were implicated in the widespread abuses of human rights perpetrated by the West. Historical abuses that the media has been implicated in include slavery, human rights abuses that took place as a result of slavery, apartheid and colonialism. Shohat (1991:41) for instance notes that "…dominant cinema not only inherited and disseminated colonial discourse, but also created a system of domination through monopolistic control of film distribution and exhibition in much of Asia, Africa and the Americas".

Radio is particularly credited with contributing to the entrenchment of the colonial project. Research literature indicates that it was used as an instrument of hate and racist propaganda as well as disseminating information against anti-colonial movements (Njumbi, 2001; Lekgoathi, 2011). Fanon (1965:71-72) states that "among European farmers, the radio was broadly regarded as a link with the civilized world, as an effective instrument of resistance to the corrosive influence of an inert native society, of a society without a future, backward and devoid of value" (cf. Shohat, 1991). The history of some media platforms and their support for colonialism remains a subject of contention and much debate. This is especially the case in today's continuing idea of coloniality and how the media has been complicit in the cultural imperialism project of the West. It, however, remains to be seen how the Africanising project can avert coloniality when it comes to the community media industry of South Africa (see discussion on chapter 7, 8 and 9). As Teer-Tomaselli (2001) argues, the media offers people an opportunity to see and reflect on their identities. Whilst this is the case, there are questions about the extent to which cultural damage that has been inflicted by coloniality on African identities (cf. Biko, 1978). Sithole (2014:44) argues that "the African subject is in the worst condition when it comes to the level of identity as such an identity is imposed, because the African subject is the product of the Western subject's construction and definition."To buttress this argument, Walter Mignolo (2007)

insists that the media has played a role in promoting neo-liberalism, modernity and coloniality. The alternative to this coloniality is therefore de-coloniality. “De-coloniality turns the plate around and shifts the ethics and politics of knowledge. Critical theories emerge from the ruins of languages, categories of thoughts and subjectivities (Arab, Aymara, Hindi, French and English Creoles in the Carribbean, Afrikaans, etc.) that had been consistently negated by the rhetoric of modernity and in the imperial implementation of the logic of coloniality” Mignolo (2007:457) (also see chapter 3 on decolonial theories adopted by this study).

Through the Africanisation project, de-coloniality emerges within the context of African communities. African languages and cultures which had been negated by the unfair elevation of the Western cultures in South Africa are assumed to be receiving equal power, stature and recognition under the decolonial project. Even African media practitioners who had been working from the place of ‘non-being’ eventually now operate from a place of full-humanity. Ngcaweni (2015) has criticised the contemporary South Africa population as one which operates from the canon of coloniality. In relation to media practice, he writes that, specifically, journalists in South Africa are products of Euro-America modernity with philosophical foundations that are located in the West, and these journalists are predisposed to treating everything that is African as inferior (ibid.). As the cause of this Euro-American orientation of most media practitioners in South Africa, Ngcaweni (2015) identifies colonialism as a project which has dislocated South Africans from their indigenous cultural base and knowledge systems. He indicates that people in this country have been assimilated to the colonial systems of thought and functioning. In this way of orientation, African people of this country are seen not to be able to question the cultural legacy of prejudice inflicted by the colonial projects that have been imposed in the country (ibid.).

The level of ingrained cultural coloniality in South Africa has also further been identified by Gocking (1992). He observed that overall, South African institutions are dominated by Eurocentric perspectives. This problem of Eurocentricity is traced by this scholar to the history of the country. He explains that in a scenario where most people of European descent joined hands to achieve an economic and political subjugation of the black majority in South Africa, the impact of this subjugation would be extended to other fabrics of the

society, including its institutions. In the same instance, Roger (1992) asserts that it was expected that cultural supremacy would be even more of an integral component system where the country's colonisers imposed and maintained cultural hegemony over a nation which is made up of a complex pattern of different 'nationalities' and 'ethnic' groups. Paulo Freire (1970:133) explained the phenomenon which took place in South Africa and in most parts of the colonised world through the theory of "cultural invasion" (Biko, 1978).

Cultural invasion, as explained by Freire (1970: 133), serves the purpose of conquest. It is divisive and is thus an act of violence against the people who have been invaded. The goal is for such people to lose their cultures and identities. "In this phenomenon, the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in disrespect of the original inhabitants' potentialities, they impose their own view of the world upon those they invaded by curbing their expressions." Freire (1970) concludes by observing that the project of cultural conquest leads to a scenario of cultural inauthenticity whereby those who have been invaded start to respond to the values, standards and objectives of the cultural invaders. After all, you exist on your own terms or on those of others, conclude (Bethel, 1993). Coloniality thus is the maintenance of the invading cultures even at times where the coloniser is not in formal administrative or political control of the 'post-colony'. By extension, therefore, this study is also an attempt at understanding how Africanisation can be an antidote to coloniality and cultural imperialism (Prah, 2014) in a South African community media platform. The legacy of cultural hegemony in media systems, points to on-going problems and structures that maintain imperialism. As argued by some publicly available research literature, some media practitioners in the industry are predisposed to maintaining coloniality instead of striving for de-coloniality (Ngcaweni, 2015, cf. Mignolo, 2007).

In fact, Masilela (1988) asserts that, in South Africa, assumptions of media practice tend to assume a 'First' world standpoint. African media trainers tend to conceive and apply their day-to-day media functions from Western media concepts and practices (Sesanti, 2011; cf. Nyamnjoh, 2005). These practitioners often discourage or even avoid their indigenous communication systems when dealing with African media related matters. However, when research is undertaken on the impact of colonialism, we have also been warned not to overlook the 'lighter' side of colonialism. Said (1993:166) has noted that it is in fact "true

that Europeans brought modern technological change – steam engines, telegraphs and even education – to some natives, benefits that persisted beyond the colonial period, although not without negative aspects." The subtext, however, in the analysis by Said (1993) is that the colonised materially somewhat benefited from the colonial project. However, Fanon (1961:81) warns against eternal gratitude being expected from the 'formerly' colonised. He indicates that after all, "Europe is literary the creation of the developing world, [formerly] colonised world. The wealth which smothers her is that which was stolen from the underdeveloped peoples."

For the Africa continent, Netshitenzhe (1999) postulates that the best way for media practitioners to break the legacies of colonialism and the associated coloniality is a total commitment to the African cause. He indicates that African journalists, despite their individual political affiliations, should display ardent commitment to the African cause. Contextualising the lived African reality from the perspective of Africa decentralises the hegemony that is provided by coloniality. It broadens the circle of culture. As Hall (1997) indicates, culture emanates from 'shared meanings'. The media, therefore, have to reflect diverse world views so that the circle of culture can be broadened and shared meaningfully.

Coloniality is a system which forces a monolithic culture on the rest of humanity. However, it is important to acknowledge that as a conveyer of meaning, information and ideas, the media have to respect all cultures, lest it be accused of advocating for the supremacy of a single culture or a single world view that is imposed on indigenous local populations. Hall (1997) further argues that to assume that people fit into the same culture is to say that they read and interpret the world in roughly the same way. In any culture, continues Hall (1997), there is always a multiplicity of meanings of the world. This leads to Mbebe's and Nuttals' (2004:351) conclusion that, "after all, the unity of the world is nothing but its diversity." Coloniality is the antithesis of this diversity. It is a creation of a single world, often with a Western-centric outlook. Thus, in its negation of African cultural representation, the media in South Africa are often charged with advancing coloniality (cf. Ngcaweni, 2015).

During the current evolving 'post-apartheid/postcolonial' era, some sections of the South African media have been accused of advancing a racist or neo-racist agenda that is synonymous with the colonial-apartheid outlook. In a report that looked at complaints of

racism in the South African media during the country's democratic era, Berger (2002:12) reported that:

> While most white editors acknowledged racism in their media, they denied that it was deliberate - and more significantly (with one exception) they supplied very few examples of where it was exhibited. Black editors (e.g. Mike Siluma of *Sowetan*), however, spoke more concretely about what they regarded as extensive racism - not only in media content.

In that research report, Berger (2002) indicates that most whites in South Africa assume that the black people of this country will fail in various projects for advancing the 'post-apartheid/post-colonial' project. Thus, from such a report, it can be argued that these assumptions emanate from the unfinished project of coloniality and how it seeks to put the 'other' [Black South Africans] into a permanent mode of inferiority. The report emanating from Berger's paper also identified a view from media institutions that suggested that the lives of white people in South Africa were more valued than those of black people. And more importantly, that Nelson Mandela was taken as an exceptional black person in South Africa by the racist media and that Black South Africans were generally portrayed as corrupt and dictatorial. This report on the South African media closely resembles instances that have been observed by the colonial media underpinned by coloniality in instances of 'post-colonial' states (cf. Chiumbu, 2015).

As Ziegler and Asante (1992) observe, the official as well as the private colonial media greatly believed in the inferiority of Africans. This led them to glorify European culture, which was seen by the colonialist as being superior to those of Africans. Therefore, the question of coloniality, its associated ideologies and reasoning in the South African media is not merely a historical issue. It is also a contemporary investigation into the contemporary existential question of media institutions in this country. Khoabane (2015) has recently criticised the South African media by indicating that it obsessively reports only on the negativity of blacks in South Africa and thereby implying that blacks are prone to corruption while their impression of whites is that their conduct in the country is honest. The question that needs to be asked is whether the South African media first need to be de-westernised

in order to exhibit any sense of de-coloniality. The following section therefore grapples with the discourses of de-westernising the media.

Taking into consideration the coloniality of the media and other sphere's of the global South life, this study has relied on decolonial theories to make sense of the case study. The theories that have been selected for this purpose include: (1) 'Coloniality of power' (2) 'Coloniality of Knowledge' (3) 'Coloniality of Being' and the (4) 'Decolonial Turn'. These are critical theoretical frameworks that have been adapted by the study. The following subsections contextualise these theoretical frameworks in this specific study.

3.4.1 'Coloniality of power': a media institution reading

The conceptual approach to the 'coloniality of power' is immensely relevant in the study and analysis of a media platform operating in communities that are emerging from the lasting legacies of colonialism (cf. Said, 1989). More appropriately, this framework is better suited to this analytical objective, as it enables researchers to understand and contextualise media production and content from a world that is mainly constitutive of the capitalist and Euro-North American perspectives in relation to culture, identity, and representation. This theoretical framework in the context of this study assisted in rationalising how the concept of colonial power and culture and its accompanying markers manifest themselves around media objectives and priorities of community culture, community identities and community representation. Quijano (2000) argues that the rise of Western modernity since the year 1492, the imposition of its accompanying values as a contribution to Western capitalism, its biotic structuralism and the ladders of ranking human beings as witnessed through the processes of racializing people has resulted in an entrenched system of power that privileges the Euro-North American axis up until today. In this sense, Quijano (2000:218) further argues:

> That specific basic element of the new pattern of world power that was based on the idea of 'race' and in the 'racial' social classification of the world population – expressed in the 'racial' distribution of work, in the imposition of new 'racial' geo-cultural identities, in the concentration of the control of productive resources and capital, as social relations, including salary, as a privilege of

'whiteness' – is what is basically referred to in the category of coloniality of power.

This framework of the coloniality of power seeks to illustrate how systems of Euro-North American domination (including systems of representing colonial subjects) in media institutions have been 'historically' entrenched and consistently reproduced as a result of structures that were implemented by the Global North agenda of dominating the 'other' (colonies and 'former' colonies). This 'coloniality of power' by Western centred notions of dominating the rest of humanity has affected the whole system of sharing power with the 'other' populations of the world.

'Coloniality of Power' is therefore an imperialist tradition which needs to be countered through an Africanisation process as a form of decolonising the local media in Africa. Media platforms for Africans, in the affirmation of African social culture, community values and their respective identities are important means of resisting Western imperialism (see chapter 8). Dismantling 'coloniality of power' in media content is a process of reversing the damage that is imbedded in the darker side of Western modernity. As Wa Thiong'o (1981:16; cf. Du Bois, 1903, Biko, 1978) concludes, "colonialism's most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world". Africanisation of the media is therefore a process of affirming Africanity as a requirement for decolonising the domination of the African subject by Western modernity and Western and Westernised forms of cultural representation.

3.4.2 Media and the coloniality of knowledge: charting new territories

Media institutions are required to undertake a number of functions for the benefit of the society they are immersed in (see Chapter 4 on functions of the media). In relation to these functions of such industries, an analysis of the very nature of these institutions indicates that media platforms are also the default distributors of ideas, 'facts', opinions and various knowledge systems as selected by the gatekeepers of these media platforms (McNair, 1995). A reading of the media industry also indicates that people may be influenced by the knowledge formats that are often distributed by the media industry, ultimately depending

on the use and gratifications that are derived from such media institutions (Ruggiero, 2000). Taking an alternative view on the roles and roots of the functions of the media industry, Fanon (1952) illustrated that the media industry – print media per se - has consistently been produced by white people with a specific ideology that is palatable for consumption by fellow white people (cf. McCracken, 2014; Hayman and Teer-Tomaselli, 1989). The ideas spread by these media messages as observed by Fanon (1952) presented a view of the non-European world as evil, savage- like, lacking morals and uncivilised in their nature (cf. Ziegler and Asante, 1992). This view in the white European/ Europeanist media was meant to spread prejudice about those who were historically 'othered' by the West.

Fanon (1952) further writes that while the media has had a historical function, the circulation of `ideologies in such media platforms are not strictly limited to the ideas of the oppressor on the oppressed. However, the spread and hyper visibility of these human distorting ideologies has meant that even those who were negatively portrayed went on to witness their representation in these platforms. Therefore, the consumption of these media ideologies by the non-European/ Global South subjects has potentially resulted in the questioning of their subjectivity and the very nature of their humanity. This questioning of their nature has in most instances forced the non-European person to assimilate the European ideas of themselves and ultimately aspire to be a member of the societies that emerge from the Global North (Fanon, 1952). Thus, the spread of ideas and knowledge by Western subjects and media institutions needs to be consistently interrogated as it has historically spread false ideas and distorted knowledge about the indigens of the Global South.

As a result of 'Coloniality of Knowledge' and the pressures of conformity associated with this system of domination, it can be argued that there are non-European media producers who have assimilated ideas of modernity and have therefore become Europeans who are in fact non-European 'others' (Westernised others). A theoretical understanding of the Africanisation of the media and the various roles such media platforms play in society is incomplete without the understanding of 'coloniality of knowledge' as seen through the historical roles of the media in the African continent. Sadar (2008) argues that the ideas produced today as a knowledge system are required to carefully work their way into one's mind, thereby wittingly or unwittingly shaping one's view of the world. Through an analysis

of the structures and influence of modernity on the world today, Sadar (2008) postulates that the knowledge abounding in the world today emanates from discourses that have been shaped by a culture which perceives itself as hierarchically above the rest. This Western culture assumes that all that has been, and continues to be produced by the world emanates from its civilisation. Civilisation is therefore seen as a gift of the West to the non-Western subject (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

The role of this theoretical framework is to explore the role of a media institution in spreading knowledge about cultural constituents within the African continent. The 'power' and nature of the 'coloniality of knowledge' has however meant that the rest of humanity is explained through epistemic systems that are constructed and developed from the Eurocentric perspective. Thus, the rest of the world becomes fetishized by the European and neo-European knowledge systems. Suarez-Krabe (2009) argues that in viewing the world today, there seems to be a recognisable oversight of the on-going existence of structures of domination and racism in the creation of knowledge. To recognise this 'coloniality of knowledge' means coming to terms with aspects of the 'hidden' or invisible power matrix in the world today and how it undermines those it deems inferior. In this study, the theory is partially adopted to understand the contribution of media institutions such as Vukani Community Radio (VC) to delinking from the colonial role of such media platforms.

3.4.3 The 'coloniality of being': the media and its capturing of the subject

Generally, the impact of both the 'coloniality of knowledge' and the 'coloniality of power' are often experienced at the level of 'Being' (individual or collectively). As illustrated above, the 'coloniality of power', 'coloniality of knowledge' and the 'coloniality of being' combine to form the matrix of control that advances coloniality in general. Maldonado-Torres (2007) indicates that 'coloniality of Being' is a theoretical framework which has emerged from academic work that focuses on coloniality and decolonisation. It arose as a way of theorising and understanding the 'coloniality of power' and its related implications on individuals in a 'colonial situation'. The theoretical framework grapples with the after-effects of colonialism

in the psychological and cultural standing of people who emerge from administrative and or settler colonialism and having been subjected to coloniality. In addition to this, 'Coloniality of Being' also grapples clossely with the lived experience of colonisation and coloniality with a particular reference to the question of language.

Maldonado-Torres (2007) argues that languages are not only sites of identity affirmation, but are also the site of the storage of knowledge (wa Thiong'o, 1981). The adoption of all the languages of the world needs to be seen as enhancing different civilisations of the world. As Fanon (1952:9) argues, "every colonized people – in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country." At the level of 'Being', language has immense psychological implications for how subjects perceive themselves. This study ensures that the question of language is central in considering how the community radio station affirms the African identity of the constituencies surrounding Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

An understanding of the cultural impact of language concludes by stating that a people deprived of their languages among other variables of affirming one's humanity are a people who have been deprived of themselves. It is a people whose very existence is in question; who's 'Being' as their complete souls, who are put under scrutiny. It is the questioning of their 'Being' that often leads to the adoption and the internalisation of Euro-North American forms of identity. They try to complete what they believe is incomplete by an uncritical adoption of the Western culture. For the colonised African, the implication of this split existence is the development of a form of 'double consciousness'. Du Bois (1903 [2003]) argues that for the African, the site of existence in the modern world is a constant psychological battle against one's oppression based on the traditions of questioning and inferior-rising the African 'Being' and his or her African identity. The modern world according to Du Bois (1903:9) is

> …a world which yields him [the African] no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self

> through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt pity.

Most importantly, it is vital at the level of media representation by a media institution representing Africans, to explore how this form of double consciousness manifests itself? From Du Bois (1903) we understand that at the level of 'Being', the subject emerging from colonialism and subjected to coloniality is split into two: the European aspirational self and the reality of being 'trapped' in an African body. This twoness is the result of the 'coloniality of being' exerted by the West. Quijano (2007) concludes that through modernisation, Europeanism has been transformed into a project of inspiration and aspiration for the rest of the world. The 'Being' that does originate from Europe and North America is therefore subjected to this aspiration which leads to a constant questioning of itself. That which does not emerge from these cultures is perceived to be a problem in modernity and it must aspire to be a Euro-North America subject by all means necessary.

The 'coloniality of being' survives through the cultural, political, and economic oppression of the 'Beings' that are subordinated and racialized by dominant western 'Beings' (Grosfoguel, 2004). As a theoretical framework, the 'Coloniality of Being' historicizes the subjectivity of 'Being' as a result of Western domination. The application of this theory arises as a manner of analysing how a community radio station is positioned in the the humanity of those who continue to be racialized and oppressed as a result of Western modernity. The theory was used to assess media content as a way of identifying the African voices, the 'grammar' and framing of these African voices and the positioning of the voices as undertaken by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Partly, the task for this research study was also to investigate how a media platform such as Vukani Community Radio (VCR) gives us access to African culture and humanity as reflected through its content. The theory was used to not only determine the positioning of African humanity, but to also understand the framing of this humanity through the topics of interest discussed in the media content, the language of interest and the themes emerging around the discussions about or with an African orientated media institution.

3.4.4 Towards an African identity: the media and the decolonial turn

Discourses on the negated subjects indicate that the popular epistemic systems are insufficient to allow an understanding of the world of those who exist in a continuous situation of coloniality. An important way of understanding Africanisation is to illustrate how the concept forms part of the project that is directed towards the 'decolonial turn'. This study is also interested in how Africanisation of the media forms part of the larger discourse on decolonising media systems and how Africanisation is an important aspect of the 'decolonial turn' as observed in the distribution and production of media content. The rationale for adopting the theoretical framework that explores the 'decolonial turn' is to move away from the traps of the reductionist use of Western theories and philosophies to study and explain non-Western problems and media contexts in Africa (cf. Tomaselli and Shepperson, 1999). Bañales (2012) argues that the objective of theoretical framework of the 'decolonial turn' is that of opposing the 'colonizing turn', which has come about through Western theories and their corresponding paradigms. Therefore, it is scepticism of these Western theories that allows for flexible experiments to transcend the reductive and decadent Eurocentric epistemic systems (Bañales, 2012; Gordon, 2011).

Deploying this theory in the assessment of Africanisation as it occurs at a community media platform is a way of contextualising the non-Western media system in relation to its environment. This opposes the 'colonial turn' or 'Westernised turn' of media content and the operation of media institutions. In the context of this study and how Africanisation is analysed in a media platform, the theory of the decolonial turn is applied for the purpose of reading the continuities and discontinuities of colonisation and coloniality in the context of the case study of this study. It looks at the impact of coloniality on the production and broadcasting of media content at Vukani Community Radio (VCR). It looks at whether the content as produced in this community radio station culminates in a move towards the 'decolonial turn', thereby indicating Africanisation, or whether the content being produced is indicative of Africa's media enchantment with coloniality.

Maldonado-Torress (2007) further sugests that, while it has been argued that the major problems of the 20th and the 21st centuries have been that of modernity, as made hyper-visible through race and the cultural question (cf. Du Bois, 1903), solutions to such problems

include issues proposed by the 'decolonial turn': trans-modernity, the appropriate visibility of the oppressed people and their cultures, as well as the world's ability to live with differences among people. Thus, this theory insists on a shift in the understanding of humanity as espoused by its principles. These include shifts away from the imperial attitude (theoretical and naturalised versions), a shift from focusing on Eurocentric, America-centric or otherwise in the quest for the championing of a decolonial attitude. In arguing for the rise and the recognition of the dehumanised subjects, the 'decolonial turn' does not aim to 'go back' into the 'pre-colonial' era. Cesaire (1952:6) argues that there is no going back to a 'pure' era because, among other things, "…societies (have been) drained of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed, magnificent artistic creations destroyed, extraordinary possibilities wiped". Thus, in exploring the concept of Africanisation at a media platform level, the aim is not to argue for a return to a certain 'pure' era of African cultures and identities. This era possibly only exists in the historical recording of life.

History, however, has an impact on the rejuvenation of cultures and identities in the 'post-colonial' era. Asante (2003:11) contends that "one does not live in the past but one uses the past for advances toward a future". While the history of Africans has been distorted and partially destroyed, the remnants of that past continue to inform and influence contemporary Africans including their approaches to the use of languages, belief systems and mythology (see chapter 9). Taking into consideration the external influences of other cultures on African history and identities, the historical manner of integrating such cultures into their lifestyle has been the preserve of Africans themselves. However, with colonisation, the aim became to dehumanise all that is African. After all, "colonization equals thing-ification" as concluded by Cesaire (1952:6).

Thus the theory of the 'decolonial turn'potentially insists that Africans urgently rebuild their cultures and identities in the terms of their present existence. This urgency of rebuilding helps in contributing to the plurality of the world. He further writes that the 'decolonial turn' is positioned within a family of theoretical departures which identify the concept of coloniality as being problematic in the current epoch that is concerned with the unfinished project of decoloniality. Maldonado-Torres (2011) argues that a turn towards decoloniality is as relevant in the current era as it has ever been. The task underpinning this study is

therefore to illustrate how the Africanisation of the airwaves points us towards a decolonial turn of media content as identified from Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

3.4.5 An Afrocentric media system: a theoretical contextualisation

When we explore how a media platform such as a community radio is connected to the fabrics of the community it seeks to serve, the initial point that should be acknowledged is how *modern* media systems are the products of Western civilisation (Rønning & Kupe, 2000; Fanon, 1961). However, in this study, it is the everyday roles and functioning of such media systems and how they have been Africanised to such an extent that they form part of the many platforms helping to portray the character, values and identity of the selected community that were explored. Situated in a country with more than a three-hundred-year history of settler colonialism and whose institutions that have been acknowledged to be Eurocentric (Gocking, 1992), this study explored how African identities, African humanity and their related cultures form part of a community media platform.

Karenga (2003: 77-78) defines Afrocentricity as a "quality of thought and practice rooted in cultural image of African people [and] is to be anchored in the views and values of African people as well as in the practice which, in a generative dialectic, emanates from and gives rise to these views and values." This definition is in line with the understanding of the theory that has been outlined by Asante. In it, Asante (1991) indicates that Afrocentricity is the discourse that looks at the ideas and events from the standpoint of Africans as key participants instead of being victims of the world which has defined them. This theory upholds an African ability to dislodge the Western way of thinking, 'Being' and identifying so as to uphold what is African. This study has relied on the Afrocentric theory and its related discourses to explore how African culture, identity and its related values are at the centre of the daily existence of the community radio being explored. As illustrated by Molefi Asante (2003), this theory factually argues for the recognition and placement of African principles at the centre of any engagement that involves African people, African culture and behaviours of Africans. In this study, the theory was used to assess the centeredness of a media platform in relation to the African community on whose behalf it operates. Thus, the focus was policies used as a guiding principle for broadcasting, and whether these advance or hinder the expression of the identities of the African masses. It looks at the broadcasting

preoccupation of this media platform and how this preoccupation advances the African cause.

The theory was also used to uncover the manner in which the station engages with African topics and African subjects, as they relate to the interests that centre these people and their world views. The question of 'objectivity' has been advanced as a central point in some forms of media broadcasting. However, Asante (2003:37) argues that 'objectivity' should be seen as "…a kind of collective subjectivity of European culture". If it is un-problematically applied in a media system that serves Africans, such a concept can be seen as an erosion of African urgency to define itself in the media systems that are involved in their discourses and ultimately at their service.

In the following section, the focus of this chapter moves to the discourse about the de-westernisation of the media debate and whether such a view has a theoretical and lived possibilities for the idea of Africanising the media in the Global South and more specifically in Africa.

3.5 DE-WESTERNIZING MEDIA: A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TOWARDS AFRICANITY?

Asante (2003, 1988; cf. Mazama, 2003) argues that, since the 15th century, non-Western cultural interests have been consistently undermined by an intellectual clique whose agenda was to westernise the world. Therefore, the rampant existence of coloniality in the world's media institutions can be attributed to the industry's over-reliance on Western frameworks and logic of producing media content. In this sense, Takahashi (2007) argues that it is problematic to use Western media measurements and frameworks to understand the dynamism and complexity of audiences that are not based in the West. In this scenario, much of non-Western societies' nuances remain undiscoverable. For instance, when the African continent directly imports foreign methods, theories and ideas without adaptation, problems may arise (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 1999).

Another critique of Western-centric approaches to media production and research comes from Wasserman (2006:71) who asserts that "reactions against western, liberal-democratic views of the media's role in society in postcolonial African countries have indicated that the

dominant liberal framework is not universally applicable." Fredericks et al (1989) acknowledge the power of the media by stating that, the manner in which the media operate is very similar to how the church operated in earlier times. This argument, therefore, buttresses the powerful nature of the media especially when used to inculcate identity related views in those who are deemed to lack them.

The imbalance in how the media portrays and operates across the world has long been identified. Writing on the need for a New World Information Order, Masmoydi (1978) illustrated the imbalance of the international information system between the Global North – with a specific mention of Western countries - and the Global South. The central argument in Masmoydi's critique was that the hegemony that the Western media has on the rest of the world is characterised by marked indifference that these media bodies show toward those that they sometimes comment about. These include the wrong portrayal of the 'developing' world's concerns, aspirations and the general way of life of the 'other' world. By mostly diffusing to the rest of the world news that has been processed by the Western or neo-Western media, these developed countries in fact impose their way of seeing the rest of humanity. The hegemonic media that portrays this content often filters, cuts and distorts the content to suit their own biased agendas (Masmoyidi, 1978). In such instances, Wang (2011) reasoned that the rest of humanity becomes a testing ground for Western hegemonic media's ideas. This is because the heavy reliance on the Western media potentially affirms the Orient and Occident's relation (cf. Said, 1993).

The powerful cultural biases of the Western media become the dominant way of seeing the world. As the cultural imperialism theory illustrates, the dominant socio-political groups have a profound influence and in most instances, shape the 'weaker' communities through the mass media (McPhail, 2004, cf. Freire, 1970). Fredericks et al (1989) contend that the Global South has indeed claimed that the rest of the Global North is colonising their minds using powerful media systems. The rationale for a De-Westernised media system is, therefore, driven by the idea of a fundamental change in normative media operations. It is about de-centering media and cultural flows (Uwah, 2012). Ekwuazi (1991) concludes that the heavy reliance by Africa on foreign or imperialistic media content has in effect become an acute form of cultural enslavement. The more foreign media content is beamed to the

African continent, the more Africans become victims to cultural enslavement and its consequences.

All forms of media are culturally orientated and these, in fact, come with their embedded ideologies (Ekwuazi, 1999, cf. Hall. 1997). In most parts of the globe, humanity is confronted by the hegemony of the West. Bethel (1993) affirms this view when he states that the Eurocentric world view has often become so dominant in the contemporary world that it has overshadowed other world views. In the context of the African continent, Chinweizu (1999) notes that the overall situation in this continent indicates that, with the recent trends of globalisation, and despite the growth in African media outfits, the imperialist media's impact on African minds has increased tremendously, and a dangerous setback has occurred in the mental independence and pro-Africa conscious content.

The questions that Chinweizu (1999) raises when it comes to the challenges faced by African media in their need to De-Westernise themselves are: how do we create an African media system that is technologically up to date and commercially viable, that is ideologically African and Afrocentric, socially constructive, and devoid of negative vices of the Western media? He further asks how Africans should create media systems that are worthy successors of the town criers, prophets and griots that constituted the media systems of ancient Africa. Netshitendzhe (1999) pointed to developments within the then Pan-African News Agency as viable possibilities in answering the questions of a media system that is committed to African values and culture, political and the economic cause.

The value of community media has also been raised in the debates of advancing this progressive cause for the African media system. Netshitendzhe (1999) proposes that the idea of thriving community media needs to be vigorously pursued throughout the African continent. It is in the interest of communities to have communication media platforms with a purpose of not only contributing to infrastructure development but to also have these communities as part of the national discourse as well as of international and general information.

The following section looks at the concept of Africanity or an Africanised media model as an answer to the challenges that have been raised by the sections above. These are on questions about 'media and coloniality' and the project of 'De-Westernising media'. The

section below discusses selected literature on the idea of an Africanised media system as a form of decolonisation.

3.6 AFRICANITY OF MEDIA: THE ANSWER FOR LOCAL IDENTITIES?

Media platforms play an imperative role when it comes to the creation; representation and socialisation of the identity of a people (cf. Teer-Tomaselli, 2001). Taking into consideration the question of an African identity, Uwah (2012) explains that when we look at the continent, we should always be aware that the continent itself has defining features that are particularly unique to it (also see discussion on ethnicity and African particularity in chapter 6 and also see chapter 2 on Africanity). Of course, Africa is not a country. It is a continent with a vast number of countries (drawn by colonisers) and communities (Banda, 2007; Appiah, 1992; Suttner, 2010).

Appiah (1992) also cautions against the common idea of 'essentializing' the notion of Africa and assuming that Africans actually share a single tradition and culture, common languages, a common religion or even a conceptual vocabulary (cf. Tomaselli, 2003). This argument further challenges the notion that Africans have a singular culture, the same values or even a singular outlook on life. While the above is a firmly established and widely understood case, Suttner (2010) argues that there is no confusion about who an African is in the context of South Africa. The settler-colonial legacy of the country has created a contemporary situation where all people born in this geographical area may declare themselves as African through pledges of alliance and by living in this country but this scholar warns us to take cognisance of the past of the country when discussing identity lineages. Suttner (2010) further indicates that there is a vast difference between the Africans who were oppressed because of their Africanity and people of European descent, most of who participated in that oppression or are direct beneficiaries of the proceeds of that oppression.

In addition to identity erasure, the appropriation of African identities by descendants of the settler-colonial communities has the potential to create still-born decolonisation processes due to the on-going colonial project of Westernising Africanity. Fanon (1961) has also cautioned against the Africanisation of Western models in the continent. He stated that the native can understand if decolonisation has taken place because these very natives demand that in decolonised environments "the last shall be the first". When scholars speak of a

decolonised Africa and the cultures of the African people, they point to approaches that are centered on the lived reality of Africans (Kanu, 2012).

When it comes to the media, the idea of Africanising them continues to be debated in South Africa and across the continent, including the accommodation of voices of Africans who are in the diaspora. Arguing for the African diaspora community living in the United States, Tait and Perry (1994) have pointed to scenarios proving that, in instances where media policy making positions have been in the control of these African diaspora communities, media content tended to display an Afrocentric perspective. In the context of this study, Afrocentricity was literally appropriated to argue for the placing of African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves the culture of Africans (cf. Asante, 2003).

Tait and Perry (1994) further argue that to correct some colonial and imperialist distortions that were established by colonial propaganda about African people, it is important to examine the black condition from the African experience. In the media industry, this requires a setting where owners of broadcast content, scribes, producers and general individuals who have the perspective and reality that emerges from the African experience. The centrality of Africans is crucial to the achievement of a de-colonial portrayal of the 'previously' colonised people. It is they who have the necessary idea of how they should be represented in media platforms. As is now commonly understood, European supremacy was partly enforced through the media (Njumbi, 2001) and it is partly through the media that such supremacist, colonial representations will be eliminated. However, this can only take place when Africans are central to destabilising these attitudes of coloniality (Tait and Perry, 1994).

The colonial project in South Africa (and by extension throughout the whole of the Africa continent) has been that of a denial of the African character of the country (Suttner, 2010, Biko, 1978). Even in the 'post-colonial' set-up, the media is still reported as carrying legacies which have their root firmly entrenched in the colonial period (Rønning and Kupe, 2000). Looking at a 'post-colonial' Africa media system, Nyamnjoh (2005) argues that when it comes to the field of journalism practice in Africa, and what he calls "African journalism", the trends that are developing today are those of media practitioners who are actively Africanising modernity as well as instances where they are 'modernising' their Africanity.

Thus, in other instances, this means that some media practitioners, in some instances within the Africa continent, are not content with simply transplanting media practices from the West, but rather have adapted those practices to serve their own humanity in ways that are African. Nyamnjoh (2005) notes that, journalism tends to be treated as an aspect of 'modern' societies, therefore in the context of African journalism and the people it serves, the idea has generally been of it serving the principles of 'civilization'.

This has meant that those who aspired to be media practitioners had to undergo the process of separating themselves from their reality and actively aiming to emulate the media and cultural practices of the 'civilized' West. However, within the continent, it is continuously being realised that this cannot be the norm for media practice serving Africans. How media practice becomes relevant in the continent will depend on what value such media practices bestow on African humanity and creativity. Media practices that are actively seen to be advancing issues of human hierarchy tend to be prescriptive, are often condescending and can hardly be seen as working towards the interests of African communities that these media practitioners serve. The relevance of media practices in Africa will therefore depend on how these practices serve the cultural, communal, religious values that are an integral part of African humanity (Nyamnjoh, 2005; Bosch, 2008).

The question of the role and the ideological inclination of the media in the service of Africans within the continent continue to spark much debate among media researchers and academics in South Africa as well (Tomaselli, 2003; Fourie, 2008; Sesanti, 2007). Fourie (2008:54) writes that in the case of South Africa, some research literature has often complained that"the media are often attacked as being Western biased, and accused of framing politics and politicians from a Western-biased perspective and capitalist agenda." Furthermore, Fourie (2008) indicates that professional practices of the media in this country are said to be embedded in these Western-centric practices especially when it comes to the issue of news value and the ethics that generally guide the functioning of these media institutions (cf. Berger, 2002). Such scholarly conclusions therefore affirm how the Western media and their related practices/policies continue to be perceived as negatively influencing the cultural industries of non-Western societies (McPhail, 2009 cf. Freire, 1970). This is contrary to media practices that are informed by the cultural orientations of their

immediate societies and those that centre the cultures and identities of their primary constituencies (Nyamnjoh, 2005).

Fourie (2008) has further indicated that the problem with South African debates about the roles of the media seems to be that it runs in two opposing directions. On one hand, the view is that the South African media system – in its practice and ideology – is entrenched in the liberitarian model (cf. Ngcaweni, 2015, Khoabane, 2015). The emphasis of the liberitarian philosophy for the South African media is on foregrounding issues pertaining to freedom of expression, the rights of individuals and, in some instances, serving the capitalist market (cf. Constitution of South Africa, 1996).

On the other side of this debate is the argument which seeks to enforce a model that is centered on Africanity/Africanising philosophy. The latter argument critiques the contemporary approach of media practice in South Africa and instead calls for a decolonised role for the media (cf. Fourie, 2008). The school of thought which argues for Africanity of the media seem to base its arguments on the need to change the colonial legacies that are seen to have become ingrained in the contemporary media practice of today. For instance, on critiquing Western vices that are seemingly prevalent in South Africa, Ngcaweni (2015) says "I suspect the source of this existential crisis is coloniality: our scribes are predisposed to whiteness – not necessarily colour but the state of mind and the point of reference" (cf. Wa Thiong'o, 1981). Ideological stances such as whiteness, have impeded the emergence of a decolonised African role that the media should be playing in South Africa.

Fourie (2008) further indicates that the best solution for the opposing debates on media practice and ideology in South Africa is to find a local normative media theory that considers the lived realities of the African and world views. This is important as "…how the media are supposed to behave in a specific society is rooted in world views, each with its own ideologies and ethics" (Fourie, 2008:59). The idea of investigating the ways in which the media have been Africanised in this current study therefore also emanates from the on-going discussions on the ideologies and ethics of the media that exist to serve the interest of South Africans. Sesanti (2007) contributes to this African media framework by analysing the contexts and dimensions of distinctly African media institutions. Looking at the problem facing the news media in Africa today, Sesanti (2007) indicates that the root of the problem

lies in how uniquely African problems have not been incorrectly contextualised by the media. He asserts that while the world might share similar problems, it is important to note that there are social differences that require media practitioners to understand these complexities. This calls for African media practices that can contextualise such circumstances. It is further suggested that these media practices consider African cultures and realities when contextualising these complexities.

Sesanti (2007) concludes by indicating that there is some history of embedding African ideologies into media practices. According to this scholar, this is affirmed by some South African journalists who had recognised the vices in the African media systems and coloniality within these media institutions and therefore set about Africanising them. The example of the *City Press* newspaper under the editorship of Mathatha Tsedu is seen as a case in point, where the paper actively aimed to: enhance the understanding of problems facing the continent, to enhance the understanding that Africans have of themselves in South Africa and in the rest of the continent. It also aimed to showcase not just the negativity that is taking place in African communities, but also portraying the good that is part of those communities. The newspaper made a commitment towards the inspiration and motivation of the continental citizenry (Sesanti, 2007).

While there are merits in the Africanisation debates of the media in South Africa and the rest of the continent, some academic literature suggests an oppositional stance to these suggested ideological frameworks. Milton and Louw (2012) for instance explain that unlike in the rest of the continent, where in the 1960s and 1970s there was a drive towards African nationalism, in South Africa, and according to these scholars, this Africanisation 'movement' after the ending of apartheid was not robust or sustained. They further argue that a total Africanisation project in this country was not possible because the settler community's would have felt threatened by this drive. Therefore, a toned down African ideological project emerged (Milton and Louw, 2012).

This ideological project took the route of arguing for transformation and affirmative action programs where Africans would not be overlooked when it came to the staffing needs. It also called for the promotion of Afrocentric cultural norms and the redistribution of resources to favour African language services. In the case of placing importance on Africans

languages and their impact on identity, seemingly, South Africa had realised the importance of these languages in the Africanisation processes. Hence, African languages that had not been formally recognised during the apartheid-colonial period were recognised officially by the Constitution. After all, Wa Thiongo (1981:4) states that "the choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe". African languages in South Africa form part of a call to affirm the identities of those who had been oppressed for centuries by multiple forms of colonial ventures.

However, Milton and Louw (2012) indicate also that when it comes to Africanising the country's biggest media outlet – the national public broadcaster – the policy of this project contained contradictory elements. Some were allegedly on the positive side while others were on the negative. On the positive, the policy on Africanisation arguably recognised and affirmed African cultures in South Africa. However, Milton and Louw (2012) indicate that on the negative, the policy caused what they term 'racial / ethnic re-ranking'. To prove this re-ranking, they mention the strategies which were used by the Afrikaner community during the apartheid era to dislodge the English community, which had also colonised South Africa.

"In a sense, it [Africanisation] constituted a repeat of the way in which white Anglos had perceived the Afrikaner re-ranking exercise of the 1950s. Africanisation now seemed set to replace Afrikanerization" Milton and Louw (2012:61) conclude. However, this argument seems to be closely aligned to the strategic erasure which now asserts itself in South Africa, that everyone who emerges from the country is in fact African, (cf. Suttner 2010). Both the English community cultures of South Africa and the Dutch/Afrikaner culture were imposed cultures that have their hegemonic root and legitimacy in Europe. In South Africa, they united to colonise and oppress the indigenous African communities. Therefore, while it is unfortunate of these scholars to see the Africanisation ideology as a threat to both communities, it should be remembered that Africanisation is a restoration of humanity to people and cultures that had been oppressed for centuries in South Africa (cf. Karenga, 2003; Mazama, 2003; Suttner, 2010).

3.7 RADIO AS THE ALTERNATIVE MEDIUM: RELEVANCE TO AFRICA'S DIVERSE CULTURES

As indicated in the sections above, this study is interested in how radio, and more specifically, community radio, has been Africanised in South Africa – with a specific focus on Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a case study. While Chapter 4 of this research study examines specific literature on community radio, this section broadly looks at the role of radio in the cultural emancipation of society. In this regard, research literature indicates that within the African continent, radio has been used to promote the cultural supremacy of the colonisers (Lekgoathi, 2001; Mazrui, 2009; Barber, 2009). For instance, in Mozambique, Marcus Power (2000) postulates that even during the final years of colonialism of the country, radio continued to be seen as a powerful tool of spreading the colonial propaganda. In 1974 for example, the RCM (Ra´dio Clube de Moc¸ambique) was 'captured' by armed forces that still had the desire to continue the Portuguese colonial project in that country. This according to Power (2000) signified a powerful testament on the important roles that radio had come to play in the cultural and political arenas of colonial life. "Overwhelmed and pleading, the broadcasting usurpers articulated a desperate demand for the continuation of Portugal and the residence of her white colonial subjects" (Power, 2000:606).

In the case of South Africa, Radio Bantu presents us with another case study of how South Africa's 'colonialism of a special kind' aimed to manipulate the radio airwaves for its selfish ends. Lekgoathi (2001) indicates that the settler-colonial government relied on the medium of radio to keep white and European supremacy project intact. This scholar notes that the settler-colonial government even resorted to using African languages for the purpose of buttressing the apartheid-colonial agenda. South Africa's then National Party (NP) government was thoroughly aware of the important roles of the media, especially radio, in shaping public opinion (ibid.). This can be interpreted as colonising from within. The nature of South Africa's population[13] dispersal illustrates that a large number of its people resided

[13] Results from South African demographic and population statistics indicate that the population of South Africa is spread across the country in the following way: 62% urban dwellers and 38% rural dwellers. Further information about these trends can be accessed at http://www.indexmundi.com/south_africa/demographics_profile.html

in rural areas during formal settler-colonialism, a trend that has changed slightly during the 'post-apartheid' era. The advantage of radio during the apartheid-colonial era meant that the settler-colonial government's propaganda could reach even those communities in remote villages.

The examples from the research literature cited above indicate that the different colonial authorities within the continent understood the power of manipulating representation through media institutions and the languages of the people surrounding such institutions. As Hall (1997) illustrates to us, representation through language is central to the processes through which meaning is produced. In some instance, radio was also used by Africans in South Africa to subvert colonialism and advance the anti-colonial struggle. Lekgoathi (2001) cites the examples of Stanley Mtshali and Stanley Nkosi who used 'Radio Bantu' airwaves for advancing the anti-colonial struggle of South Africa. They manipulated these airwaves to mobilise the masses to advance a progressive and decolonial agenda. Lekgoathi (2011) however also indicates that the colonial authorities were brutal to instigators of anti-colonial rhetoric and, in fact, upon the discovery of the actions of Mtshali and Nkosi by the then South African settler-colonial government, these broadcasters were summarily dismissed from the institutions of public broadcasting. They were dismissed by Radio Bantu during the apartheid struggle for playing struggle songs that advocated the unification of Black people to advance South Africa's liberation struggle.

Radio within the continent continues to be adapting culturally for the advancement of individual African communities. Within the continent, radio has also played a positive role in creating a sense of 'new' postcolonial nations, cultures and the advancing of infrastructural and material projects (Coplan, 2011). For instance in considering the impact of radio and languages in Africa, Mazrui (2009) argues that the medium's wide spread accessibility to both the literate and non-literate, as well as its demographic scope, within the country is testament to the cultural influence of the medium (cf. Lekgoathi, 2000).

Radio and its use of African languages are vital to the future of broadcasting as well as to the decolonial role of media institutions. It is when access to information is provided in the languages of the people they understand that they are able to meaningfully participate in issues such as political and cultural reconstruction of their previously colonised institutions

(Wa Thiong'o, 1981). Barber (2009) informs us that the cultural imperialism thesis exhibited by the media, indicates that non-Western societies have been victims of attacks which have threatened their cherished traditions and cultures. Such developments in fact have been a cause for concern among progressive African policy makers. However, Barber (2009) also illustrates that Africans have been innovative in taking advantage of the possibilities of radio as a cultural institution.

This argument illustrates that it is possible to take advantage of a modern medium such as the radio platform and use it for the benefit of African cultural identities (cf. Nyamnjoh, 2005). This medium can be used to revitalise African traditions and generate new forms of life that are derived from such traditions (Barber, 2009). Hence, Nyamnjoh (2005) applauds those media practitioners who promote the Africanising of media platforms. This also implies that the media should not only be seen through the cultural imperialism debate but should rather also recognise how it can be appropriated to suit the cultural reconstructions of African systems. Therefore, these media platforms should be seen as the 21st century's constitutive element in the formation and support of African cultures.

The Africanisation of radio in the 21st century therefore becomes a conduit that can channel the lived cultures of Africans in its natural state. To those who are its African 'community', this Africanised radio model becomes a powerful means of cultural portrayal. As Hall (1997) indicates, representation attaches meaning and language to culture. It is an important part of how meaning is produced and the driving forces of exchange between members of a culture. When looking at the contribution of African language radio in 'post-colonial' societies, Coplan (2011:144) notes that:

> From translating global 'information culture' into local languages and knowledge concepts, to providing the ever popular (since the 1940s) radio that express a common sense of character and experience to speakers of common language, African language radio not only expresses, but creates cultural identities while tying those into national discourses of belonging and location.

This conclusion advances the argument that African radio plays a key role in identity building. It sensitizes scholars and researchers to the continuing questions that have been raised on how media institutions can contribute to African cultural systems. These emanate

from academics such Tomaselli (2003) who argue that it is a reductive assumption to argue for continent-wide social and cultural African identities, including those who see the idea of Africanised media system as a threat to the status quo in South Africa (cf. Milton and Louw, 2012). These assumptions are potentially blind to the identities which have been marginalised by the various forms of colonisation and in contemporary times, the coloniality of South Africa. To counter such assumptions, Suttner (2010:519) indicates that:

> Within the identity of being African there were and are subdivisions of various kinds, people who form distinct communities and linguistic groups. It is very common still to treat all Xhosa speakers as one people, while there is no such thing. There are a range of Xhosa speaking communities, including abaThembu, amaGcaleka, amaMpondise and amaMpondo [amaRharhabe].

This argument further illustrates the concept of African particularity and how people can assume the identity of ethnicity as well as other identities that come with their societies. Radio, therefore, is often instrumental in capturing the lived realities of all these African identities.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The literature reviewed in this chapter has looked at three broad but related themes that form the backbone of this study (Africanisation, media and culture). To contextualise the ideological functions of the media, the chapter looked at the 'pre-colonial' indigenous media systems in Africa. This was to identify and illustrate the concept of indigenous media as practiced in the African continent. Following this section, the reviewed literature identified the emergence of the modern media systems in the continent with a special focus on their roles as servants of the colonial system.

The section achieved balance by looking at particular definitive moments in these modern media systems of the continent. Furthermore, the reviewed literature also looked at the history of the development of media in South Africa, with a focus on eras within the broadcasting framework. This section was followed by the structure of the 'post-apartheid' broadcasting media that recognised community radio as part of the three-tier broadcasting

system of South Africa.The literature examined after these sections looked at the continuing legacies of colonialism by tying media debates to the concept of coloniality. It further examined the debates on de-Westernising the media as well as on-going debates on Africanising media systems.

To conclude the discussions of this chapter, attention was paid to the general role of radio in functioning as a medium where African identities could thrive. This section continued the points that were briefly discussed by the sections which looked at the history of modern media in Africa and that of the coloniality of media institutions within the continent. The chapter concluded by looking at the progressive possibilities of radio in reference to its role of being a conduit for the thriving of African identities and cultures.

In the following chapter, the study continues with the literature review of the key themes that are driving this study. The specific theme and focus that is examined in the following chapter revolves around the political economy of the community radio sector.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY RADIO SECTOR: THE SUBALTERN'S VOICE

The previous chapter focuses on embedding the idea of Africanisation within the practice of the media industry. This current chapter pays attention to selected literature of the community radio broadcasting sector. This includes scholarly literature on features or characteristics that are vital in the functioning of community radio stations. The reviewed literature in this chapter highlights various debates on community radio as a micro-media broadcasting model. The rationale for undertaking a literature review of the field of community radio is the assumption that the study will be better informed on how community radio is defined, understood and theorised by various practitioners, researchers and scholars. Additional objective of the literature review in this chapter is to position the value of the community radio sector as a people focused media platform that should be central to the representation of their identities, including those of African people in South Africa.

The literature in this chapter points to historical and on-going contemporary debates on the community radio sector. Understanding past and current debates on community radio has helped to highlight the uniqueness of the current study among the various studies that have been conducted on the sector. Since this study largely focuses on African culture and identity in a community radio platform, the reviewed literature in this chapter points to the following issues: selected regional definitions of what community radio is; conceptual contestations in the sector, the role of community radio, its characteristics and contemporary perspectives on how it has 'diversified' media content. The literature further examines the idea of the 'community' in the community radio sector. Because of the blurred lines between the 'community' in the sector and the audiences, the chapter ends by concluding that the only viable way forward for understanding these blurred lines is to emphasize the dual role by the citizenry surrounding the community radio station.

4.1 WHAT IS COMMUNITY RADIO? REGIONAL DEFINITIONS

In its ideal nature, community radio signifies the 'democratisation' of communications (Mtimde *et al*, 1998). It is a media sector that is mandated to be transparent in its conduct for the benefit of the communities it serves. Despite the general perceptions imposed on the sector, scholarly debates indicate that there is no single, definitive and all-encompassing global definition (see the following section on the problems of conceptualising community radio broadcasting) that exists for the community radio sector (Libreno, 2004). The World Bank Institute (2007) indicates that, there are as many models of community radio as there are community radio stations across the world.

The academic literature, however, indicates that the broad guiding philosophy of community radio should emphasize the dynamic involvement of people in the use of such radio to facilitate and speed the process of dealing with challenges related to infrastructure development. The medium is about people empowerment. Writing for AMARC-Africa, Mtimde *et al* (1998) define the sector by stating that in its purest sense, community radio is a media platform that allows communities to participate as planners, producers and performers of the broadcast content. It is the means of expression by the community, rather than for the community (Mtimde et al, 1998; cf. Mgibisa, 2005 and Olorunissola, 2002). The emphasis is therefore on the community being directly involved in all aspects of the community radio station.

The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) (2000) notes that a community radio station is a broadcasting platform that is built by community members; is used by these members and ideally in service of that specific community. They state that the defining indicators of such broadcasting platforms include the ownership aspect, the self-governance, and participation by the community as well as the representation of these communities. The emphasis is on local content. Such content is produced by the community for their own benefits (MISA, 2000). These definitions (AMARC-Africa, 1998 and MISA, 2000) complement the criteria of the sector as outlined by the Broadcasting Act of South Africa (as part of a discussion on the three-tier broadcasting model, Chapter 3 of this study outlined the South African criteria for the official recognition of community media broadcasting in South Africa). For the purpose of this study, the parameters of understanding the sector in South

Africa and in the rest of the African region will be guided by the definitions and indicators that have been outlined by MISA, 2000; AMARC-Africa, 1998; and the Broadcasting Act of South Africa, 1999. Largely this is a result of the synergy and how the sector as defined in their documents complements one another.

The following section illustrates some of the conceptual contestations as experienced in some selected regions of the world. The conceptual contestation debates point to the on-going discussions in the development and on-going evolution of the sector throughout the world.

4.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY RADIO: A GLOBAL OVERVIEW

As a media industry feature within many countries, community radio broadcasting has been applied and understood differently across the globe. This section illustrates the conceptual contestations of the community radio sector and how different scholars, researchers and communities contextualise community radio based on unique characteristics that are inherent in a particular country/society. The objective is to understand conceptual similarities and differences across the globe. Banda (2006, cf. Berger, 1996) argues that, across the world, there seems to exist definitional elasticity in how community radio should be structured. He indicates that we are faced with a situation where alternative definitions of community radio are coming to the forefront. This argument seems to indicate a continuous and evolving process in the definitions associated with the community radio model. Such conceptual contestations in community radio as an alternative media platform will continue to redefine and highlight the changing understanding of the community radio industry (Banda, 2006).

Olorunissola (2002) indicates that the experiences of minority groups across the world and more specifically in Europe, Australia and North America indicate that community radio has emerged traditionally out of repressive socio-political experiences. Communities that have been marginalized in political, economic and cultural ways have typically adopted community radio as a tool for highlighting their inherent human rights (ibid.). This assertion points to how marginalized constituencies have adopted this radio model to highlight their lived realities. This also illustrates how community radio can be seen as a liberating medium for marginalised and oppressed communities. As Freire (1970) argues, the oppressed must

be their own example in their struggle of redemption. When people develop, and maintain their community radio sector, the medium becomes better positioned to communicate and reflect the struggles of these communities. It becomes their identities and a mirror of their struggles and existence.

In highlighting the need to understand the diverse ways in which community radio can be useful to communities, Berger (1996) argues that community media, including the community radio industry should not be defined in the abstract. The medium does not exist in a vacuum. Rather, it should be defined in relation to the particular purpose it serves; these include the social conditions of the communities and the particular ethic of the community. This argument indicates that the understanding of these micro broadcasting channels should be contextualised to their individual and unique circumstances. This is supported by the idea that various versions of community media across the globe abound (ibid. cf. The World Bank Institute, 2007; Librero, 2004). Despite these numerous forms of community radio stations across the globe, some research and academic literature suggests that there is a certain level of consensus about the key characteristics that should feature in a community radio station. Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002) argue that community radio deals with the local issues of a designated community. It does this in that community's local language, outlook and *cultural* context. The community radio station should relate to local problems and concerns, and it should help the community to 'develop' socially, culturally and economically (Olorunissola, 2002; Buckley, 2009 and Siemering, 1996).

Access and local relevance is one of the most important defining features of these media platforms. This type of radio model should be locally accessible and provide access to the constituency it aims to serve (Siemering, 1996). It has been argued that fostering community development, building local identities, enabling participation, political and other key forms of empowerment are some of the key definitional issues that community radio station should speak to (cf. Mgibisa, 2005; Louw, 1993; Opubor, 2000 and Banda, 2006). Another word that seems to feature prominently in the conceptual character of these local media platforms is 'development'. It aims to assist with socio-economic development. What is of concern though is that the underlying assumption in some arguments which seem to suggest that communities where these types of radio models are situated need to be 'developed' in ways that affirm the modernization theory and the problematic role of the

global north in these communities (cf. Freire, 1970). The question that arises from this assumption are (1) what is the end goal of this development that targets these communities? (2) how do these assumptions add to the colonial reasoning of modernising the non-Western countries to resemble Western societies or developed societies? According to Bosch (2005)[14] "Community radio is usually discussed within the context of traditional theoretical approaches, which situate alternative media on the axes of specific communication-oriented debates in the areas of development: modernization and dependency.

Modernization was the dominant paradigm in development theory and practice between the 1940's and the 1960's, and is often still employed today. It is based on the premise that insufficient western knowledge, causes 'underdevelopment' and those interventions should provide people with information to change their lifestyles and behavior. In a research study that looks at community radio in countries within the European Union, Buckley (2009) argues that nations with a vibrant community radio sector in Europe are those that have a sound and robust legal framework. Such countries have clear public policy commitments and these aim to develop the sector, and put in place measures that support the funding of this sector. Using the examples of Denmark, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, Buckley (2009) indicates that community radio in these states operates on a mixed funding model that draws financial support from a number of sources including public and private grants, service delivery contracts as well as advertising and sponsorship funds.

Some of the literature indicates that advertising should be discouraged in this sector. However, Buckley's argument suggests that it is a financial source for some community radio stations. In some contexts, funding of community radio has been regarded as one of the conceptual character indicators. This is mainly because the people who fund media platforms are assumed to derive some private or commercial benefits from the platforms that they fund. Arguably such benefits cannot be extended to the whole community that is served by the community radio station. These benefits could be advertisement as well as airtime feature in the content of the media platform. The advertising element may exist in

[14] Bosch (2005) captured this argument in an online journal article that attempts to theorize the idea of the community radio sector in a post-apartheid South Africa. The article does through the case of Bush Radio in Cape Town. The entire article appears in *Transformations Journal* Issue No. 10. It can be accessed on the following link: http://www.transformationsjournal.org/journal/issue_10/article_05.shtml

some cases, in many European countries, but community radio broadcasts are generally understood to be an independent broadcasting system, rooted in communities and run for non-profit motives. This media sector has come to be recognised as an important contributor to media pluralism for the whole of Europe (Buckley, 2009; O'Brien & Gaynor, 2012).

In another study that looks at community radio in Asia, Pavarala and Malik (2007) have argued that whereas in the West community radio is understood to fulfil needs of self-expression of people who have been neglected by the main stream mass media, in countries with autocratic or totalitarian governments, community radio tends to become a means of resistance by the proletariat. These researchers indicate that community radio should be seen as part of the broader struggle for access to ideas using the communication media. They indicate that the definitional characteristics of these types of community radio stations include access to the community radio station, public participation in production and transparent decision making by the volunteers and the listeners of these community radio stations.

The Asian model also indicates that members of the public from the surrounding communities are mandated to act as program producers, journalists and station managers of the broadcasting institution. In this model, the community is meant to participate in these stations as ordinary listeners as well as decision makers in the functioning of their radio stations. Pavarala and Malik (2007) also indicate that the operations of these radio's should mainly rely on the community's own resources. The sector in some Asian countries still faces problem though. Illustrating the challenges faced by the sector in India, Noronha (2003:1629) writes that:

> On paper, India currently grants permission for setting up and running community radio stations. In reality, this low-cost technology that can really reach out to the common people in country still battling poverty and illiteracy is far from practical. The Indian government that unveiled its rules that allows educational institutions to set up 'community radio' stations. But, the licensing costs are still vague, elite educational institutions seem to get a preference in

setting such stations, and like in other non-government controlled radio stations in India, the broadcasting of news is expressly banned.

Additional research literature on the conceptual understanding of these radio platforms seems to indicate that the sector is applied and understood based on the unique circumstance of the community radio practitioners (Berger, 1996). These arguments come from various sources including Jo Tacchi (2003:2183), who writes that the Australian community radio example provides us with a case of a "well developed and large community radio sector." The Australian Broadcasting Act (ABA) defines community broadcasting service as a service which is not operated for profit or as part of a profit-making business. It must represent the community of interest, should comply with the community broadcasting codes of practice, and encourage members of the community to participate in the operations of the station as well as in the selection and provision of programmes. The Act also bars these radio stations from selling advertising broadcast space and only makes room for a five-minute broadcast of sponsorship announcements (Tacchi, 2003).

Analysing the North American case and more specifically the practice of community radio broadcasting in the United States of America and Canada, Fairchild (2001:136) writes that community radio in these countries "has multiple roots, varied paths of development and multitudes of contemporary forms". In the United States, community radio emerged with the creation of Pacific Radio in 1949. In Canada on the other hand, it merged through a system of gradual development of community access to the low-power radio transmitter for the aboriginal communities. Fairchild (2001) argues that it is difficult to form a single definition for these countries as there are few tangible characteristics held in common by the community radio sector. However, it is conceded that those characteristics that are in-common for the community radio sector in these two countries include: access to the production facilities, community control of the stations as well as participation in the programming of the stations (ibid).

For South America, the presence of the community radio sector dates back to the 1940s. Light (2011) writes that community based radio broadcasting in Latin America generally emerged from two historical developments. On one side, the founding of Radio Sutatenza

(1947) in Colombia is credited with the setting of events which set the stage for the development of what is now an educational as well as a community radio network throughout Latin America. Secondly the development of the mining community radio is also cited as an important rupture that lead to an important direction in the growth of community radio in that continent (Light, 2011).

To give an idea of the many ways community radio is defined and understood by some researchers in Latin America, Martin and Matos (2013) indicate that in Bolivia, the legislation defines community radio as platforms that are managed and operated by communities. Such communities can be peasant or indigenous communities. Ideally, the content of these radio stations is designed to be consumed by the select communities and such radio stations are seen as a means towards a plural communication system that is decentralised (ibid). This argument indicates that these stations strive to be inclusive platforms that have the interest of the communities that they serve.

As in most parts of the globe, the community radio sector practice and its understanding in the African continent is varied. Despite this varied take on community radio practice, Alumunku (2006: 133) argues that the continents community radio movement has seen a steady growth in recent times. He indicates that the first recognised community radio station in Africa was established in Kenya in 1982. Since then, the sector has seen a sharp growth. One of the factors that make community radio a medium of value to the African continent is how it is suited to accommodate the large number of languages spoken by communities of the continent (Alumunku, 2006; cf. Mano, 2011). The African division of the World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC) (1998:9) states that "even though community radio is a growing phenomenon in Africa, both in actual terms and in popularity, it has developed differently across the continent." Though there are difference in the practice and application of this radio practice in the continent, AMARC (1998) notes that there are many issues of common interest and this gives motivation for the sharing and cross pollination of experiences.

Looking specifically at South Africa, most researchers agree that part of the impetus for the development of a vibrant community radio system in this country comes from the anti-apartheid movement (cf. Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Rama & Louw, 1993; Bosch, 2003).

Olurinnisola (2002) contends that the rise of a flourishing community radio sector also comes from the transition to a multi-racial South Africa in 1994 and thereafter. Before the transition, the concept of the community radio existed informally and stations such as Bush Radio and Zibonele Community Radio had to broadcast their content illegally (Bosch, 2003). After the transition to a 'democratic' society, South Africa saw a spike in the community radio sector with about 65 licenced radio stations being recorded in 1999. Among the first radio stations to be licensed in post-apartheid South Africa is Radio Maritzburg, Bush Radio, Radio Zibonele and Vukani Community Radio (VCR) (cf. Wigston, 2008).

As previously mentioned, in post-apartheid South Africa, the model of this radio medium has largely taken the participatory and developmental outlook (Olurinnisola, 2002; Mhlanga, 2006; Hart, 2011; Tyali and Tomaselli, 2015). Within the context of this country, Teer-Tomaselli (2001) has noted that there are two types of community radio stations. These include a community radio broadcast service serving: i) a geographical community; and ii) those serving a community of interest. She argues that a community of interest may be defined as having a specific and common interest. The shared interest is what makes such a group of persons or sector of the public an identifiable community. Communities' common interests may vary from being institutional, religious or cultural depending on the licensing conditions (cf. Tacchi, 2003; Tyali, 2012; Mhlanga, 2006). The geographic aspect only looks at the locality of the radio station (a full discussion of 'community' in community radio is offered in the last section of this chapter). The South African Broadcasting Act of 1999 also indicates that the programming services of a community radio platform must reflect the needs of the constituency including its cultural, religious, language and demographic needs.

The conceptual understanding of the community radio sector in the country is crucial for this study. As indicated by the themes discussed in Chapter 4, the objective of this study broadly involves the process of examining a three-matrix theme: Africanization, coloniality and the continuities or discontinuities of these concepts in a community radio set-up. For the purpose of scrutinizing Africanization at a community radio station such as Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the study among other things has closely investigated the use (and relevance) of African languages by the community radio station as a means of promoting local identity and cultural pride. It further assessed the content and its relevance to the immediate needs of the local African community surrounding the community radio station;

the focus and presence of content relating to local cultural and traditional practices; participation of the local community in the overall running of the station (including on-air personalities, program planners, and local music). Lastly the study propped the perspectives, contradictions and other local views on what is considered to be the role of the radio in contributing towards an Africanised identity and representation of African culture by the community radio station (see chapter 7 on the broader discussion of the variables used in this study).

In this section, the focus has been on capturing selected arguments in the global, regional and national development of the sector. Within the confines of a study such as this one, it is impossible to give a conceptual understanding of what is termed a community radio for every country in the world. Hence the focus has been on selected examples. The literature from these examples has simply served the purpose of outlining a set of what constitutes a community radio in some countries and the debates associated with it.

4.3 COMMUNITY RADIO AS AN ALTERNATIVE MEDIA PLATFORM

Research discussions indicate that community radio stations are performing multiple functions in the areas of their mandate (Banda, 2006; Fairchild, 2001; Manyozo, 2012; Bosch, 2003). This includes mediated representation for the beneficiary communities of these radio models. Bailey, Cammaerts and Carpentier (2000) argue that we live in a reality of mediated experiences and this is where the centrality and power of mainstream media is most pervasive. However, despite this doom and gloom surrounding centralised content from the mainstream media, the world is also witnessing a phenomenon where a variety of alternative spaces of mediated communication are shaping themselves as means of representation of public and private ideas, views and identities (ibid). Coupled with this is the wide consensus that community radio stations form an important component in what is often referred to as 'alternative media'. To explain 'alternative media' Sandoval and Fusch (2010:45) state that:

> Alternative media as critical media is based on a dialectical understanding of the media system, on the assumption of a dialectical relationship between media

> actors (producers and recipients) and media structures (economic product form, media content, media technologies, media institutions, etc.). This means that media structures enable and constrain the actions of media actors, who again through their actions shape the media structures.

Alternative media implies a close working relationship between content creators and those for whom the content is created. Most importantly however is the heavy reliance of these media systems on people and how people shape the functioning of alternative media. This section positions the community radio station in the on-going discourse about the value of alternative media in self-representation of communities in small alternative media spaces. This is done by first outlining the meaning behind the term 'alternative media'; furthermore, the section outlines how community radio stations are central to the idea of alternative media.

Banda (2006) has argued that an alternative media system serves a specific ideological function or a certain socio-political purpose. Such functions include capturing the political, social and economic aspirations of the alternative media constituencies. The characteristics that are often associated with alternative media include the recognition of individuals and minority groups and the legitimate right that these people have to access media platforms and content. The alternative media is also guided by a philosophy which acknowledges that people have a right to be served by the media according to their own determination and needs.

The advocates and practitioners of these media systems also acknowledge that the organisations producing media content should not be subjected to centralisation by any political or bureaucratic structures. Ideally, the underlying objectives of these media systems are that groups and local communities have their own media platforms (Banda, 2006). This is important as these media systems serve the urgency and interest of those communities. Vatikiotis (2005) argues that the alternative media are understood in terms of communities' involvement in their practice and the appropriation of their own communication means within that specific socio-cultural framework. It provides a space for the expressions of citizens' views, but it should also be noted that the alternative media

become an agent for the enactment of citizenship by those who work alongside these media platforms (Vatikotis, 2005, Kenix, 2011).

Media scholars, researchers as well as the industry practitioners tend to agree that when we talk about 'alternative media', we generally tend to refer to activist or citizens' media, to radical and autonomous media. These are media systems that are political and socio-economically oriented. Some research literature indicates that other related terms that are used in conjunction with this term; alternative media; include participatory and community media (Kenix, 2011). The critical areas that justify the existence of these types of media platforms is said to be found in the value of the content that the platforms broadcast. Sandoval (2008) indicates that an important definitive area for the alternative media is whether their aim focuses on providing critical content and broad audience reach so that they empower those who are exposed to the content as well as those who are involved in the various processes of alternative media broadcasting.

The alternative mediums are often confronted with many problems, such as a lack of financial resources, and in most cases, they are not broadly represented in the national spectrum. This has, therefore, meant that their broad national impact is often questioned (ibid) by sceptics. However, Fuchs (2010) commends the work being done by alternative media platforms. He argues that these media platforms tend to challenge the dominant capitalist forms of media production, media structures, reception and distribution of media content. This is because they are grassroots organisations where collective ownership and consensus in decision making must have everyone in mind. This means that their primary concern is those members that they represent, while in a capitalist orientated media practice the concern is mostly the shareholders, advertisers and profits. In these organisations, ideally there are no strict formal hierarchies or a symmetric power distribution system. "The grassroots do-it-yourself production process is the heart of the alternative media" (Fuchs, 2008:184). These are not just any type of media system but are rather media structures that are embedded in the communities they serve.

Scholars such as Bailey, Commaerts and Carpentier (2008) postulate that alternative communication and the platforms they manifest themselves on are important for a community's daily life. Not only are they important for personal and collective politics, but

they are important for a community's sense of identity as well as for the processes of belonging that are often rooted in how one sees themselves in relation to their community's culture. These scholars indicate that this sense of belonging is mostly affirmed by participating in a community's political life as well as in more everyday processes of the community. The alternative media tends to be inclusive and this allows people to have a sense of anchor in their communities (ibid).

These alternative media systems denote any media systems that fall outside the formal corporate mainstream media. This also means that for a media platform to be considered alternative, it must be driven by a sense of counterhegemonic ideological identities, cultures, and politics that are not an overt feature of the mainstream media. This is contrary to most societies who live in a world where every day experiences are mediated by corporate and hegemonic media institutions (Bailey, Commaerts and Carpentier, 2008). Louw and Tomaselli (1991) argue that in South Africa, the idea of the alternative media was more pervasive during the country's anti-apartheid movement. These platforms provided a counter voice to the settler-colonial government's propaganda machinery. However, with the reforms that led to a democratic South Africa, the traditional functions of the then alternative media as championed by the alternative press became less relevant. This is because the goal of a 'multi-racial' South Africa was then imminent. Furthermore, the funds that were provided by donors to keep those platforms running were channelled to other more immediate causes. Louw and Tomaselli (1991) further indicate that the then alternative press shifted their ideologies. As an example, "the *Vrye Weekbland* shifted from being a primarily anti-government paper which fearlessly exposed the Civil Cooperation Bureau hit squads, successfully defending a resulting defamation suit by the Police forensic chief, to a bi-lingual magazine incorporating articles of cultural and academic emphasis" (Louw and Tomaselli, 1991: 225).

The gap and void that has been left by the then anti-apartheid alternative media in South Africa has been filled by the community media. This new role is affirmed by Banda (2006: 2) who indicates that the alternative media serve as ideological apparatuses, and they "exist in specific and historical contexts, and respond to specific social, political, economic and cultural challenges." The community radio in South Africa has assumed the task of being a key local communication medium for communities that are not traditionally served by the

mainstream media. They have taken on the task of reconstructing social identities, community development functions as well as the functions of being centres where the social challenges facing a community could be resolved (cf. Hart, 2011; Mhlanga, 2006, Tyali and Tomaselli, 2015, Bosch, 2003). In South Africa, these radio stations have therefore become alternative media platforms that facilitate the communication process for what are often marginalized communities and their respective cultures. Arguably they contribute to the healthy functioning of alternative public spheres that champion neglected voices and communities that are not in the mainstream media and cultures.

4.4 CONTEMPORARY FUNCTIONS OF COMMUNITY RADIO

The sections above, especially the section dealing with the conceptualisation of communication, has briefly alluded to some definitions of community radio, thereby touching briefly on how they function. This section gives an in-depth discussion on the functions of community radio platforms. As indicated above, the dominant approach in most parts of the world has been to use community radio for socio-economic development and participatory communication (cf. Berger, 1996). This approach operates on the assumption that some communities need to have broadcast content and knowledge that will assist them in their daily activities. This is in line with the media serving its societal role/function. According to McNair (1995) the media generally serves its role by fulfilling five main functions. These include the role of keeping the citizenry informed. They are required to play a monitoring and surveillance role. This function in most cases is fulfilled by the news desk or department of each media platform. This is the means by which the media keeps the citizenry informed on local, national and international developments. Having fulfilled this function, the media are also required to perform an educational role. This might range from entertainment-educational roles that include health communication to performing literacy roles.

The third function of the media is that of being a platform for public political discourse. This function includes the "provision of space for the expression of dissent, without which the notion of democratic consensus would be meaningless" (McNair, 1995:19). Furthermore, they are required to give publicity to government, non-government and political

institutions. This the media does by covering government and political institutions that are of interest to the community. The last and final role of the media is that of serving as a "channel for the advocacy of political viewpoints" (ibid: 20). The sector is required to be outlets where interested parties are able to use it to communicate with mass audiences as the need arises. It can be used to canvass for a particular cause or where pressure groups exist, they can advocate for healthcare or political freedom for the population through media channels. To a certain extent, the media functions outlined by McNair (1995) also complement the twelve functions that have been outlined by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for the community radio sector.

UNESCO (2001) mandated the community radio broadcasting sector to fulfil certain vital functions for the community as well as the 'nation' in general. The twelve functions that the community radio sector is mandated to fulfil according to UNESCO (2001) include the following issues: the radio stations are required to reflect and promote local identities, character and culture of the communities that they serve; such radio stations are required to create a diversity of voices and opinions on-air; they are required to provide a diversity of radio programmes including content that reflects the community's ideals. UNESCO (2001) further notes that, because of their nature and mandate, community radio stations are required to encourage open dialogue and such open dialogue is extended to the formation and encouragement of democratic processes.

In addition, community radio needs to contribute to social development including issues of socio-economic challenges that face each community. These can range from HIV/AIDS related challenges to water and sanitation programs that need to be discussed on the airwaves for the benefit of the community. The promotion of civil society practices is also a fundamental function of the community radio sector; this is extended to fulfilling the function of being a voice of the community. In some instances, these stations are required to provide a social service, e.g. the provision of a telephone service to the community. Furthermore, the sector is required to promote good governance and contribute to diversity and pluralism of the media landscape of the country. UNESCO (2001) concludes by stating that the last function of the community radio sector is to increase the human resource capacity for the broader benefit of the broadcasting sector of a nation.

In South Africa for instance, scholarly research indicates that the national government as well as the Open Society Foundation (OSF) have previously made funds available so that the community radio sector can play a 'developmental' role in addressing the challenges facing their constituencies. In this context, financial resources have been used in the areas of HIV/AIDS intervention programmes as well as to create content for challenges facing children and the elderly (Tacchi, 2003, Mhlanga, 2006; Hart, 2011). Whether they are geographical or micro broadcasters targeting communities of interest (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001), the research literature suggest that these radio stations fulfil certain life enhancing functions in the constituencies that they target. Boafo (2000: 13) argues that "twentieth century approaches to community media development have been dominated by exogenous definitions of communities and the imposition of narrow media-based solutions to the cultural, communication and survival problems which communities face."

This elucidation of the contemporary functions of community radio stations helps this study in establishing the social relevance of the community radio and how this sector is positioned in the context of its 21st century core constituency. In a continent [Africa] that does not have a single country in the 'developed' countries matrix[15]; the 'developmental' role of the community radio sector is seen to be paramount. Netshitendze (1999) has indicated that the community radio sector is especially important because in the African continent, these types of media platforms operate in the interests of communities, especially in rural and other modern infrastructure disadvantaged areas. The sector allows such communities to have outlets for community communication, works to enhance development and allows people to be part of the national discourse.

Some research literature supports the idea of community radio to continue to be used in the areas of social and community 'developments'. The research literature indicates that this type of radio model does not exist for the mere purpose of broadcasting. Tyali and Tomaselli (2015) for instance argue that one of the key requirements of community radio is to serve a development purpose using the voices and expertise of the local communities in

[15] The world development indexes recognise the 'developed' and 'developing' states. In most instances these include countries that are either middle or high income earners. The developing and developed country index is mainly determined by the economies of the countries under consideration. In recent times, the developing and developed country titles have been replaced by the World Bank's 'low, middle and high income countries index' For more information on this, consult the following link: http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-and-lending-groups

fulfilling this objective. In a study investigating the use of community radio in HIV/AIDS communication, it was established that this platform is playing an important role in the area of providing an avenue where health communication aimed at a 'beneficiary' community forms part of the HIV/AIDS dialogue. Results from this study established that community radio is key when it comes to education and health related communication. This is arguably one aspect of the developmental agenda that is said to be championed by this radio sector. Looking at the circumstances of West Africa, Gaynor (2012) indicates that in most parts of Nigeria, the use of community radio as a conversational platform with a direct interest in designated communities has a functional possibility in both formal and informal education. He argues that people see this platform as playing a vital role in substituting lectures for people studying through correspondence as well as a general support for people who are in pursuit of education (both formal and informal).

The strength of community radio is that it can help people to identify their current challenges. People can hear about and identify with social challenges in their immediate environments. Thus, the sector opens the boundaries of sharing community information and helps people acquire certain life skills, including broadcast training of community radio volunteers. Offor (2012) further indicates that the features and function of community radio speak to the issues of being able to play an active participation role in one's surrounding community and in the life of the local radio station. This platform is credited with the promotion of urgency and social change as well as the concept of a community's culture finding an outlet through the community's airwaves. It has been further established that such radio models can be a community's intervention platform when it comes to religious broadcasting (cf. Bosch, 2008). This simply indicates that broadcasting from these community radio stations is imperative in the identity constructions of a society.

In a broader study that examines African Broadcast cultures, Myers (2000) in her study that reports on community radio and development, supports the established notion of broadcast practitioners of community media being from the surrounding broadcasting range of the station. According to this research, the idea of using local broadcasters helps in making them the "midwives" of community expressions of their communities. Mainly this is because these broadcasters have direct knowledge of the community's challenges. This therefore indicates that one of the principal functions of community radio lies on the ability

of the practising broadcasters themselves being able to receive and champion the concerns of the communities that they represent. “The very local nature of community radio begins and ends with the producers/ presenters, who call themselves *animateurs*/*animatrics*, in common with grassroots development workers. They must if they are to have any credibility with the audience, be from the area” (Myers, 2006:96). It is not enough that a community radio seek to speak to certain identified communities; rather the very fabric of these radio platforms should be moulded by the localities of the people. This further helps in moulding the broadcasting skills of local communities.

As Mgibisa (2005: 47) reminds us in the case of South Africa, “in their written proposals when applying to obtain broadcast licenses, most [community radio] stations promise to facilitate methods that ensure that community members participate in the selection and provision of programmes”. For a continent recovering from colonialism, participation of people in the process of their own socio-economic and cultural reconstruction is vital. Biko (1978:163) argues that in South Africa, the political emasculation of Black people by the country’s colonial government had led to a scenario where “there was no participation by blacks in the articulation of their own aspirations.” In a sense, through participation in communication, community radio restores people’s humanity as it functions to articulate their aspirations. This type of local socio-cultural reconstruction is a key functional role of community radio.

Central to the concept of development broadcasting practices, is the community ownership of radio programmes and structures, in which participation is both an interaction, flow and sharing of local knowledge and experiences (Manyozo, 2005). This role is closely aligned to the concept of ‘participatory development communication’ that is often fulfilled by community radio broadcasters. Bessette (2004) argues that during the development making endeavours, communities should be primarily involved in identifying their own development problems, in seeking solutions to these problems, and in making decisions about how to implement them. If there is some generation of information, it should be conducted to help the community understand and act upon the debated issues. Therefore, development should not be an extractive and imposed process where planners who are foreign to specific identified communities impose their ideas to a set of people who have identified

development challenges. This has generally been the case with traditional research and development planning (ibid).

In the context of community radio as a development agent, the argument is further advanced by Alumuku (2006), who sees the platform as a catalyst which can serve the developmental springboard for socio-economically marginalised African communities. He indicates that the concept of development points to the issue of enlarging the pool of choices that people can make in their surroundings. The human species, it is argued, is faced with the predicament of making a number of choices in the daily existence. These include: economic, social, political and cultural choices. Therefore, if development is focused on helping people, it is likely that this development helps to serve the purpose of solving the dilemma associated with making these everyday choices. "The acquisition of information and knowledge has intrinsic value by itself, but more importantly, it is an important dimension of human development as it is a critical means of building human capability" (Alumunku, 2006:89). Communication through selected mediums becomes important in the process of dispersing information and knowledge to those who need it. Through its very nature, community radio becomes a social communication means and an outlet to voice the community's challenges, aspirations and achievements. Community radio therefore can become a platform where a community can come together in a dialogue and action that is needed to overcome the challenges facing particular societies (ibid).

Another important function of community radio as a form of micro-media model is its ability to allow select communities to mediate the complex sense of who they are. Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002) indicate that these types of media platforms provide avenues for a community wide public dialogue. Through such dialogues, select communities can allow people to build their identity, decolonise and define themselves. In one example where two community radio stations speak to the religious identities of communities that are based in the Cape Town area, South Africa, Bosch (cf. 2008) argues that religious radio stations in this country may be the most successful example of community radio and this is because through preaching faith and religion, these stations have been able to develop and maintain concrete connections with their target audiences. She indicates that not only have the stations in question built their identity through the concept of religion, but in some instances, these stations have become platforms of therapy and confession. This is because

the stations can give their listeners space to raise their frustrations, their regrets as well as an opportunity to advise other people who are dealing with challenges that certain community members have dealt with in the past (Bosch, 2008).

Furthermore, community radio has also been used to strengthen the identities of a country's aboriginal or indigenous communities in various parts of the world. In the context of Canada, community radio has been used to strengthen the cultural fabrics of the aboriginal people of that country. According to Fairchild (2001) they are credited with accelerating the growth and political legitimacy of these aboriginal communities and have played a part in stopping the cultural and linguistic erosion that was facing these communities. This example also applies to South Africa's XK-FM which has been used to broadcast to indigenous San communities (Mhlanga, 2009; Hart, 2011). These examples indicate that community radio content was designed to reflect the identity of the indigenous and aboriginal communities.

In Australia and South Africa, it has also been established that community radio stations have been playing a vital role in the process of preserving the identities of the indigenous communities (Tacchi, 2003; Mhlanga, 2009). Mhlanga (2009) concludes that in the case of community radio being used for the benefit of particular indigenous communities in South Africa, the question of cultural-linguistic survival was at the centre of the formation of some community radio stations. This conclusion primarily speaks to the role of community radio fulfilling its role to a 'community of interest' (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001).

4.5 COMMUNITY RADIO & CULTURE

The focus of this section is to contextualize the role/function performed by media platforms as conduits of culture and identity. It is a continuation of the previous section but the focus is on community radio and how such media outlets provide an enabling environment for the articulation and promotion of culture through mediated content. As Chinweizu (1999) explains in chapter 3 of this study, the question and challenges facing African media is how to be technologically progressive while maintaining allegiance to African cultures. It is important to create media systems that speak to African cultures and address issues that

are African oriented in nature, but the audiences that this content is directed towards has the ultimate say on whether to consume or reject such media content.

Straubhaar (1991) indicates that media audiences make an active choice to either consume international, national or regional media content. However, these choices are driven by what is called 'cultural relevance or proximity' (Straubhaar, 1991). This indicates that familiarity with messages embedded in the content is vital in media consumption. This is however dependent on the available alternative content that each media consumer has at their disposal. The aim, therefore, is to explore the different ways in which community radio can be a site for representing the cultures of the communities in which they are rooted. These are cultures to which the community radio stations and the 'community'/audience have a sense of relevance or proximity. Hall (2011) indicates that there are two ways to understand the concepts of culture and identity. He indicates that on one hand, cultural identity can be understood by ones shared culture, meaning that it is an individual cultural identity and outlook. However, this individual self is said to be positioned among many other selves, including "more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common" (223).

In the context of the case study of this research, these cultural identities may include Africanity, ethnicity or languages or any other cultural lineages that people see as important to them. Hall (2011) further states that, in this instance, cultural identities point to historical experiences and cultural indicators that portray people's common culture. Hall (2011) identifies a second argument on the issue of cultural identity. He states that cultural identities have origins or history – meaning that they emanate from somewhere. Thus, we are made to understand that culture has a historical basis, but such identities are bound to undergo constant transformations of sorts. "Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, (cultural) identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (Hall, 2011:225).

Cultural identities can be seen as fluid and though partly anchored in history, such identities can undergo transformations with the passage of time. The media as a cultural product plays an important role in the creation, affirmation and re-construction of identities and

culture. Straubhaar (1991) has therefore proposed a strategy on how those who are on the periphery of media power can build their own cultural industries that speak to their identities. He indicates that "these include decreasing audio and video technology costs that allow for increased local production, and, more broadly, the development of the technique required to use such hardware to create cultural products" (Strausbhaar, 1991:43). Because of its proximity to the communities it represents, the community radio sector is a cheap, accessible medium that is actively involved in the reflection of a community's cultures. After all, as part of the media fraternity, the community radio sector is a member of the cultural industry.

Whether created by our rootedness to history or through the negotiation of that history, cultural identities seem to be prevalent in mediated content. Arguing for the role of community radio in the promotion of culture, Offor (2002) indicates that culture is rooted at the basis of a people's existence, and such rootedness makes community radio the centre of people's everyday outlook. Therefore, community radio is critical in the promotion of such identities, as it conscientises people to their own identities or sensitizes them to other people's identities within their immediate surroundings. It is crucial that such community radio stations according to Offor (2002) be sensitive to the cultural identities of the communities surrounding the station. The role of the stations is not only in the process of promoting, acknowledging or even building cultural identities. It is argued that the community radio stations' coverage of culture and cultural symbols, allows people to identify with and take pride in their cultural values. This coverage of local cultures by community media enhances the visibility of a community's culture. As explained in the previous chapter, the language used by the medium represents an important expression of the cultures of the communities served by broadcast radio (cf. Mazrui, 2009; Wa Thiongo, 1980; Hall, 1997).

Colonial expansion has had debilitating impact on the cultural identity of the 'formerly' colonized people. Odine (2012) indicates that primarily the European colonial expansion trampled African cultures. 'Authentic' cultures of the African continent have been seriously eroded and such authenticity has been diluted by the imperial and colonizing cultures. To indicate the logic of the colonial objectives on culture, Fanon (1961: 169) argues that "colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding people in its grip and emptying the native's

brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverse logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it."

As a country emerging from what has been termed "colonialism of a special type[16]" [apartheid] or "settler-colonialism" (cf. More, 2008), it is reasonable to argue that South Africa and the indigenous African cultures generally found in the country have suffered debilitating consequences from the different forms of colonialism imposed the country. This point is further buttressed by Odine (2013) who indicated that the consequences of European colonialism meant that African cultures were trampled. This scholar indicates that during the apartheid era of South Africa, the 'Caucasian' languages were dominant. "Black culture was relegated, disregarded, and even despised" (Odine, 2013:182). Colonial oppressors strategically used the mass media to further undermine the African cultures of the country. In colonial and apartheid South Africa, "culture and mass media were two entities, which was an apartheid-created conditions to deprive South African blacks of their cultural heritage, identity and values" (ibid).

However, it is further argued by the scholar that culture is a stubborn beast that defies all odds. In 'post-apartheid' South Africa, the remnants of African culture can be proven by the eleven official languages that often feature on broadcast media. Radio with its various advantages has been a space where cultural identity is often witnessed in the country (Odine, 2013). The media that are situated in the ideological orientation of African world views and cultural practices have a significant role to play in restoring dignity to the degraded stature of cultures recovering from the colonial experience (Chinweizu, 1999). Community radio is important in recovering and making sense of local African community's cultures. Offor (2002) argues that community radio's role in educating such communities about their local cultures is crucial. This is mainly because culture is positioned at the centre of a people's existence and these radio stations make such cultures the centre of a people's everyday lives. Done correctly (local broadcasting), community radio stations make sense and contribute to the enrichment of people's daily existence, identity and culture.

[16] The term "Colonialism of a special type" has been used to describe the settler situation (apartheid) in South Africa. It alludes to how the countries colonizers permanently settled in the country. For further reading on this term see the following url: https://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv02730/05lv03005/06lv03132/07lv03140/08lv03144.htm

4.6 THE 'COMMUNITY' IN COMMUNITY RADIO BROADCASTING

The word "community" gives an important meaning to the existence of a "community radio" station. Therefore this section grapples with the various meanings attached to the word community and aims to strengthen its importance as a feature of the community radio station. This is especially relevant where such radio stations exist in diverse communities, including African communities. Mgibisa (2005) argues that the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) mandates the local community radio broadcasting sector to provide community access to the airwaves (see analysis of the ICASA policy in chapter 7). Such mandates by ICASA indicate that the people served by these community radio stations must contribute at all levels of the stations broadcasting activities. However, what seems to be unclear in some research literature dealing with the community radio sector is the proper definition of what or who constitutes the 'community' in community radio. Furthermore, the literature seems to lack proper contextualisation of the internal dynamics that exist in all communities: power, economic, cultural as well as religious dynamics that point to the heterogeneous nature of what is often termed a 'community'.

In a study that looked at listener research in the community radio sector of South Africa, Mavhungu (2009) explained that the word 'community' is challenging because people residing in the same geographical area may not only have different interests, but communicate, unpack and reflect on their lives using different cultural practices. Since this is the case in South Africa, ICASA, encourages community stations to embrace the diversity of individuals existing within the same spatial location or communities sharing widely comparable interests. Rama and Louw (1993) argue that the term 'community' has proved over time to be highly difficult to define. They state that 'community' has become a rhetorical term in the context of South Africa, and explained that in some instances, the anti-apartheid movement had slipped into the use of this term to refer to all those people who come from poor and disadvantaged groups. Therefore this assertions proves that there have been instances where it has also been used to refer to racial groupings of the country by the then apartheid-colonial government. Rama and Louw (1993) further explain that 'community' should more correctly be used to refer to people who inhabit a certain locality. Ideally, these people should have similar challenges, aspirations and overall, they should

have certain collective interests. These people therefore become a 'community' when they find solutions; using a joint effort (Rama and Louw, 1993).

However, the point of such a community is problematized by Benedict Anderson (1983:6) who has argued that "all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even those) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity or genuineness but by the style in which they are imagined." This style can include cultural, religious, language or even lifestyle similarities. In a study that asks, "Who is the 'community' in community radio?" Teer-Tomaselli (2001:232) explains that proper definitions and explanations of who precisely makes up the somewhat imagined constructs that are often termed a 'community' are difficult to pin down. This study goes on to further explain that in the context of the radio stations (Radio Kwezi, Durban Youth Radio and Radio Phoenix) that it interrogated, the 'community' is "a coherent body of listeners, donors and potential board members". Teer-Tomaselli (2001) further alludes to the idea that a listening community is often identified by complex demographic information such as age, language, and geography. These form part of the abstract concept of identifying what is termed a 'community' by community radio stations. Partly this may be justified by the idea that members of the targeted community are expected to critique the stations programming and point to alternative radio content that speaks to their locality (Mgibisa, 2005).

Another scholar who attempts to give a general idea of a radio's 'community' is Squier (2003). She argues that through the process of putting people in touch with each other through the airwaves, radio creates a conventional and convivial set of overlapping communities. Squier (2003) goes on to state that it is not only listeners who form part of what is termed the 'community' in broadcast radio. Rather she gives an extended idea of the community by indicating that even those who study and theorize radio in technological, social and cultural contexts are people that should be seen as belonging to what is termed the community of the airwaves. As Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002) suggest, the ultimate importance of community radio lies in its ability to encourage unrestricted dialogue and this mainly happens when there is a common platform that champions interactive discussions about matters that are important to the community. Ultimately, the word 'community' is the most important link in the broadcasting mandate of community radio stations (Mhlanga, 2006).

As micro-cultural platforms, they are essential in capturing the identities of the citizens that they represent. The value of understanding the ideological orientation of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is critical as it represent a community radio station that is situated in an African community, country and continent. Understanding the audience perception of the media platform is also vital in this study. Carpentier, Lie and Servaes (2008) indicate that the mainstream media, unlike community radio, are considered to be large in scale and are geared towards a large audience. This is unlike community radio broadcasting, which is geared towards a small audience group.

In fact, the target audiences of community radio often play a dual role: they act as content recipients as well as media platform builders for the direct benefit of their communities. "A community radio station is one that is operated in the community, for the community, about the community and by the community" concludes Tabing (2002: 11). Thus, community radio stations are operated, owned and driven by the community they serve. It acts as a vehicle for the community and the voluntary sector, civil society, agencies, and citizen to work in partnership to promote community and cultural development. Media audiences often include the immediate community whose mandate the community broadcasting sector exists on. In an Australian study that looks at the audiences of community media broadcasters, Meadows *et al* (2007:1) state that:

> Audiences listening to specialist ethnic programming on generalist community radio stations or full-time ethnic community radio stations are tuning in because: Station programming plays a central role in maintaining culture and language; Programs help them to maintain community connections and networks; Stations enable them to hear specialist ethnic music unavailable through other media; They want to hear local community news and gossip; and they want to hear news and information relevant to their lives in Australia, from their home countries, and from neighbouring countries/regions.

This analysis ultimately indicates that there is a special bond between community broadcasters and their immediate and key audiences. Rationales of tuning into a community radio station are complex and complicated. What is notable about these complex reasons is however the importance of staying connected to one's community and culture. After all, as

Meadows *et al* (2007:2) acknowledges, “a common thread running throughout our analysis of community broadcasting audiences is a need and desire for local news and information. Audiences feel that they cannot receive localised or community-specific information from any other media sources”. Therefore, community radio broadcasters speak directly to the issues that are closest to the people's heart in those communities. The languages that they use are familiar to the people coming from this culture.

As Fanon (1952:8) indicates “to speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of civilization”. However, in the case of some community radio stations, the objective of promoting the language factor has raised some concerns. Reports from research that was conducted at several community radio stations in South Africa by Mavhungu (2009:109) indicate that:

> All the stations say negotiating language compliance with ICASA is difficult. At Kovsie FM the station and programme manager speak about the challenge of balancing language and cultural differences. Language quotas stipulated by ICASA create confusion in the production of content. Different languages are allocated percentage and it is these percentages that are not measurable for the stations. Some stations produce an hour-long programme a day in an indigenous language and say that this fulfils the 20% quota; other stations use co-presenters – one speaking in English or Afrikaans and the other presenter using an African language; while other programmes are presented by multilingual speakers. Another challenge is the balance to fulfil language quotas stipulated by ICASA in licensing agreements with the reality of how language is spoken and its interplay with culture in the geographic community. Presenters are mainly from the geographic communities they broadcast to and they sometimes take the issue of articulation and pronunciation for granted with little attention paid to voice and language training.

As indicated earlier, language is one of several indicators that the study has used to understand the extent of Africanisation at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) (a full discussion and justification for all the yardsticks used by the study in understanding the Africanisation

of community is discussed in chapter 5 of this study). However, it is vital to note that communicating with audiences in a language that is culturally familiar is important for any community radio station in Africa and across the world. wa Thiongo (1981) argues that the true value of African languages lies in their role of liberating Africans from the vices of coloniality. He states that the act of using language to reflect our social realities can be judged as "…the search for a liberating perspective within which to see ourselves clearly in relationship to ourselves and to other selves in the universe" wa Thiongo (1981:87). The mandate by ICASA on broadcasting by community radio stations using local languages is therefore assumed to affirm the need to speak to audiences in a language that is culturally relevant to them. As Hall (1997 cf. Mazrui, 2009) argues, languages are important cultural signifiers. Therefore, the community radio as a cultural medium needs to immerse itself in the culture and identities of their audiences.

Community radio is, therefore, closest to its audiences because it speaks their language and preaches to their culture and identity. After all, they exist for the interest of their community's. Their founding philosophy rests on being connected with the community; therefore, the audiences become aligned to these stations because they reflect their immediate circumstances. In these community radio broadcasts, the audiences see more than a medium or a broadcasting institution; they see their cultures and identities being captured in their own terms and conditions. As Henry Lefebvre (1958 :134) argues "…since in each thing we see more than itself- something else *which is there* in everyday objects, not an abstract lining but something enfolded within which hitherto we have been unable to see." The audiences see their immediate identities being enfolded and contained in these community radio stations. They see themselves in these media because they are the communities of the medium – that is they see themselves in ownership, in content and in running of the community radio station.

Tacchi (2003) argues that they speak on behalf of the ignored communities that in most instances exist on the periphery of the nation. For their audiences, they also become an important channel where local development discourses are championed. Howard (2009) indicates that community radio serves as a medium of communication where people can exchange ideas and reactions to plans and projects. Thus, it accommodates community

opinions and tries as much as possible to answer their concerns as a community rather than any other form of broadcasting (Mtimde *et al*, 1998).

However, there have been instances where community radio stations have been questioned. According to Howard (2009:4) "community radio like other media can be very important and useful in the growth and development of the community and country, for example providing health awareness and information. However, community-radio can be a double –edged sword, used for negative developmental purposes that, for example, can undermine social cohesion and encourage violence by propagating messages of intolerance and disinformation that have the tendency to manipulate the public to resort to violence". For instance, community radio stations were accused by the government and other citizen as the sources of post-election violence in Kenya in 2008 (Howard: 2009:1). The example of Rwanda and the role of community radio in arguably spreading fear and ethnic violence has also been raised as a reason for the stalled development of the sector in other African countries. However, the ultimate losers in such instances are the communities/ audiences. Through their intervention the medium should be better able to drive the missions and visions of their respective communities.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter concludes the three-chapter series on literature reviewed for this study. The aim of the chapter was to highlight selected literature on the community radio sector. It began by highlight combined definitions that are most relevant for the purpose of this study. The reviewed literature indicates that there is no consensus when it comes to the conceptualisation of community radio. This chapter relied on the definitions as provided by MISA (2000) and AMARC-Africa (1998) as well as the guidelines specified by the public broadcasting Act of South Africa (1999). These combined definitions form the appropriate conceptual backbone for this study. To understand the global development of the community radio sector, selected literature on the global developments and conceptual contestations of this sector was reviewed. Following this global development in the community radio sector, the chapter outlines how the community radio sector forms part of the alternative media system.

In South Africa, the alternative media was historically conceptualised as that which opposed the apartheid system, the section on 'community radio as alternative media' however illustrates that the sector has become an heir to the previous alternative media systems that were involved in the anti-apartheid movement. This is also supported by the literature which situates the sector in the micro-media scene. This is unlike the mainstream media which include public and commercial broadcasting. The chapter then moves to capture literature on the functions expected of this sector. Just as on all media platforms, the community radio sector performs particular functions. These include its expected roles in facilitating development and being a medium of participatory discourse. The chapter then highlights two independent yet related themes for the last section: culture and community radio. The last part of this chapter captures debates on 'who is the community in community radio' and in the same section a discussion of audiences in the community radio is captured.

In the following chapter, the theoretical frameworks guiding this study are offered. The chapter highlights debates as advanced by Walter Mignolo, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Molefi K Asante, Ngugi wa Thiongo and other decolonial theory outputs.

CHAPTER 5

COLLECTING COMMUNITY NARRATIVES: ON RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a critical discussion of the research methods adopted to arrive at the overall findings and conclusions of this study (see chapter 7, 8, and 9, on findings). The research process was based on the exploratory research paradigm using a case study research design. As illustrated by the aims and objectives of this study, the research study is driven by the idea to make sense of pertinent social and cultural issues (Africanising community radio) surrounding a community radio station that broadcasts for a rural and semi-urban citizenry of South Africa. An interpretative qualitative research position was also followed (see findings in the results chapters).

This chapter dwells on the following methodological issues: the research design and methodological justifications for the study, the data collection strategies that were followed at the research site, and the sampling justifications of the study. The chapter also briefly looks at the site of the case study, this discussion of the site of the case study forms a continuation of the previous chapter that highlighted the background of the case study, and the discussion in this chapter needs to be seen as the researcher's impression of the area surrounding the case study. Furthermore, this chapter looks at the data analysis methods applied, with the last section providing a brief explanation on matters pertaining to the validity and reliability of the findings of the study. Lastly, the chapter discusses the challenges experienced in the research area of the study.

This study is situated within the burgeoning discourse of Africanisation as decolonial thinking in progress and this was more specifically contextualized to the objectives of media practice in the selected broadcasting location of the African continent. By implication and as a result of its nature, the study was also situated in the investigation within the broader discussions of conducting research within an indigenous African community (Nhemachena and Kaundjua, 2016). Contemporary research methodologies, including qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches have often emanated from the colonial legacy and thus have a Western-centric underpinning. Smith (1999:1) asserts this point by arguing that "…the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism"

This suggest that in the current era, there is academic discourse that suggests that a continued use of such methods aids the process lending support to coloniality when the non-Western subaltern 'other' is being 'researched'. Thus, a limited 'auto-critique' of the selected method has been presented by subjecting it to decolonial research discourses (ibid).

For the purpose of contextualizing the canon of thought in South Africa, through the following section, this research study has been situated within the broader debates of conducting research within the media and cultural studies discipline on indigenous communities. This is done while also positioning the study within the transdisciplinary discourse of complementary disciplines. A focus on a critique of media and cultural studies is still important in the context of South Africa, and thus this paradigm as a system of thought has been briefly critiqued in this chapter.

Furthermore, the chapter has located this study within the decolonized critical and interpretative qualitative research approach. It is an approach that is not preoccupied with a positivistic research agenda but rather contextualizes the individual context of each community using detailed descriptions (see background of community in chapter 6). Thus, unlike quantitative researchers who are fixated on the idea of measuring everything around us, the role of qualitative research is to focus on the multiple constructions [plurality] and interpretations of research data (Merriam, 2002). In the following section, the aim is to highlight some thoughts when the focus is on conducting research within the contemporary cultural and media studies canon of South Africa.

5.1 MACRO PARADIGM CONTEXT: THE MEDIA & CULTURAL STUDIES APPROACH

In chapter 3 of this study, the discussion briefly highlighted the need to contextualize the theoretical frameworks that are deployed in research that privileges Global South subjects and other colonially oppressed indigenes of the world. This section is a continuation of that discussion with the aim of critiquing the current media and cultural studies approach that is prevalent in South African research. Furthermore, the aim is also to shift the geography of thinking about academic disciplines to privilege African subjects when the research agenda

involves their subjectivity. Though at a broader level, this study borrowed from a range of disciplines – African Studies, History, De-Westernizing, Decoloniality - at a micro level the study is aligned to the media and cultural studies approach. It, however, also recognises this canon as a dynamic, evolving and on-going discipline whose roots are primarily traceable from the Euro-North American epistemic perspective (cf. Sesanti, 2011).

Based on the nature of this study, the canon itself cannot be un-problematically adopted when the aim is to achieve the desired objectives of this study. Fanon (1952:12) argues, for instance, that "what are by common consent called the human sciences have their own drama". Thus, the understanding of the human subject, their identities and cultures need to take into consideration the world view of those who are under study. This problem includes the understanding of the rootedness of the very disciplines operating under the broad human and social sciences episteme(s) as well as the context in which these disciplines have been trans-located within the lives of the non-Western 'other'. As a result, the first role of this section is to problematize the tradition which has accompanied the discipline of media and cultural studies in South Africa. This is done by analysing academic discourses that are calling for decolonised disciplines which consider research participants who are not 'traditionally' located within the colonial centers of power and reasoning (Euro-North America).

Grosfoguel (2007, cf. Gordon, 2011) critiques the disciplinary project that continues to use and privilege the Euro-North American systems of episteme in Global South centers that are dominated by the Western culture of reasoning. He postulates that in our on-going attempt to question the Euro-North American episteme that has been imposed on the rest of humanity by the project of modernity, we need to understand the logic of fundamentalism and how it is used to deny the existence of the multiple worlds of humanity. Grosfoguel (2007:212) indicates that:

> What all fundamentalism shares [including the Eurocentric one] is the premise that there is only one sole epistemic tradition from which to achieve Truth and Universality. A decolonial perspective cannot be based on an abstract universal (one particular that raises itself as universal global design), but would have to

> be the result of the critical dialogue between diverse critical epistemic / ethical / political projects towards a pluriversal as opposed to a universal world.

It is further indicated that a decolonial epistemic movement requires us to borrow from broader canons of thought than what is currently offered by the Euro-North American norms of reasoning. In fact, to decolonize knowledge, our task needs to seriously consider the "epistemic perspectives, cosmologies, insights of critical thinkers from the Global South thinking from and with sub-alternized racial/ ethnic/ sexual spaces and bodies" (Grosfoguel 2007:212).

This study is, therefore, inserted within the evolving tradition of researching and studying cultural and media studies in the Global South – and more specifically within a particular locality of South African. In this country, the study of cultural and media studies seems to be found in a broader mix of 'mass communication' scholarship. De Beer and Tomaselli (2000) indicate that the genesis of the South African scholarship in mass communication studies illustrates how the field emanates from a rhizome of five main primary paradigms. These paradigms capture the entire history of the fields being taught and researched at South African universities under the umbrella of the discipline of mass communication. In their analysis (ibid.), these academics note that the period of this umbrella discipline mainly stretches from the founding of the field in South Africa (1960) to the latest known period of introducing new branches within the paradigms (ibid.).

Further analysis of the scholarship in this field in South Africa show that it has its roots in different traditions that had been associated with the different 'schools' of teaching mass communication in South Africa (du Toit, 2013). De Beer and Tomaselli (2000) illustrate that by their very geography of reasoning, academics in mass communication at South African universities were heavily influenced by the Euro-American traditions in researching and conceptualizing mass communication. For instance, it is illustrated that the South African tradition into this form of scholarship was divided among the following categories: Afrikaans University approaches, English University approaches and black university approaches (the latter, historically, being colonial stooges that were meant to dumb down higher education for the African, Colored and Indian races in the country). The history of scholarship in mass communication indicates that the first officially recognized department of journalism in

South Africa was based at the then Potchestroom University (now North-West University). Driven by the prospects of the introduction of television broadcasting during the 1970s in South Africa, more academic departments for the study of issues pertaining to journalism/ communication and media and cultural studies were introduced. These included the Rhodes University Department of Journalism in 1969 (later incorporating the "media studies" aspect into its curriculum).

The period between 1970 and 1980 saw the establishment of these departments at the University of South Africa (UNISA) (Department of Communication Science), Rand Afrikaans University (now Johannesburg University) and the University of the Orange Free State. Also among these developments was the establishment of these mass communication departments in 'traditionally' black universities (University of Fort Hare, University of Zululand and the then University of Bophuthatswana – now part of the University of the North-West). It is also within these periods that the growth of "critical communication" studies took place at the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand while the Columbia model of journalism was introduced at Stellenbosch University also in the 1980s and a cultural studies unit was established at the then University of Natal (now University of KwaZulu-Natal). It is a center that was strongly influenced by the Birmingham Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the United Kingdom. Tomaselli, Mboti and Rønning (2013:36) indicate that:

> In the 1970s, an emergent cultural studies entered English South African scholarship via the History Workshop at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits), which pursued Edward Thompson's 'culture from below' approach to social history

The study of cultural studies in the South African context is therefore traced to this Wits history workshop, which later also influenced the establishment of the cultural studies unit at UKZN (1980s), with a minor influence from the Rhodes University Journalism Department. The scholarship of mass communication (including media and cultural studies, journalism, film studies and communication in general) in South Africa can thus be traced from a variant of Euro-North American influences and traditions. De Beer and Tomaselli (2000) conclude that these disciplines were influenced by the following schools of thought: mainstream

liberal school, interpretative school, neo-Marxist school, the American/European functionalist school and the alternative-left practical school. Thus, the rootedness of these disciplines in such ideological foundations point to the nature of colonizing legacies.

During the period of the Soviet Union losing its credibility and the fall of the Berlin Wall, De Beer and Tomaselli (2000:15) indicate that South African mass communication entered a stage of "post-Fordism as an alternative to classical Marxism, while other "former Marxists" ventured into post-modernism, realism and even liberal democratic approaches" in the study of mass communication in South Africa. Tomaselli, Mboti and Rønning (2013) also indicate that the branch of mass communication focusing specifically on media and cultural studies in South Africa also had its political roots in the 1976 Soweto uprising of South Africa. From this argument, it has been indicated that the cultural and media studies approach of South Africa has been closely aligned to the anti-settler colonial movement and the quest to liberate the country from settler-colonial governance. With the political independence from legislated settler-colonialism [apartheid] in South Africa, questions have been raised about the rootedness of higher education scholarship and research within the country. For instance, du Plooy (2006:189) states that from 1994, there have been requests by South Africans to transform the higher education sector in the country's context "so that it will be African and will be congruent with the new South Africa and the prophecy of the African Renaissance".

This assertion is in line with the argument presented by Magubane and Faris (1985) which has illustrated that the people of Africa have been taught Western history and thus the need for a discipline overhaul is imperative. The evolving power relations between Euro-North America and countries like South Africa, means that local indigenous researchers must be cautioned to desist from mimicking the superiority logic of research and scholarship from the Western world. Rather the focus should be on generating local philosophies to make sense of local realities (cf. Fanon, 1962). In the context of indigenizing academic disciplines, this study is situated within the quest for instituting local approaches of media and cultural studies research with a partial purpose of conducting a decolonial auto-critique of this very discipline.

Tomaselli (2000:296) asserts that “in South Africa[n] universities, the post-LitCrit crowd teaches cultural and media studies from their White, middle-class sanitized Western perspectives rather than also incorporating African approaches and the dirt and the muck of the Third world society”. The teaching of media and cultural studies cannot be divorced from the research that informs that very teaching. Furthermore, Smith (1999:1-3) argues that “research is not an innocent or distant exercise but an activity that has something at stake and occurs in a set of political and social conditions”. In the mission to understand a selected African community radio station, this study aimed to privilege the indigenous epistemologies and indigenous protocols that are associated with the African people who were encountered during field work (see section on “Reflections from the Field” at the end of this chapter). Thus, the strength of this chapter lies in how the research methods were put in conversation with the cultural and local protocols of the African community of the Chris Hani District municipality. This in itself is a form of decolonising the method with the aim of giving credence and privilege to the lived experience of African research participants.

While some of the data collection methods used in this study are traditionally associated with Euro-North American episteme, the research and data collection approach has in fact been adopted and critically adopted to contextualize it with the indigenous community that was being researched. This approach is supported by Chinua Achebe (2009) who argues that Africans can strategically use both the ‘indigenous’ and the ‘modern’ or Euro-American imported tools to combat the oppression of Africa. This study puts the two approaches in conversation as to attain a decolonial systems and understanding Africanisation with a possibility that such a system will broaden the logic of reason for the media and cultural studies discipline of South Africa.

5.2 UNSETTLING & DECOLONISING THE METHOD: CRITICAL QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

Decolonisation especially in the case of research is concerned “…with [unsettling] how settler perspectives and worldviews get to count as knowledge and research and how these perspectives - repackaged as data and findings - are activated in order to rationalize and maintain unfair social structures” (Tuck and Yang, 2012:2). Thus,considering the indigenous world view, its rationalities and centering there needs to be a way of changing the complete structure of colonial or neo-colonial research systems. Research on the need to decolonize

research methods has gained momentum over the years (cf. Tomaselli and Dyll-Myklebust, 2015, Tuck and Yang, 2012, Sithole, 2014). For instance, Smith (1999:1), in her seminal work on "decolonising methodologies", argues that as a practice, research as a scientific tool has traditionally been associated with the worst excesses of colonialism and continues to be remembered with execration by those who have been subjected to the darker side of modernity". That is, "just knowing that someone measured our 'faculties' by filling the skulls of our ancestors with millet seeds and compared the amount of millet seed to the capacity for mental thought offends our sense of who and what we are" (Smith 1999:1). There was a recent case where the colonized or neo-colonised others were deprived of their humanity. This was revealed in the allegations that Johns Hopkins University in the name of research allegedly facilitated the infection of hundreds of Global South people with congenital syphilis[17]. Such incidents illustrate that, contrary to popular discourse, research enquiry can be manipulated to subvert the interest of the people who have traditionally sufferd from the darker side of modernity.

In every research enquiry that seeks to extrapolate some information from the indigenous people, it is necessary that the primary tools of research be fitted into the context of the research participants. This is contrary to the Western system of conducting research, where participants from the Global South research have been subjected to the rules and regulations of research tools that emanate from the Euro-North American axis. Thus "critical indigenous inquiry begins with the concerns of indigenous people. It assesses in terms of the benefits it creates for them. The work must represent indigenous persons honestly, without distortion or stereotype, and the research should honor indigenous knowledge, customs and rituals" (Denzin and Lincoln 2008:2). To meet this objective of indigenous research, the findings of this study will be presented and made available to Vukani Community Radio (VCR) and its constituencies so that resource benefit to the community radio station and its wider community

[17] Recent media reports indicate that African-American people as well Guatemala people were used as research subjects in a Johns Hopkins University facilitated research enquiry. Further information on this case can be followed in this report: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3023646/From-babies-born-brainless-debilitating-deaths-Tragic-lives-unknowing-victims-infected-syphilis-horrific-study-suing-Johns-Hopkins-1BILLION.html

The primary objectives of this research study including the privileging of Africanisation as a decolonial tool makes the study politically/intellectually interested or aligned, instead of the neutral, objective and condescending Euro-American research work that has been championed by coloniality (cf. Smith, 1999). With a focus on the nuances of a society, decolonized research can unearth the many hidden complexities of the everyday life. This is often done from the point that upholds the indigenous people (Tomaselli and Dyll-Myklebust, 2015, Smith, 1999, Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Thus, the critical indigenous research which upholds decolonization and the rethinking of the traditional Western method is in itself a political project (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Furthermore, Global South researchers are calling for decolonized systems of research as a result of the dearth of evidence in how research methods have been decolonized post administrative and formal settler colonialism in the 'former' colonies.

Babbie and Mouton (2001) indicate that in its function, social research plays several purposes. They further state that the most common reasons for conducting social research include: exploration, description and explanation. These views on social research however fall short of explaining how social research has been re-modelled to cast off its historical and colonial role. The additional objective of this study was, therefore, to rely on critical qualitative research methodology to explain the status of Africanisation at Vukani Community Radio (VC). This study is based on the decolonized interpretive research paradigm using the case study research design (cf. Yin, 2014).

Babie and Mouton (2001) highlight the value of interpretive research by indicating that such studies are valuable when researchers seek insights and comprehension on a significant topic. Most importantly, these studies are typically done for the purpose of developing new hypotheses on contemporary and on-going phenomena in research related enquiries. Such undertakings are particularly relevant in the objectives that basically aim to gain understanding of how Vukani Community Radio (VCR) has been Africanised by its internal and external stakeholders to ensure that the broadcast content reflects the character, cultural interest and identity of the local African community it serves.

This study is particularly interested in exploring; interpreting and making sense of pertinent African social and cultural issues surrounding a community radio station that broadcasts for

a particular rural and semi-urban citizenry of South Africa (refer to chapter 6 for the discussion on the background to the case study). Merriam (2002) argues that, unlike quantitative researchers who are fixated on the idea of measuring everything around us, the role of critical qualitative research is to focus on the multiple constructions and interpretations of reality which over time may undergo changes. People who use qualitative research methodologies are preoccupied with understanding and interpreting particular contexts and points in the life of the researched subject/ research participants. The aim of this study in applying critical qualitative research methodology so that the researcher can gain insight into whether the community radio under study has been Africanised or not (thereby also analysing the reasons of the findings).

Warren and Kerner (2010, cf. Tomaselli and Dyll-Myklebust, 2015) suggest that the reason researchers situate their research studies in the critical qualitative research methodology framework is solely that such a framework allows us to gain contextualized interpretive and social constructionist understandings of the environments we are analysing. This framework also underscores the contribution of qualitative research on how knowledge can be attained using multiple systems of probing. For the decolonial research system, context is vital as it illuminates the world views of the indigenous communities. This is particularly important in this study as the objective was to gain insight into how the station is being Africanised through its content and internal policies and the impact of macro external policies on such Africanisation. Thus, critical qualitative epistemology solely relies on the premise which argues that social actors are responsible in the creation of social worlds that are time and place relevant (ibid.). Within the perspective of this study, the social actors under consideration include the stakeholders who are directly involved in the creation of the content that is broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as well as those social actors (external stakeholders) who are the recipient of the content and rely on the services of this community radio station in the media benefits of the community.

5.3 CASE STUDY RESEARCH APPROACH

This study has enunciated the cultural and identity functions of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in reference to the African communities of targeted broadcasts. Thus, the study relied on the decolonized critical interpretive paradigm format of the case study research design to make sense of the community radio station as a living cultural tool for an African community (cf. Yin, 2014). In its entirety, this study employed a case study approach - the case of Vukani Community Radio - in its assessment of Africanisation as a decolonial project for a micro media platform. While the focus was on the entire functioning of the community radio station, the study paid special attention to selected radio programs at the radio station with a focus of targeted analysis (see section on audio content analysis).

Yin (2014) informs us that the manner in which a case study has been understood over the years continues to evolve. This very evolution of the case study as a research apparatuse therefore allows Global South researchers to use it with the purpose of contextualising research as well as understanding the nuances of the multi-world approach - the upholding of the pluri-verse perspective. It is also imperative to affirm that when most researchers undertake to use a case study approach, the objective is mainly the need to use this research design to understand the 'real' world in relation to what is being researched (ibid). Hence, the motive for adopting a case study research design was the need to understand the following units of analysis and how they potentially inform Africanisation of a community radio station:

- The use (and relevance) of African languages by the radio station as a means of promoting local identity and cultural pride;
- Assessment of the content and its relevance to the immediate needs of the local African community surrounding the radio station;
- The presence and focus of content relating to local cultural and traditional practices;
- The participation of the local community in the overall running of the station (including on-air personalities, program planners, and local music)
- Perspectives, contradictions and other local views on what is considered to be the role of the radio in contributing towards an African identity for the community,

- Broadcasting policies and their impact on the cultural identity of a community radio station.

These units of analysis were derived from the research objectives and research questions (see chapter 1) underpinning this research. This study therefore was driven by the objective of exploring a particular case study as well as the idea of probing a particular context and cultural locality of such a case study. This rationale of in-depth insight in a particular context helps to distinguish a case study from other common means of designing and undertaking field research. Yin (2014) defines a case study through an identification of a two-part process: (1.) a case study is seen to be an in-depth quest to understand, through a critical empirical inquiry, a contemporary phenomenon within its social context. The context must be a real-world scenario of that specific case study (2.) it's commonly understood that the way in which it is (case study) understood is propelled by how research phenomena and the context of the research are not always distinguishable in the real-world scenarios. In this study, the researcher was mindful of the need to decolonise knowledge within the Global South setting. In fact, in suggesting the championing of Africanisation as an approach to decoloniality, the research study illustrates that at its core; there is a level of political and epistemic intervention in the academia by this study (cf. Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). It is a scholarly perspective which argues that even the system of data collection should not be at odds with the world views of the research participants. Thus, in selecting the case study design, this study was mindful of the cultural systems of the community under study. The language and the cultural outlooks of this community are familiar to the researcher who originates from the same ethnic background with its broadcasting constituency and speaks the lingua franca of these communities.

Thus, a conscious effort was made to understand the single set-up – with its own internal difference and dynamics – to achieve research findings that are in line with the dynamics of this community. "These are some things which make indigenous research agenda very different from the research agenda of large scientific organisation or of various national science research programmes" (Smith, 1999:125). Thus, this research is different because of the epistemic intervention of privileging the cultural identity of the local communities and how this speaks to the idea of a decolonising approach towards research methodologies. The data emanating from this case study design relied on several sources of information,

thereby allowing for data triangulation. The process involved the use of semi-structured interviews, content and document analysis, as well as observations (also see section on data collection instruments). This allowed the study to use these multiple forms of research data collection method for the purpose of concentrating on the richness of the analysed data and thereby assisting with the triangulation (ibid.). In this sense, it is argued that:

- There are various ways in which a case study research can be used to explain what is happening in a specific context. Yin (2014) argues that some of the functions of a case study based research include the following: this approach is used to make sense of causal links in a real-world context that often elude the positivist research that is often done through surveys and experimental methods. Thus, in this study, the case design has been used to make sense of the everyday media content at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) and how this reflects and informs the African identity of a community (see the results on chapter 7 “Rethinking policy/legislation”, chapter 8 on “Rethinking the Ordinary” and chapter 9 “Rethinking the airwaves”).
- This research approach is also used to describe and interpret the real-world context of the research study. Hence the aim of this study is to look at identity and cultural interventions of the community radio station and how these uphold the local culture, identity, and traditions of the local African community.
- It is used to illustrate and highlight certain topics that are under evaluation, thereby giving a description of the issues under consideration. These were the units of analysis for this study (see section above on the units of analysis), and include issues pertaining to language as well as the role of a community radio station in the wider Chris Hani District (chapter 6 details background to the geographic location of this study),
- In some circumstance, the research approach being employed by this study is often used to explain complicated scenarios where it is expected that no single set of outcomes will be derived (chapter 8 of this study for instance identified decolonial ambiguity in national legislations/policy guiding broadcasting of community radio sector). Furthermore, the Chris Hani District community is composed of a complicated and self-contradictory set of people concerning issues pertaining to religion, ethnicities and how such can lead to certain forms of asserting plural

identities in the world today. Thus, the adoption of the case study design has considered all the possible internal scenarios of the community in connection to the varied identities (see chapter 6 on the background of the case study).

It has been further noted that it is normal for this type of research design (case study) to either include a single case study or multiple case studies (ibid.). However, it is possible that a research approach involving two or more case studies may be termed a 'comparative' method of doing research; however Yin (2014) argues that it is still widely accepted that such approaches illustrate the multiple variants of the case study research method. In analysing the Africanisation of Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the research strategy made use of a single case study for gaining insight into the concept of Africanisation within that specific scenario and particularity. The aim was not to 'compare' identities and cultures; rather it was to understand the role of the micro-media structure in that specific identified community - albeit taking into consideration the internal dynamics and differences of such a community as explained in chapter 6 of this study. When conducting a case study research approach, it is important to remember the five research design components that are vital for this approach to succeed:

- Research questions to be addressed by the case study (see Chapter 1 for questions related to the research study).
- The propositions of the research study. That is if the research study has any propositions.
- The units of analysis to be used by the research study. In the context of this case study, the units of analysis were assessed through the data collected from the following data instruments: interviews, radio content, observed conduct as noted from the researcher's diary and documents analysed in relation to the key theme of the research study – Africanisation (also see earlier discussion on the units of analysis).
- The criteria of interpreting the research findings are also key in the case study approach (see section on Data Analysis as well as chapter 7, 8, and 9 which details the research results of this study).
- Lastly, the analysed data must be logically linked to research propositions (if any) or to the research objectives and questions (the research results in chapter 7, 8, and 9

as well as the overall conclusion of the study in chapter 10 logically link the research objectives and questions to the analysed data).

Wellington and Szcerbinski (2007) argue that it is vitally significant that a case study approach be only used for purposes related to a detailed examination of a single setting, an individual research subject or when an event is explored on a detailed basis. However, like any other research method/approach, a case study has its weaknesses and its accompanying strengths. Wellington and Szcerbinski (2007) recognize the following as these strengths and weaknesses that are associated with a case study as a research approach as indicated in the following illustration

Case study strengths:	Case study weaknesses:
1. Illustrative 2. Illuminating /insightful 3. Disseminable, accessible 4. Attention holding 5. Strong on reality / vivid 6. Of value in teaching	1. Generalizability 2. Representativeness 3. Typicality 4. Replicability 5. Repeatability

Table 1: an illustration of the strengths and weaknesses of the case study research approach

Thus, in this study, the advantages and disadvantages of using the case study approach were anticipated well in advance. In the following sections, the chapter illustrates how triangulation (interviews, community radio content and document analysis as well as partial observation) was used to bolster the findings of this study. Triangulation was used to arrive at valid analysis of the case study thereby strengthening the gathered data and research results (cf. Warren and Karner, 2010). The sections on the validity and reliability illustrate how the rigor of the research results was tested. In the context of dealing with

generalization and increasing the reliability of the case study argument on Africanising of Vukani Community Radio (VCR), this study adopted the case study protocol.

Yin (2014:84) indicates that "a case study protocol is a major way of increasing the reliability of case study research and is intended to guide the researcher in carrying out the data collection from a single case". The protocol is recognized as a vital guideline in the quest for increasing the reliability of a case study research. A case study protocol according to Yin (2014:84) helps strengthen the credibility of the research. Its sole purpose is to illustrate the steps that the research has taken from the initial phases to the stage of designing the data collection strategy. It illustrates the general rules to be followed in using a case study research design. Yin (1994, 2014) concludes that any case study research design should constitute a case study protocol as it is a desirable component of a research strategy.

In demonstrating the value of this case study protocol, Yin (2014:84) indicates that a protocol should constitute three sections (role, evidence and application).

Table 2: ILLUSTRATING THE ADAPTED THREE SECTIONS OF CASE STUDY PROTOCOL (source: Yin, 2014: 85-86)

ROLE	EVIDENCE	APPLICATION
• Mission and Goals of the case study research. • Overview of the case study research. • Objectives & Questions	• Detailed explanation of the research objectives, research questions and aims of the research study.	• Exploration of Africanisation as a decolonial project. • Africanisation of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) • Contextualisation of the role of the media in Africanisation
• Data collection process and procedures	• Research proposal process	• Completion of the research proposal

	• Ethical application process • Research visit logistics • Presentation of the research objectives at the research site.	(March 2015) • Completion of the ethical process (March-April 2016). • Pre-data collection preparations
• Data collection question	• Questions asked about the role of the community radio station • Questions on the African identity and cultural role of the community radio station • Questions on the language role of the community radio station • Question on the uniqueness of the community radio station in relation to other radio stations	• Arrangements were made to first interview the internal stakeholders (staff of the community radio station). • The listening stakeholders of the community radio station were also interviewed (external stakeholders) • Data was collected using a digital recorder and field notes (March-April 2016; November 2016).
• Guide for the Case Study Report	• Thematic analysis strategy was followed (see themes in findings chapters)	• The data collected from the research participants was grouped into different themes guided by the units of analysis.

Thus, these three sections of the protocol illustrate all the stages that the study has taken up until the point of data collection, processing and presentation of findings.

5.4 DATA COLLECTION STRATEGY

Prior to the actual process of visiting the research site, the researcher completed the research ethical application process as required by the university. This process paved the way for the research data collection procedure. To collect data in the research site, semi-structured interviews were used (with radio practitioners as well as with some randomly selected community members). Furthermore, document analysis was undertaken (Broadcasting Act of South Africa, 1999; MDDA Act of 2002; ICASA Act of 2000; mission and vision statements of Vukani Community Radio) to identify broader issues advancing the identity of the local community and its community radio station. Largely these documents were the macro-policy documents that guide the process of broadcasting by community radio stations in South Africa. Thus, these guidelines were used to identify their general impact on Africanisation of the community radio industry as observed at Vukani Community Radio (VCR). For the purpose of this study, the researcher also selected broadcast content of the community radio station and analysed this in relation to the units of analysis outlined in this chapter. Lastly, a daily diary to document research site activities and conduct was used. This recorded observation on the functioning of the community radio station during the field work (also see chapter 8 on my impression of the radio station).

Interviews: Such a data collection strategy according to Hancock (1998) can be highly structured, semi-structured or unstructured in nature. Therefore, each research context has to justify the rationale for choosing one or more of the forms of interview strategies based on the advantages and disadvantages in relation to the individual research project. This study made use of semi-structured interviews to collect data from the identified potential respondents. These are interview strategies that are designed to overcome the problems that are associated with the structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews involve open ended questions but are based on the topic that the researcher wants to cover (Hancock, 1998). A decolonial twist to these interviews was introduced by conducting the interviews in a conversational approach. This approach eliminated any formality that might be associated with structure or semi-sctructured intervies. Wellington and Szecerbinski (2007) indicate

that semi-structured interviews allow researchers to query, observe and investigate matters that have been identified. They therefore allow researchers to probe those individuals that are being interviewed to gain insight into their thoughts, values, and prejudices, perceptions of issues that they deemed important and unimportant in relation to the topic. Semi-structured interviews further probe the 'feelings' of the people we are interviewing as well as their individual perspectives towards particular matters of interest. Thus, the rationale for using this type of data collection instrument was that the respondents would have unhindered freedom to state how they identified with the community radio station and to indicate whether or not they see the station as an Africanised medium which reflects local reality. The details of the interview guides are attached to this thesis as an appendix (see Appendix 5 and 7). The researcher identified (internal stakeholders) the key research participants who were vital to the collection of the relevant data. These were local African people who are relevant and whose responses are important the search for a decolonised qualitative research study (cf. Wellington & Szecerbinski, 2007). The interviews were conducted among the following key respondents (detailed information on these key participants is in tables 3 and 6):

Table 3: captures brief explanation of the stakeholders participating in the study (also see sections below on the criteria of selecting internal and external stakeholders)

Internal Stakeholders	Station Manager Programs Manager Three (3) Program Producers Music Compiler Three (3) Life Style On-Air Presenters One (1) News Program Producer
External Stakeholders	Six (6) community members who listen to the various programs of the radio station

Document analysis: This involved the process of examining the documents that guide the identity, operation and relevance of the station to the local needs of a community it surrounds. The study investigated the ideology of the policy documents towards

Africanisation, national policy guidelines on local content, use of language and the participation of the local community in the radio station. The documents (documents outlined the regulations for the establishment of the community radio sector in South Africa, license conditions, content strategies, broadcasting content of community radio, and vision and mission of the community radio station). Additionally these documents, interview explanations on the strategies by the station to comply with these policy guidelines and regulations as well as analysed content was used to determine the local Africanised identity of the radio station. For the purpose of this data collection strategy, macro policy documents were also analysed according to whether they promoted or hindered Africanisation as a decolonial project at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) (see chapter 7 on macro and policy document analysis and chapter 9 on analysed on-air content).

Document analysis selection criteria

The documents selected for this study included all policy/legislation documents that were deemed relevant in shaping the identity of the community radio station. Thus, the following criteria were used in selecting the document:

- The document had to be national or regionally relevant in advancing the policy direction of the community radio broadcast industry.
- The document had to speak to issues of the use of language, mission and visions of the local community radio and the participation of the surrounding community.

Table 4: Details of the analyzed documents

ORGANISATION / ORIGIN OF DOCUMENT	RATIONALE
Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA)	Guides and enforces the rules and regulations of content usage by all South African media platforms including
Media Development & Diversity Agency (MDDA)	This policy document promotes the diversification of the media. The community radio sector is seen to be an important voice in the media diversity project of South

	Africa.
Broadcasting Act of South Africa (1999)	Guides the overall broadcasting policy of South Africa - this is also in relation to community radio broadcasting.
Vukani Community Radio (VCR): guiding statements on policy philosophy & documents as well as, broadcasting scripts and the 'clock' that details broadcasting activities.	The internal policy views, documents and other policy considerations that guide the units of analysis have been analysed for the purposes of reading their contribution to Africanisation

Radio Content Analysis: An audio content analysis was done on a minimum of three categories of community radio programming (talk radio, news programming and African cultural life style programming) – over a thirty-day period. This analysis examined how the various programmes shape the identity of the radio station in relation to the local community (see detail of the programmes on table below). This study is informed by qualitative research and therefore is subject to the principles of data saturation. Thus, once a question on a unit of analysis was answered, there was no need to further probe this unit of analysis. The programs were randomly selected based on discussions with the content manager of the community radio station. Once a description and objective of the programme was outlined, the information was used to provide guidance on the most appropriate programmes for this study.

These programs were monitored for a period of 30 days (with an additional 10-day research visit conducted after the initial 30-day research visit) to examine the themes that the programs dealt with and how these are relevant to the cultural identity role of the local community. The following issues were further examined: the topics discussed, the music used, the guests invited and the views of the people who were responsible for the creation of these programs. These helped in gaining insight on the identity of the community radio station as it relates to the local community. A brief profile of the selected programmes appears in the table below. The programmes were randomly selected from a group of other programmes offered by the community radio station (see also table 8 in chapter 9 for the

entire list of programmes within Vukani Community Radio (VCR). This random selection meant that "each element (radio programme)" had an equal opportunity of being part of the sample (Verhoeven, 2011:176). However, the most important criterion in the selection process was only ensuring that they adhered to and represent the diversity of radio genre and programming: talk radio, news programming and lifestyle.

Table 5: Audio content (radio) analysis selection criteria

The community radio programmes that were selected for this study in the purpose of thematic analysis were broadly selected on the following programmes:

NAME	GENRE	SLOT TIME	NUMBER OF PROGRAMMES ANALYSED
Amasiko ne Zithethe (culture and traditions)	Africa cultural Lifestyle radio programme that is geared toward the revival and appreciation of African culture & traditions	18:00 – 20:59	30 programmes
Imbhadu (General Talk)	This is a general show with a strong focus on local developments and local problems in relation to the	21:00 – 23:59	30 programmes

	community		
Washiywa Zezakowethu (On Missing Out On The Home Stories)	This is a current affairs program with a strong focus on local news and local voices.	12:00-14:59	30 programmes

Partial Observation: As a final process in the data collection process for this study, the everyday processes of the community radio station were observed during the thirty- day period (with an additional 10 days post the initial 30-day period) of being at the research area. Observing how research respondents interact in their daily conduct makes research results more reliable according to Hancock (1998). The objective for using this data collection procedure was to have a complete picture of the daily running of the community radio station whilst also observing power structures, community involvement and general interaction among the stations constituencies. This allowed an observation on how the local community interacted with the community radio station; their, everyday general rules as well as the regulations that are followed daily at the radio station (see further details on the section detailing the research site experience).

5.5 APPARATUSES FOR COLLECTING DATA

While conducting the fieldwork, the study relied on a voice recorder to capture the semi-structured interviews. The interviews were recorded using an audio-voice recorder and were later transferred to the researcher's password protected computer for the purpose of transcribing them. Furthermore, additional field data was captured using a daily diary. This was especially useful in documenting the daily notes on issues that were observed during the fieldwork. These included the researcher's notes and observation of how the daily programs were planned, the community members and community radio station interaction as well as all other notes in relation to issues observed by the researcher (see Chapter 7, 8, and 9 on the research results discussion). In addition to this, additional visual data was

recorded through the use of a camera. This was also for the purpose of visually documenting the activities surrounding the community radio station. These included the visuals of the community radio station that were captured using a personal camera (see chapter 8). Finally, radio content from three (3) identified categories of radio programs were collected over a thirty (30) day period. Further analysis on the Africanisation of the community radio station was achieved through these recorded radio programs.

5.6 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS SELECTION: THE SAMPLING STRATEGY

The focus of this section is on the rationales that were used to select the key research participants. The study used both critical convenience as well as purposive sampling when identifying the respondents for the research study. du Plooy (2001) comments that researchers often draw from 'units of analysis' that are conveniently available. Therefore, the convenience sampling strategy was used to identify community members who are the target audience of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). du Plooy (2001) further argues that in the context of purposive sampling, we need to make a distinction and identify differences between a known group sample and a quota sample. Thus, previous knowledge of the target population, allows researchers to use their own judgment in selecting a sample (du Plooy, 2001). For example, if a researcher is hoping to understand the hierarchy of power in how communication flows within an organization, that researcher will select only the relevant respondents whom are involved in the hierarchy of power and solicit the required information from them.

It is in this same vein that this study identified the relevant internal stakeholder respondents who were deemed relevant in the conceptualisation, building and maintainance of the stations identity and ideology. These were individuals who were either in the management position of the community radio station or were involved in the creation and selection of content that was ultimately received by the audiences. However, it is also important to highlight that for the overall sampled population, the key participants had to be members of the community who have the basic working knowledge of the community radio station. This

was related to the basic need of allowing a community radio to be run by the community (see chapter 4 on these principles of a community radio).

Lastly, all the research participants were included in the research study using the logic and principles of *data saturation* (emphasis added). The focus was not on the sample size, but rather on the richness of data collected from each participant and its contribution to the findings of this study. This is in-line with the overall purpose of critical qualitative research methodology. With regards to the anonymity of the identities of the respondents, permission was granted by these participants to reveal their identities and profiles in this study. Thus the granting of the permission by the respondents meant that the ethical requirement of ascertaining the right to be quoted anomymously or otherwise was met.

The following breakdowns indicate the criteria that were used for the purpose of selecting the sampled research participants of this study:

5.6.1 Internal stakeholder selection criteria

- The research participant had to be a community member who is volunteering / employed by Vukani Community Radio (VCR)
- Such members had to be strategically or directly involved in the creation of broadcast content to the community.
- The participants had to have a basic understanding of the role of the community radio station for the benefit of their community.

With regards to the above stated inclusion criteria as internal stakeholder research participants, the following table illustrates the details of the relevant participants who provided the most relevant information with regards to the Africanisation of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in terms of identity, culture and language as guiding units of analysis for the study. The selected research participants hold important ideology guiding positions at the broadcast facility. This alone illustrates their value in shaping the broadcast philosophy of the community radio station.

Table 6: Details of the internal stakeholder research participants

NAME	AGE	RACE	DESIGNATION	GENDER
Malixole Teketa	27	African	On-Air Presenter & Producer	Male
Mnyamezeli Mpumela	42	African	On-Air Presenter & Producer	Male
Thandeka Mbobozi	39	African	News editor / Acting Programs Manager / On-Air Presenter & Producer	Female
Viwe Mfundisi	28	African	Music Compiler	Male
Xola Nozewu	40	African	Station Manager / On-Air Presenter & Producer	Male
Sinethemba Nota	34	African	Technical Manager	Male

Linda Magazi	25	African	On-Air Presenter & Producer	Female

5.6.2 External stakeholder selection criteria

- A community member who falls under the external stakeholder criteria of the study had to be someone who resides within the physical boundaries of the broadcasting area of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). That is someone who spends most of his or her time in the Chris Hani District Municipality.
- Such a community member needed to be a regular listener to the community radio station and had to be an indigenous African. This listenership was not limited to certain programmes, but rather looked at listenership from the perspective of someone who could identify the cultural and identity value of the community radio content in their lives or in the context of their community.

These external stakeholders were selected through the convenience sampling strategy and some were selected through the snowball sampling procedure. In this regard, people on the streets of the broadcasting area were approached and asked permission to be included in the study. In addition to the convinience selection, other external stakeholder respondents were identified as a result of referral by initial interviewees. Thus, those initial interviewees who knew listeners of the community radio station were able to refer the researcher to people that they knew. This therefore meant that the sampling procedure also took a snoball approach. This however also meant that sampling errors or population inferences could not be entirely determined by this study (see section below on the validity and reliability of the study). All the research respondents signed a consent form (see appendix 3) and took part in the study on a voluntary basis. Ultimately, the respondents of this study were fully informed about their rights to withdraw.

And as mentioned above, the participants also voluntarily waived their right to anonymity in the recording and expression of their views. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned inclusion criteria for research participants, the following table details the information of

these research participants who were interviewed at the research site, the area of broadcast, about their views on Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a broadcast platform that had been Africanised in relation to culture, language, identity as research units of interests. The selected number of the participants appearing in the table below was reached as a result of the logic and principles of data saturation. Thus, in instances where the required data of the study had been covered, it was possible to move forward and probe for other data that were still to be solicited from research respondents.

Table 7: Details of the external stakeholder research participants (details and justifications of the sampling size has been offered in the "Research Participants Selection" section above)

NAME	AGE	RACE	GENDER	DESIGNATION
Fezeka Silwana	48	African	Female	Chris Hani Community Member
Mvuyo Mhlekwa	52	African	Male	Chris Hani Community Member
Weziwe Dodo	44	African	Female	Chris Hani Community Member
Nolusindiso Ncapai	32	African	Female	Chris Hani Community Member
Phumla Xokashe	31	African	Female	Chris Hani Community Member

Nompucuko July	30	African	Female	Chris Hani Community Member

5.7 SETTING FOR THE UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The nature of the research required that semi-structured interviews be conducted with several research participants. The whole cohort of research participants was interviewed at a convenient place for them. Thus, each research participant was asked to indicate the most convenient place for them to be interviewed and once this place was agreed upon, the researcher made the necessary effort to reach the interview place. For instance, in some cases, the interviews were held at the community radio stations boardroom. This was because a number of the research respondents (internal stakeholder) had indicated to the researcher that the said boardroom was the ideal place for the interviews (due to its general availability and quietness for quality interview recording). In addition to this, a single interview was arranged at the station manager's office. This was at the request of the station manager. Other interviews that took place at the offices of respondents including those of the news editor / acting programs manager as well as that of the technical manager. The external stakeholder's interviews, all took place in places convenient for the individual research participant. In one instance, an external stakeholder was interviewed at his home (as requested by the interviewee); another research participant was interviewed during a street walkabout whilst some requested to be fetched from their areas of residence so that the interviews could take place at the radio station. Thus, the settings of the unstructured interviews were varied and largely dependent on the individual needs of the research participants. Each interview was designed to take about 30-40 minutes. This strategy was used to ensure minimal disruption in the daily activities of the interviewees. Additionally, this time frame was sufficient in the attainment of the required data.

5.8 STUDY/ RESEARCH PERMISSION & RESEARCH ETHICAL PROCESS

The process for acquiring data in the research site was facilitated through a number of core stakeholders who had a direct impact on this study. These included the University of

Witwatersrand and the case study being investigated; namely, Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Thus, following a number of negotiations, permission to conduct the research study was approved by the stakeholders directly affected by the research study. The permission to conduct this research study was granted through the following

- The Witwatersrand University office of ethics for research studies (Non-Medical Ethics) (see appendix 2).
- The Vukani Community Radio (VCR) station manager's office. This permission was granted through various correspondences with the station manager and his assistants. In addition to this correspondence, the cultural protocol of the area where the community radio station is stationed required that the researcher introduce himself to the community radio station management again, to seek the permission to conduct the study as well as that of interviewing the rest of the internal stakeholders within community radio station.

Thus, it was in the interest of this research process to comply with the protocols of the African community that the community radio station broadcasts to. The recognition of the African community's protocols and systems of functioning is contrary to Western orientated research which does not entirely recognize the African personhood and its cultures, identities, protocols and lived reality. As argued by Smith (1999:42) "from an indigenous perspective, Western research is more than just research that is located in a positivist tradition. It is research which brings to bear, on any study of indigenous people, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language, and structures". Thus, to recognize protocols and structures of knowledge that fall outside of the Western system of gathering and making sense of knowledge needs to be recognized as a system of decoloniality in practice when it comes to the research process. Thus, in being granted permission to conduct research at the community of broadcast for Vukani Community Radio (VCR) the aim was also to uphold the cultural views and protocols of the community throughout the research/data gathering process.

5.9 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

Wellington and Szczerbinski (2007) mention that one of three strategies of collecting and analysing data can be adopted by a researcher. The three strategy rationale includes the following: (1.) the priori, (2.) the posteriori and, (3) a mixture of the priori and posteriori. In the case of the priori, we are faced with a data collection strategy that has pre-established categories for the analyses of data. This includes pre-existing categories which have been used or collected in previous research and then organized to be applied in one's current research or in the latest collected data. Secondly, the posteriori system of analysing data indicates "the categories used to analyse data are not pre-established but are derived from the data themselves…" (ibid, 2007:106). Lastly these researchers indicate that the category which particularly combines the priori and posterior strategy "is probably the most common and, in our view, the most rational approach to analysing qualitative data" (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007:106). This is because the data is analysed using some categories that are pre-established and those that are derived from the data. This strategy takes into consideration the theoretical discussions and the literature reviews but it also anticipates the contribution of information emanating from the 'field' data. This last strategy is the analysis method that was best applied in this study (see chapter 7, 8, and 9 on findings of the study). The themes that emerged from the research data were captured in relation to the aims and objective of each research results chapter.

The data analysis had to take into consideration the several strategies (observation, interviews, content and document analysis) of data collection that was employed by the study. For the process of data analysis, the researcher employed the following strategies:

- **Semi-structured Interviews:** The whole interview process was conducted in the indigenous language that is widely spoken at the research area – IsiXhosa[18]. This is the same language that was used in conducting the interviews. The advantage in using this language was that it is the home language for both the research participants and the researcher/ interviewer. Thus, the initial process after attaining

[18] The conducting of the interviews in IsiXhosa has meant that the translation of these interviews had to be done by the researcher. Though not a professional translator, the translation was done at the best of the researcher's ability.

all the required interviews was to transcribe them in the language of their recording, IsiXhosa. After this process, the transcripts were translated into English, taking into consideration that some issues or African language nuances may lose their meaning during the process of translation (see section in chapter 10 on suggestions for future decolonial research). However a valiant effort was made to capture the views of the participants in the translation. Lastly, the translated data was coded and grouped according to themes that emerged from the data (see chapter 8 on themes emerging from the interview process).

- **Audio Content:** In total, ninety (90/3 = 30 programmes per category of radio programme) radio shows were analysed. These programmes were elicited from the community radio station with the help of the music compiler and technical manager. They were broadcast from a varied amount of content perspectives/categories of community radio content: News/Current Affairs, Talk Radio and African Lifestyle (see table 5 on the selection criteria of the audio content). Thus, in analysing this data from the broadcast platform, the focus was on insights from the different themes of broadcasting, topics of interest and overall approach to the packaging of broadcast content. This analysis was conducted in relation to the research objectives of the study. Themes were later formed from the coded data of this study.
- It was decided that an audio based thematic analysis be used (see chapter 8 on the themes emanating from the audio content). In total, the time duration of the analysed media content totalled 270 hours. This is the combined total hours of the collected community radio content from the three categories (Talk Radio, African Cultural Lifestyle & News/Current Affairs) of radio programmes (see table 5 on the details of each programme).
- **Document Analysis:** For this section, three macro policy documents were analysed (the Broadcasting Act of South Africa, 1999; the ICASA Act, 2000; the MDDA Act, 2002). These were supplemented by the recording of interviews. The thematically sorted data from these sources were also analysed using the thematic analysis approach. Thus, a discussion on each theme emanating from the policy documents was highlighted (see chapter 7). This also helped in analysing each policy contribution towards the Africanisation of community media broadcasting with a focus on Vukani Community Radio (VCR). In addition to the interview data alluding to

the internal approaches of the radio station, data that captured the mission and vision statements of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) were analysed. These statements captured the manner in which the community radio station positions itself and how this potentially advances the concept of Africanisation as a decolonial project at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) (see chapter 7).

5.10 VALIDITY & RELIABILITY

'Scientific' research studies have to adhere to certain rigors that test the 'scientific' nature of a study. It should however be noted that the predominant manner of testing the rigor of a research study is dictated by the terms and conditions of Western research systems (cf. Smith, 1999). Furthermore, Grosfoguel (2007) argues that the locus of enunciation has been instrumental in the making of Western philosophy and science universal. Grosfoguel (2007:213) asserts that:

> By delinking ethnic/ racial / gender/ sexual epistemic location from the subject that speaks, Western philosophy and sciences are able to produce about a truthful universal knowledge that covers up, that is, conceals who is speaking as well as the geo-political and body-political epistemic location in the structures of colonial power/ knowledge from which the subject speaks.

In this study, it has been argued that the researcher chose to privilege an African epistemic interest into the systems that are conducted by the community so as to understand a specific African culture and identity in the community of broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Thus, the validity and reliability of this can only be judged by a system that appreciates a research approach with an interest in centering the African subject. As indicated by Sithole (2016), in research on African personhood, the tradition has been that of defining, representing and thus eventually creating this very African personhood outside of itself and its existential conditions. In its classical Euro-North American research approach, the African condition is too complex to be entirely accommodated by the Euro-

North American mode of conducting research. Hence the study calls for a decoloniality of the various modes of understanding the African subject.

In checking the reliability and validity of a research study, the geographical reality of the African subject in relation to the epistemic domination by the Euro-North American system needs to be considered. Thus, while Yin (1993, 2014) identifies construct validity, external validity, internal validity as well as reliability as being instrumental to testing the rigor of a research study, these rigor testing mechanisms have been applied through the decolonial lens in this study. In fact, the particularity and context of the study has been instrumental in testing the rigor of the study. Thus, keeping the particularity of the study in mind, only the internal validity of the study was tested. That is, the "achievement of internal validity through the specification of the units of analysis, the development of a priori rival theories, and the collection and analysis of data to test these rivals' (Yin, 1993:40). As illustrated by the detailed strategies of collecting data, the use of prior selected theories and the collected data from Chris Hani District Municipality, the onus of the argument is placed on the internal validity aspect. As Gunter (2000) notes, the study holds internal validity when the results hold true and are contextual to the experimental situation.

In matters pertaining to reliability, de Vaus (2001) mentions that reliability can only be achieved when a study consistently produces the same measurement. In the context of this case, the aim has been to achieve all possible sense of reliability by adhering to the guidelines provided by the critical qualitative research methodology, the case study protocols (Yin, 1993) and the theoretical anchors of the research study. However, the idea of researching culture and identity has consistently illustrated that such concepts are fluid and research results are highly depended on this fluidity. Thus, the reliability of this study can only be guaranteed in an instance where the field and context of the research and research participants is the same as that conducted under the data collection process that was used.

5.11 RESEARCH AREA EXPERIENCE

Conducting research with any community in any locality in the world has its challenges and its lessons for the researcher. These can vary from language barriers to cultural barriers as

well as every day issues in relation to logistics. However, in this study, relations between the researcher and the case study (Vukani Community Radio) have been in existence since 2008. As a community radio broadcasting volunteer at another community radio station (Forte Community Radio) the researcher met and was trained in broadcasting by the manager of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Subsequent to that, the researcher was kept breast with developments at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) by an associate who had briefly worked as a broadcaster at the radio station. In addition to that, the researcher had followed other developments in the community radio sector of South Africa that culminated in published research outputs about the sector (Tyali and Tomaselli, 2015).

Thus, before going to Vukani Community Radio (VCR) for the data collection process, the researcher had mentally and culturally prepared himself. In addition to this, the researcher had various email and telephone discussions that were held with the programmes manager who was the contact and liaison person between the researcher and the community radio station. Such communication between the two parties involved clarity on issues pertaining to the number of individuals required for the interviews as well as clarity on issues pertaining to the overall aims of this study. These conversations were on-going until the visit to the research area occured in March - April 2016 and November-December 2016 for the purpose of data collection. It is also important to state that the content of this community radio (VCR) station (digital ethnography) had been monitored from as early 2014 on an on-going basis until the data was collected in 2016. This was done through live streaming of the community radio's broadcast content.

In the context of cultural and language aspect, the community radio and the data collection experience fulfilled the expectations of the study. Largely this is because the rearcher had cultural and linguistic experience of the area where the data was collected. The broadcasting location of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is within his cultural forte. Thus, the African customs, cultures and traditions that are part of this community happen to be those that are also shared by the researcher. This cultural familiarity also contributed to the researcher's ease of access to the community in which the research respondents live. From minor cultural protocols such as using clan names to greet individuals, to certain protocols such as knowing how to culturally address people who are one's elders, to the issue of understanding idioms and proverbs prevalent in discussions that were conducted with these

research respondents. Thus, the prior cultural affinity to the research respondents largely contributed to a positive research area experience.

Although in the issue of language familiarity and relatability to the lived and cultural context of the research area there was no major impediments to conducting this study, during the process of gathering the community's view on the idea of Africanising this community radio station, it was noted that people did not narrate their reality in the technical language used in academic literature and theories. In this sense, the Africanisation that people talked about was in relation to their daily existence within the area of broadcasting. Thus, for them, the notion of seeing themselves and their identities and cultures through the media text was a process of reflecting on the ordinary that is their life.

It is in this sense that chapter's discussing the findings of this study have been addressed using the "rethinking" concept. For instance, what does the "ordinary" teach us when we "rethink" within the space of Africanising as a decolonisation? The experience of being immersed within the geography of broadcasting has therefore illustrated that the "ordinary" can be illustrative of daily resistance to colonisation, neo-colonisation, coloniality as well as imperialism. The priviledging of these anti-colonial resistances through the method used in this study also shows a manner of decolonising the research method[19]. That is, in this study, the method has not been appropriated to pursue the oppressive colonial agendas as had been envisaged by various research methods (Smith, 1999). Rather the method has been decolonised so as to speak to the conditions of the daily and ordinary existence of the oppressed. Thus the autocritique of the method as undertaken in its application in this study also illustrates progressive steps that could be used in decolonising the question of the method in oppressed, colonised and neo-colonised societies.

[19] Ultimately, the conclusion reached in this chapter is that even some systems used by the colonisers to pursue its objectives can be decolonised for the ends of achieving a liberatory and non-oppressive systems of collecting knowledge in 'previously' colonised societies. Hence newspapers, books and even broadcasting institutions cannot be totally abandoned but need to be decolonised. This rationality has therefore been used in this chapter to also argue that the method needs to be decolonised when working with societies that are still under coloniality. This is particularly possible in instances where Africans uses the method to achieve liberating knowledges about 'other' Africans. In the context of this study, the approach into collecting research data points to forms of decolonising methods that have been used to oppress the colonised. These adopted approaches by this study therefore recognise and entrecth the humanity of the respondents and thus do not aim to oppress nor dehumanise the research respondents.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, the area of concern was the research methods that were followed during the process of collecting the data for this study. The chapter has briefly touched on the epistemic foundations of the discipline that this research is partially focused on. This discussion has been done through the decolonial lens of the decadent disciplines (cf. Gordon, 2011). The call for an Africanised media and cultural studies discipline is geared towards decolonizing the discipline so that it is rooted in the local and complex realities of the country.

Whilst the discipline has included black perspectives in some of its scholarly output, the section on decolonization of the "mass communication" discipline partially indicates that such inclusion has mainly been done from a superficial and westernised perspective. Thus, the section shifts our focus to an Africanised media and cultural discipline. Furthermore, this chapter provides a detailed discussion of the need to decolonize the methodology so that the voices which have been traditionally silenced by research activities can be privileged. After this, the chapter contextualizes the case study of this research; it looks at the protocols for conducting research and also deals with the various research instruments that were applied in this research.

Towards the end of this chapter, the discussion turned towards the data collection strategies used by the study. Subsequent discussion of these data collection strategies also revolves around the apparatuses used for gathering data, the criteria for selecting the research participants as well as the protocols that were followed in undertaking the task of attaining the research permission and attaining ethical permission. The last sections of the chapter looked at the different 'arenas' for conducting interviews, the data analysis strategy, the process of data triangulation and the personal experiences of conducting research at the Chris Hani District Municipality with the aim of understanding the Africanisation of Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

The following chapter gives an in-depth understanding of the critically decolonised research methods that were followed and applied in this study. The chapter highlights the need to decolonise research methods in the pursuit of knowledge that is located in indigenous communities. Beyond this, the chapter also illustrates the preparatory steps taken in

preparing for and conducting field work within the broadcasting area of Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

CHAPTER 6

LOCATING THE SUBALTERN: CASE STUDY BACKGROUND

The preceding chapter grounded the theoretical frameworks underpinning this study. That discussion revolved around the (de)colonial theories adopted in this study. It framed the study around theoretical discussions that contextualise Africanisation as a decolonial endeavour and how matters that pertain to culture, media policy, languages in media, and representation can be used to advance Africanisation. In this current chapter, the aim is to give a brief background of the African people who inhabit the broadcasting geography of the case study. The broadcasting location is mainly inhabited by the abaThembu ethnic group principally from the Western Thembuland 'sub-ethnicity' and other minority ethnic groups within the area (see section below on the complex ethnic history of the area).

Furthermore, this chapter also provides a background discussion of the seat of broadcasting of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) - Cala Town[20], an area which traditionally forms part of the greater Xhalanga region (cf. Ntsebeza, 2002; Badat, 2012). This is where the broadcasting studios of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) are located and the area is also the original centre of broadcasting by the community radio station. The final part of this background chapter provides some background on the case study underpinning the study - Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The background discussion of the case study is presented with the objective of identifying the issues that shape the identity of the community radio station. It also delves into the broader concepts of Africanisation as decolonisation and how a media institution can act as a cultural conduit for a people's identity, language, religion and other forms of social existence.

Most importantly, the understanding of culture and identity of the African community forming the prime audiences of this community radio station is vital in the conception of particularity as lived by Africans. This discussion was also vital in the framing of culture

[20] This community radio station mainly broadcast in the former homelands of Transkei and Ciskei. These constitute some of the regions that were granted "self-governing" status in 1976 by the settler-colonial government of South Africa under its apartheid policy. Essentially these regions became some of sort smaller countries within a country and were meant to belong to Africans within the Republic under the settler-colonial governing era. Therefore, an African residing in the area would be referred to as a Transkei(an) and this would bar them from having a legal citizenship within the wider Republic of South Africa.

within the context of the case study. This undertaking did not only assist in contextualising and problematizing the results of the study (see chapters 8, 9 and 10), the background discussion of this chapter also guides the study into showing the various historical and contemporary developments that have shaped the current lived realities of the community radio station's constituency. Ultimately, this chapter aimed to highlight the founding principles of the community radio station, a brief background on the stations 'community', a brief overview of the community's history and how such issues potentially intersect in the on-going process of subaltern and geographically marginalised identities of 'post' settler-colonial South Africa.

6.1 GEOGRAPHY OF THE RESEARCH AREA: A BRIEF PROFILE

The case study underpinning this research study is situated on the margins of South Africa's major cities and urban centres. The area of broadcasting of the community radio station is therefore located in one of the least economically developed provinces of South Africa, the Eastern Cape Province.[21] Even within the geographic perspective of the province, the main broadcasting location of the radio station is widely semi-urban and rural, rendering it further deprived of mainstream economic activities. These economically 'under-developed' areas of South Africa include those locations whose economic potential was ultimately undermined by settler-colonial history and interests. Fanon (1961) observed that this neglect has been a general trend of colonial logic across the history of the colonial situation. "We know that colonial domination has marked certain regions out for privileges. It concentrates on certain regions of the colonized country, but the rest of the colony follows its part of underdevelopment and poverty, or at all events sinks it more deeply" (Fanon 1961:127).

The original area of broadcasting by Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the small town/ semi-urban centre of Cala potentially represents the best example of neglect by colonial logic, except as a small trading area that used to service the settler-colonial farmers. In the 'post-

[21] In terms of the economic indicators of the province, the Eastern Cape has two key main economic centres: (Nelson Mandela Metro) Port Elizabeth and Buffalo City Metro (East London). However, the case study and the area geographic area of this study fall outside of these key economic hubs. Thus, this renders the inhabitants of the area of broadcasting economic activity deprived as they are often forced to migrate to these key metropolitan centres and other areas of economic activity in South Africa.

settler colonial' period of South Africa, this semi-urban area has also been instrumental in serving the rural areas surrounding small communal spaces. The town itself has consistently been demarcated under the Chris Hani District Municipality, since the end of the official settler colonial era of the country. Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is therefore, situated and operates as a community broadcaster within the borders of the wider Chris Hani District Municipality where the small semi-urban centre of Cala is situated.

Similar to the rest of South Africa, the area that constitutes the broadcasting range of the community radio station was under settler-colonialism for several decades. Available records on the history of the geographic space of the community radio station suggest that the earliest encroachment of settler-colonialism in the now abaThembu (see the following section on the ethnicity of the broadcast area) controlled area started when a group of Afrikaans speaking farmers moved eastwards in South Africa and established themselves in the Klaas Smith river in the period of 1780. While this area had been formally put under colonialism as a result of the settler-community having colonial power to identify and occupy all resources that had belonged to Africans, historical records of the geographic area also illustrate an interesting pattern of migration and co-existence among Africans in this area. These records suggest that the region is also known for its history of multi-ethnicity.

Ntsebeza (2002) for instance illustrated that from the time that the greater area of Xhalanga was established; historical literature of the area established that this part of South Africa was highly heterogeneous in matters of ethnic identity. Such historical literature therefore questions popular and contemporary ethnic assumptions of the region. In recent times the area of broadcasting has been under 'indigenous' governance and served as a cultural and traditional capital of the Western Thembuland sub-ethnic group, but settlement and migration patterns within the research area indicate that it was never a region of 'pure' or a single African ethnic group settlement (ibid.). The African population residing in this area seems to have less ethnic homogeneity and was composed of individuals from various ethnic groups that eventually occupied the area (also see chapter 9 on ethnic discussion of the area). "It was made up of Africans who came from various clans, and, certain areas such as Askeaton, [and] so called 'coloured'" (Ntsebeza, 2002:143). Therefore, such heterogeneity under the umbrella of Africanity represents the different groups that form what is referred to as African culture (see chapter 2 and 3 on Africanisation).

The Xhalanga district (incorporating the semi-urban Cala Town) is one of two areas that in their whole formed what historians have called the "Emigrant Thembuland" area (also known as Western Thembuland). In fact, the area that came to be occupied largely by abaThembu[22] and other minority ethnic groups was earlier occupied by those who form part of the amaXhosa ethnicity. Migration and inter-ethnic rivalry were some of the primary causes that resulted in the research area being occupied largely by abaThembu together with a range of minority ethnicities, some of whom were later classified under the umbrella description of abaThembu. Most of the ethnic groups now settled in the research site had therefore moved from northern areas of the country as a result of inter-ethnic rivalry and in search for livestock grazing lands (Peires, 1989). Thus, with Cala and its surrounding regions, we have a research area that, over a period of centuries has been occupied by several ethnic groups, possibly resulting in what would today be described as the 'melting pot' of Africanity in that small area of the Eastern Cape Province. At an ethnic level, the research area historically provides a certain sense of ethnic cosmopolitanism among Africans who had moved to the area; however, at a colonial level, the inhabitants of the area were not exceptional in how they were treated by the settler-colonial system of South Africa.

Ntsebeza (2002) argues that historical contact between Africans and settler-colonisers in and around this area had created a division among the Africans, and would later lead to the emergence of two major colonised groups: the 'school' people and the 'red' people. The school people historically came to be seen as assimilators to the coloniser's way of doing things – Westernised Africans. This is because they had partially accepted some Western influences and values associated with the West. These were people who, under those circumstances, had come to be associated with being accustomed to Westernisation, including their education, their religion, dress codes and the general Western approach to life in the area. The historical literature also identifies a resisting group, which would come to be known as the 'red' people, - a group that had initially refused to assimilate to Westernisation (ibid.). The 'red' in the description of these groups alludes to the red ochre facial paintings that had been associated with these individuals. Most had held steadfastly

[22] An interesting and full discussion of the wider Xhalanga area can be accessed on Lungisile Ntsebenza (2002) Doctoral study about the area. This is especially the case in Chapter 4 of his research study where he highlights the complexities of ethnicity and identity within the wider Xhalanga area. This study also adds to the critique of homogeneity of identities even at the level of what has often been assumed as individual ethnicity.

to their religious beliefs, their culture and traditional practices and their approach to life in general (chapter 8 provides details on the various contemporary belief systems that are endemic to the area).

Therefore, generations later, this study looks into the lived concept of Africanity and how the broadcast platform that is based within the Cala semi-urban area has been Africanised to resemble the lived experiences of its broadcast constituency. The content output of this community radio station helps us to understand how some media platforms operating in the periphery of the media industry (non-mainstream media) can (or cannot) contain ideological influences that work to assist in the identity renewal and reconstruction of a people's identities that have recently emerged from formal settler-colonialism and its cultural influences (the section on Vukani Community Radio gives a brief background of the philosophy and vision of the broadcasting platform). This study analysed a community broadcasting medium that is situated in an area that has a long history of colonisation as well as Western influence among the African groups inhabiting the area. Cala, however, also has a long history of resisting dispossession and a history of resisting colonisation (cf. Ntsebeza, 2002; Badat, 2012). The area therefore points to instances of resistance, a historical example of which includes the resistance of colonialism by the 'red' people of the area (ibid.).

The arrival of 'independence' of South Africa from settler-colonial direct governance did not change much interms of the state of some of the colonially under-developed areas of the country. That is because, with independence of colonies, the majority of people who could not freely move within the colony begin to migrate to more prosperous areas of the country (cf. Fanon, 1961). "The local districts are deserted, the mass of the country people with no one to lead them, uneducated and unsupported, turn their backs on their poorly laboured fields and flock towards the outer rings of suburb, thus swelling out all proportion the ranks of the lumpen-proletariat" concludes Fanon (1961:149). Thus, the current state of the research area represents one of the least economically and infrastructurally developed areas in the province.

This pattern is consistent with the logic of people emerging from newly independent countries whose ability to move and migrate within their country has been restored by the

postcolonial status of the colonies. The results of the latest (2011) census around the area indicate that the population of the area has decreased[23]. This decrease points towards a decline in a settling population in the area and the primary cause of this migration has been the pursuit of employment and greater economic opportunities, search for 'better' education and a general perception of better living conditions in areas that do not form part of the Chris Hani District Municipality.

The unfortunate casualties of such migration processes in new post-colonies are the areas of original settlement by the African people who subsequently move out of such areas for the purpose of pursuing 'better' professional and economic growth opportunities. As exemplified by the Chris Hani District Municipality situation, human 'capital' is lost to affluent areas of settlement as most people move to bigger cities to pursue better opportunities. Twenty-two years since the official end of minority settler colonial rule in South Africa, small semi-urban centres and rural areas in this post-colony are gradually losing human 'capital' as a result of limited opportunities in these areas (see chapter 8 on the impact of this trend on Vukani Community Radio). This trend for instance is contrary to the proposal advocated by Fanon (1961). In it he argues that the capital needs to be avoided at all costs. This is because capital cities of new postcolonial states in Africa are overpopulated and have overtime been overdeveloped in comparison to the rest of the country side (ibid.).

The strategy of avoiding the major developed areas of new African modern states is seen to be the only way of "trying to bring life in regions which are dead, these are regions which are not yet awakened to life" according to (Fanon 1961:149). The broadcast area of the case study underpinning this study includes an area that covers several small towns, small semi-urban areas as well as vast areas of farm and rural life [the country side]. The semi-rural towns falling under this municipality where Vukani Community Radio (VCR) broadcasts include these following small semi-urban and surrounding areas: Cala, Cofimvamba,

[23] The results of the demographic growth within the population of the municipality have been consistently decreasing. Statistical data on the municipal demographic data indicates that the population of CHDM has consistently shown a decrease in population sizes: from 800 289 in 2001 to 795 461 in 2011. The report capturing this data can be accessed on the following link: http://www.chrishanidm.gov.za/download/IDP/CHRIS%20HANI%20IDP%20REVIEW%202013.pdf

Dodrecht, Elliot, Engcobo, Hofmeyr, Indwe, Lady Frere, Middelburg, Molteno, Mount Zebra National Park, Queenstown, Sada, Sterkstroom, Tarkastad, Tsomo and Whittlesea[24].

This list includes small towns in the Chris Hani municipality and such towns are of various sizes and in various stages of economic development. As indicated above, the community radio station broadcasts in a district municipality and under this main municipality, there are various smaller municipalities that make up the cluster of the whole district. The list of the smaller municipalities includes: Inxuba Yethemba, Inkwanca, Lukhanji, Tsolwana, Emalahleni, Sakhisizwe, Ngcobo, and Intsika Yethu (see Figure 2). The result is that most residents receive local media content and contemporary developments directly from Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

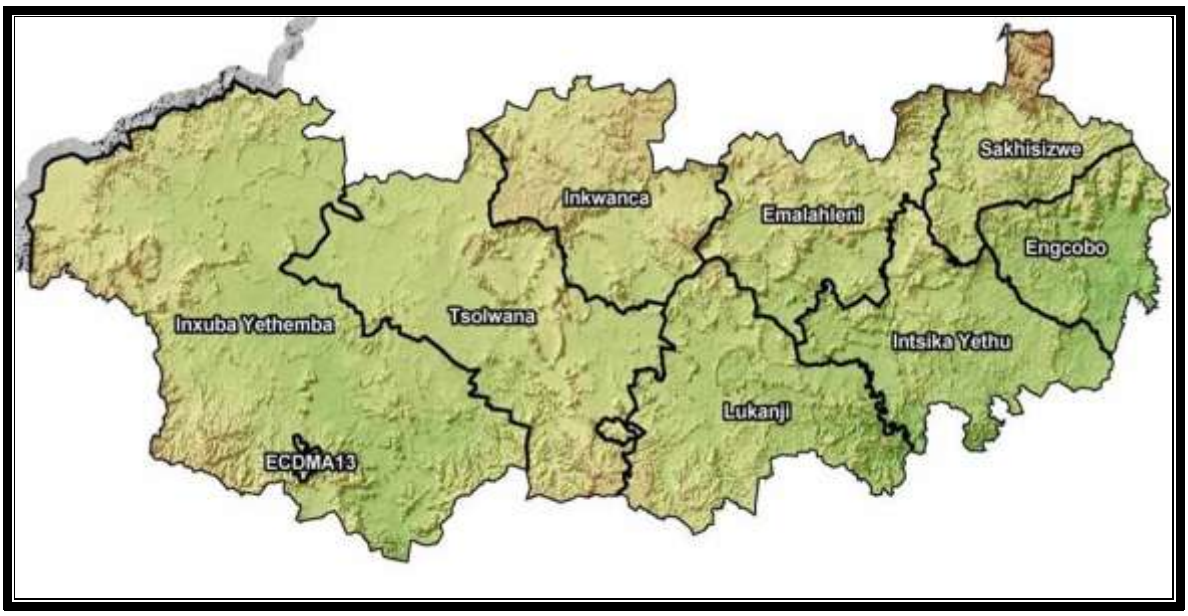


Figure 2: This map illustrates the smaller municipalities that form part of the wider Chris Hani District Municipality. Source: https://municipalities.co.za/districts/view/4/Chris-Hani-District-Municipality

The main municipal district as well as the various smaller municipalities operating in the broadcasting area of the study is governed through the Local Government Municipal

[24] The naming of such areas also attests to the colonial history that was encountered by Africans in the areas of broadcasting. Thus, the names for the urban centres within the municipality immortalises the colonisers who were responsible for the desecration of African life and culture under settler colonial rule. More importantly, such naming erases the ancient history of the area and thus through the visibility of colonial history, the identity of the area becomes ahistorical to African history.

Structures Act, No 117 of 1998. This Act makes provision for the country's local governance system to be run through a dual system that incorporates the governing officials of the municipality as well as the role of indigenous leaders' (popularly referred to as "Traditional Leaders" in South Africa). This strategy seems to have been part of the system which makes South Africa a state that is continuously embracing the settler-colonial identities and cultures imposed on the majority African people (coloniality) while also instituting measures that aim to retain any historical 'remnants' of African indigenous systems. An example of embracing such colonial identities in the 'post-settler-colonial' period of South Africa includes the present national anthem which incorporates parts of the British as well as the apartheid Afrikaner national anthems[25]. This example illustrates but one of the many examples of colonial history that still form part of the present era (see footnote 19 on town names as currently experienced in the Chris Hani District Municipality as well).

In the 'post-settler-colonial' era there have been strides to include some African identity symbols within the public sphere of the post-colony. These include the multilingual policy that gives the right to a number of African languages to be recognised as official languages. Furthermore, the country's coat of arms is another symbolic call for the acceptance and support of diversity among the populations inhabiting this country. Lastly, the country has also recognised the role of the African indigenous leadership system as some form of diversifying the cultural landscape of the country. Arguably these strides potentially demonstrate the country's unofficial commitment to Africanisation.

Meer & Campbell (2007:2) observe that "the traditional leadership is an ancient institution, prevalent across the entire African continent. For centuries, the African people experienced no other form of governance." However as with all other forms of ancient life, the Euro imperial and colonial forces have merely functioned to undermine, corrupt and degrade this institution of indigenous leadership (cf. Mamdani, 1996). In South Africa, centuries of settler colonialism enforced the eroding of these indigenous forms of governance (Meer and Campbell, 2007). Ntsebeza (2002) in his study of African indigenous leadership mentions

[25] In the national anthem, settler colonial anthems have been incorporated to the postcolonial anthem of South Africa. The following link contains the lyrics of South African national anthem with the British and Afrikaans settler colonial sections that formed part of colonial anthems: http://www.southafrica.info/about/history/anthem.htm#.WCMUqS196po

instances where this form of Africanity was manipulated in the name of appeasing the settler-colonial government (cf. Mamdani, 1996; Breckenridge, 2008). Interestingly, Ntsebeza (2002) concludes that the institution of indigenous (traditional) leadership in South Africa had primarily survived because of being incorporated into the settler-colonial administrative rules and in the majority of cases, this allowed it to be used as an instrument of indirect rule by colonial administrators. This conclusion indicates that even some of the African structures that have survived colonialism are in themselves in need of decolonisation because of their association with the project of colonialism.

However, the current national legislations of South Africa, though modelled in many instances on the Roman Dutch law system (Lenel, 2002), make provision for the recognition of customs, cultures and traditional beliefs of African indigenous populations residing in South Africa. The recognition of these diverse cultures in the country points to the UNESCO (2002) declaration on the need to pluralise the cultural industry. The UNESCO declaration indicates that "…it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together." UNESCO (2002:4). However, as was argued in chapter 3 of this study, there is also a need to understand coloniality in the current epoch and how it affects the diversity of cultures within the Global South. Therefore, the area where Vukani Community Radio (VCR) broadcasts is affected by coloniality as argued in chapter 3. The existence of cultural plurality can only be affirmed with the process of Africanising media content in the broadcast location so that various identities are affirmed in the cultural landscape of their media institution.

6.2 THE ETHNIC QUESTION WITHIN THE BROADCASTING AREA

Questions surrounding ethnicity have been debated by several scholars in relation to African societies in the colonial and the postcolonial eras of the continent (Fanon, 1961; Wa Thiong'o, 1981; Achebe, 1999; Mafeje, 2001; Mamdani, 1996). These include scholarly works that have identified ethnicity as a major stumbling block for societies that are emerging from the oppression inflicted by direct colonial administrations. Mamdani (1996) has for instance indicated that during the official administrative colonial period of the African continent, ethnic identities were largely separated and this separation was politically

enforced by the colonial administrators. Together with how the colonial administrators infiltrated the African ethnic groups and alienated them from each other through the 'divide and rule' strategies, there is a clear case for worry about the recognition of ethnic identities in the postcolonial era on the African continent.

Within the modern African state, the problems of ethnicity have also been raised by other decolonial scholars. Fanon (1961), for instance, argues that major problems awaiting the 'post-settler-colonial states' in the African continent included racism and 'tribalism' (the negative prejudices associated with ethnic identities). According to this analysis, when the national bourgeois fail to institute a progressive national identity for a new country, then it is likely that the population will revert to old colonially constructed ethnic identities. When this failure happens "…we observe a falling back towards old tribal attitudes…" argues Fanon (1961:165).

Mamdani (1996) and Fanon (1961), however, are concerned about African identities within the manipulation of these identities by old colonial logic. It is important to be cautious of ethnic identities within the current era, but there is also a need to examine such ethnicities within the context of advancing plurality and decolonisation of identities that have been denied or manipulated by Western modernity. Grosfoguel (2004) argues that the identity of a people is either racialised in a positive or negative light depending on the contexts that exists around these people. This point therefore reinforces the need to not only focus on the negativity when viewing the concept of ethnicity in Africa today. Since ethnicity in this continent has been manipulated by colonialism for its various ends, it is important to rescue this very concept from the colonial situation in which it is embedded. After all, identities have histories, thus the disregard for ethnicity as part of African history can lead to the concealment of the sub-identities as lived in the everyday context of Africa today.

Furthermore, on the question of how ethnicity can be progressively used in Africa for the purpose of decolonisation, wa Thiong'o (1981:2) insists that "any blow against imperialism, no matter the ethnic and regional origins of the blow, is a victory for all anti-imperialistic elements in all nationalities". Thus, the discussion of ethnicity at the community radio station under study arises from the need to recognise the historical context of the community radio station and how this may have an impact on the process of Africanising a

media platform. The broadcasting area of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) forms part of a larger geographic area that is inhibited by multiple ethnic communities. In fact, even the broader Eastern Cape Province is speckled with several ethnic communities that have been residing within and outside the borders constituting the broadcasting location of this case study. A large majority of these individuals are IsiXhosa speakers (Suttner, 2010), but the groups residing in this area of the country can be classified into the following ethnic communities: AmaMpondo, AmaXhosa, AbaThembu, AmaHlubi, AmaBhaca and an amalgamation of different San communities (most whom have intermarried with other ethnic communities residing in the province). These groups therefore form a sort of an ethnic picture of the situation currently lived within the broader area that also constitutes the broadcasting location of this study.

The ethnic group names identified above give an idea of the 'macro structure' of the ethnic groups occupying the areas surrounding the broadcasting location. These different ethnic groups are often concealed by the language phenomenon that is practiced around the area of broadcasting. The geographic location mainly uses IsiXhosa as a lingua franca of the area and to a large extent, there has been a trend of assuming that all of IsiXhosa speakers are AmaXhosa people in the broadcasting location. However, though the different ethnic groups speak IsiXhosa to a large extent, their identities are varied as illustrated above (cf. Suttner, 2010). These varied ethnic identities also represent the particularisation of ethnic identities within the wider concept of African identity and cultures. Thus, to speak of the abaThembu[26] is also to speak of a particularity of Africanity within the wider concept of Africans. For example, whilst speaking and having settled in an IsiXhosa language dominated section of South Africa, historical literature on the origins of abaThembu have only speculated on the genesis of this ethnic group. For instance, when writing about the history of the abaThembu, Soga (1930) notes that there are a few possible theories on the origins of this ethnic group. He asserts that the ethnic group could either be a distinct branch of BaSotho origin or of Makalanga descendacy. These are all ethnic groups that settled within the Southern African region (Soga, 1930). Peires (1981:84) on the other hand has traced the

[26] On-going developments within the Eastern Cape indicate that the abaThembu ethnic identity is still embraced by many individuals. Some media reports indicate that the ethnic identity of the group is still sacrosanct and in recent days has been defended by those who see possible threats to this ethnic identity. The following link illustrates a certain level of ethnic identification even at this point of the century. See the following link: http://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/abathembu-set-to-march-in-pretoria/

present day ethnic group forming the bigger abaThembu branch to a multiple group of ethnic communities. He writes that:

> Like the AmaXhosa, the abaThembu were composed of a number of several clans which had accepted leadership of a royal clan. The Thembu royal clan, the Hala, had not however succeeded in imposing their control on the local level to anything approaching the extent attained by the Tshawe among the Xhosa. Some clans were entirely subordinate to the Hala, but others such as the Vundle, Gcina, Qwathi and others maintained their chieftainship and their territorial integrity.

To demonstrate the complexity of the ethnic groups occupying the Western Thembuland area, Peires (1981) points to small instances where some ethnic subjects within the abaThembu group changed their allegiances to join other ethnic groups that had settled within the wider Eastern Cape region. To a certain extent, this argument points to some form of fluidity within the concept of ethnicity and clearly demonstrates how ethnicity can be shed depending on the political situation of the time. This point also illustrates that ethnicity in Africa was, therefore, not fixed but mainly determined by allegiance to areas of settlement and allegiance to the ruling groups of the area[27]. Therefore, such complexity of ethnicity also informs the broadcasting location of the case study of this research.

[27] The issue of fluidity in ethnic identities can be demonstrated by the common Xhosa ethnic clans are historically said to not have been Xhosa clans but were either absorbed or associated themselves around Xhosa people. These include amaNgqosini, Lawu and AmaGqunukhwebe.



Figure 3: This map illustrates the section of South Africa that currently forms the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. Source: https://www.roomsforafrica.com/dest/south-africa/eastern-cape.jsp

The eastern part of this province is also the site of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) broadcasting range. It is this very area that is largely and contemporarily inhabited by the AbaThembu, who form part of the wider indigenous African communities residing in this province. Badat (2012) informs us that the broader Thembuland (including the area of broadcast coverage by Vukani Community Radio) comprises Xhalanga (partly forming Cala), Engcobo, Glen Grey (Lady Frere), Umtata, Cofimvaba (St Marks), Mqanduli and Xhora (Elliotdale) areas. As illustrated by some historical literature, these areas have in recent history been traditionally occupied and traditionally ruled by the abaThembu people, except for those sub-ethnicities that maintained their independence in this area[28].

Currently there is still a raging debate on whether the abaThembu ethnic group has historically been a single ethnic nation or it was split into two as a result of colonial intervention (Ntsebeza, 2002; Burns-Ncamashe, 2015; Yekela, 2011 and Badat, 2012). For

[28] During the data gathering process of this study, I met and had a conversation with a gentleman (Mvuyo Mhlekwa) who traced his ethnicity to the Khumalos that migrated from the KwaZulu area in KwaZulu-Natal. Within the context of macro ethnic ethnicity, this factor made him one of several people who represent the minor ethnic identities of the area and thus informing the complex nature of viewing the area as a single ethnic occupied area.

instance, Badat (2012) suggests that, with the rise of the then Transkei Territorial Authorities during the settler-colonial period of South Africa, the ethnicity of this group was manipulated to suit the divide and rule philosophy of colonialism. The Transkei territory was drawn out using the Bantu Authorities Act (1951). The area was created as a homeland for local African people by the South African apartheid policy. Thus, the settler-colonial government is said to have also engineered a system which recognised two African Kingdoms within this ethnicity.

Badat (2012:129) argues that the settler-colonial policy gave consent to "the ascendancy and role of Kaiser Matanzima, installed on the basis of a dubious claim as paramount chief of Emigrant Thembuland, and the parallel displacement and reduction in the authority of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, were significant issues in the Thembuland upheavals of the late 1950s and early 1960s". The involvement of the settler-colonial government in the affairs of African identity creation therefore seemingly recognised two ethnic groups within the abaThembu nation: 1) AbaThembu Baka Dalindyebo and 2) Western Thembuland (AbaThembu base Rhoda). Such subgroups are still recognised in the contemporary South Africa. Such acknowledgment and discourses are, therefore, also indicative of the continuing legacies of colonisation and the perception of its impact on African identities.

The research literature also suggests that the ethnic identities of the communities understudy are still trapped within the bigger and continuing project of coloniality. The interest of this study is extended not only to the impact of colonisation in creating identities but the way the community radio station is Africanising itself and rediscovering its own forms of African identities and the creation of discourse around these identities within the community (see chapter 9). An analysis of this process helped the study ascertain the impact of colonisation, imperialism and coloniality within the identified community radio station that is broadcasting for an African community. As noted above, the case study - Vukani Community Radio (VCR) - is situated at Cala and this is an instance that indicates that through its territorial location, the station is bound to embody the identities, values, cultures and traditions of the people residing in and around these areas of broadcast.

6.3 VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR): AN OUTLINE

In South Africa, the genesis and development of community radio indicates that it originated from the grassroots discourses of the political, economis and cultural struggle of the 1980s (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001). It was this form of media broadcasting that was seen to be an important possible voice of those who were oppressed and were in the struggle against settler-colonialism (cf. Bosch, 2003). However, at an officially recognised state level, community radio broadcasting in the country has been in 'existence' only since it was legislated by the IBA (which was later renamed ICASA. See chapter 7 on IBA to ICASA) (also see chapter 4 for the complete discussion of community radio in South Africa). The legislation that gave rise to community media broadcasting led to the acquiring of a broadcasting licence by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in the mid-nineties (the history of this radio station is also discussed in the findings of this study, chapter 8. This is because this history was also instrumental in shaping the findings of this study. The rationale for this was to discuss the history of this community radio station within the context of the analysed research findings).

In 1996, the broadcasting licence dispensation gave broadcasting rights (initially on a temporary basis) to a number of community broadcasters. Among broadcasters granted a licence during this dispensation was a university student aligned broadcasting institution named Vukani Community Radio[29] (VCR). Situated in a small semi-rural town known as Cala, this community broadcaster was established by a group of students who were then using the name: Cala University Students Association (CALUSA). This community radio station made its debut broadcasting service on the 9th of April in 1996 and has grown and stabilised over the years.

Through its initial development and its association with a group of university students, the history of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is similar to several community radio stations who, in their initial development phase, were incubated either at university campuses or by

[29] Though starting as a student's radio project, this community radio station has grown and matured throughout the years. It is now firmly among the list of community radio station whom can be described as established and sustainable. This list includes the likes of Bush FM, Jozi FM and Radio Zibonele. For further historical details on Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the reader is encouraged to visit their website at the following url: http://www.vukanifm.org/

students who acquired broadcasting skills from university campuses and then later used this knowledge to build broadcasting facilities in their respective communities. For instance, the Durban Youth Radio was a community radio of interest which had its primary constituency under the auspices of students who were studying in the then University of Natal. It was located on the Durban campus of the university and was run under the eye of the Student Representative Council (SRC). Teer-Tomaselli (2001:235) argues that "the radio station had also forged a number of nascent partnerships with surrounding communities, and sees itself as serving the interest of these communities." Other cases of such projects include the Forte Community Radio (FCR) at the University of Fort Hare as well as Bush Radio in the University of the Western Cape, in Cape Town. Both projects were started as university projects but went on to become flagship community radio projects that broadcast on wider geographic community concerns.

However, unlike the Durban Youth Radio, which had working relations with and was run alongside the Durban community, Vukani Community Radio (VCR) was mainly run by the project starters (CALUSA). Clearly this was in contravention of the principles of community radio where the surrounding community needs to be involved in the functioning of each radio station. Therefore, as a legal requirement, Vukani Community Radio (VCR) had to be transferred to the wider community of Cala and its surrounding areas. These developments subsequently led to the governing of this radio station by a community elected structure (the Board of Trustees) (see chapter 8 on the organogram of the community radio station). The transferal of this station to the community also seems to be closely aligned with the licensing conditions for granting licenses to community broadcasters of South Africa by ICASA (see discussion on Chapter 4 about community radio requirements and guidelines).



Figure 4: This image represents the landing page of the online platform of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Online content can be streamlined from this webpage. The image was screen-grabbed as appearing on the website of the community radio station. Source: http://www.liveonlineradio.net/south-africa/vukani-fm.htm

After initially using a temporary broadcasting licence from 1996 and onwards, Vukani Community Radio (VCR) was granted a medium-term broadcasting licence at the start of the new millennium. In the year 2000, this community radio station was granted a four-year broadcasting licence and this had been renewable from the year 2004 and still allows the community radio station to broadcast until today. As majority of community radio stations started to officially broadcast in 1996 around the country, it can be concluded that Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is one of the oldest community radio stations in South Africa. Although it is conventional for community radio stations to broadcast within a limited range, contemporary broadcasting arrangements at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) indicate that the community radio station is broadcasting within a fairly wide geographical area. The implications of such broadcasting mandates have been discussed in the results chapte; see chapter 8.

In another study on HIV infections, entertainment-education at Vukani Community Radio, Seti (2013) argues that after launching and carving its niche as a 'developmental' radio project for the rural poor, a constant growth of the community radio station was witnessed, leading to a restructuring of its broadcasting mandate. Such steady growth of the

community radio station resulted in a 2003 decision by ICASA to extend the mandate of the station by allowing it to broadcast to the whole of the Chris Hani District Municipality. This decision has meant that the station is broadcasting at a district wide municipal level thus calling into question its current status as a community radio station (chapter 8 further elaborates on this point in-depth).

Though the broadcasting area of the station has significantly increased, it needs to be stated that the community radio station is operating in a provincial environment where a number of community radio licences have been granted. Majangaza (2015) reported that some of the broadcasting community radio stations in the province include: Forte Community Radio (FCR), Kumkani FM, Izwi Lethemba, Link FM and Sunshine FM and Nonqubela FM. These radio stations operate in an environment where there is fierce competition from surrounding public broadcasters for audience listenership. These public broadcasters include Umhlobo Wenene FM (a national broadcasting radio station that targets IsiXhosa speakers) as well as the youth focused tru-FM (another radio station firmly broadcasting in the area where most of such community radio stations also target audiences). The broadcasting situation – at least at radio broadcasting level – has meant that there is a fierce competition for audiences and such competition has often meant the blurring of lines between the community and public broadcasting mandates[30].

While there is fierce competition for audiences by all the radio stations broadcasting in the Eastern Cape Province, research reports on Vukani Community Radio (VCR) indicate that the station has consistently been able to adhere to the strict licencing conditions that are prescribed by ICASA (Seti, 2013). The research findings from Seti (2013) also suggest that the community radio station is aimed at the African population that resides in the area and thus the best way of fulfilling its mandate is using African languages (see chapter 8 on the decolonial role of language for this community radio station). Historically seen as a 'developmental' project, the content of the radio station is mainly targeted at the least educated members of the district (ibid.).

[30] The South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF) provides on-going audience reports monthly about the growth and decline in audience numbers for each station. This helps in detecting the growths and loses that have been made by each radio station on an on-going basis. Further information on this organisation can be accessed on the following link: http://www.saarf.co.za/

As with all community radio stations, the on-air broadcasting personalities of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) are required to discuss 'developmental' and community of interest matters on the airwaves. In most instances this has consisted of discussions of HIV/AIDS information as well as other dialogues on socially relevant topics for the radio station's targeted audiences (Seti, 2013). In illustrating the mandate of its existence, the following description appeared on its website[31] at the time of data collection for this:

- Mission: Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is a community owned tool for gathering, dissemination of information and encourage maximum community participation.
- Vision: Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is a community organ/tool for gathering, dissemination of information relevant to community development. We broadcast to communities of Chris Hani District Municipality with emphasis to previously disadvantaged communities. We believe and encourage community participation of our community in their development and broadcasting. Our on-air programmes focus on providing information, entertainment and education to communities to enable them to participate meaningfully in their own development (see chapter 7 for an in-depth analysis and critique of the mission and vision of this radio station).

The community radio station identified itself as tool for advancing 'development' in its target community of the "historical disadvantaged" (see chapter 7 on the meaning behind this term for this community radio station) constituency. Furthermore, Seti (2013:63) has argued that "in many rural communities, the preservation of culture is very important both for the young and old." In the same argument, Seti (2013:63) indicates that:

> Rural inhabitants are slowly becoming more open to practices that would [be] rejected as foreign in the past, they are now will[ing] to learn and communicate about topics they would find uncomfortable in the past. They still expect that their culture be respected but are less sensitive about some issues.

[31]This description of the radio station appeared on its website. Retrieved: February 03, 2016. Url: http://www.vukanifm.org/

Therefore, these findings by that study formed an important point of departure for the current study. The argument on culture directly speaks to the question of Africanisation of this community radio station as advanced by questions of this current study. Thus, the conclusions as advanced by Seti (2013) create an important impetus for the focus of research on Africanisation and Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The basis of this chapter was to highlight the complex background of the situation as lived in the broadcast location of the case study. This background analysis included the historical as well as contemporary developments within the area of broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Thus, the chapter takes into consideration the history and current geography of broadcasting. The influence of colonialism in this area has been profound and the current lived experience of Africanity has been affected by this. In this chapter, the impact on Africanity by colonialism is demonstrated by the co-option of some indigenous leadership institutions and how this was used to manage the African population by settler colonial governments. The chapter also illustrates that whilst the concept of Africanity has survived colonialism, it is important to understand the conditions of their survival and the impact of that survival on issues such as ethnic identities. Furthermore, this chapter also grappled with the concept of ethnicity. Though the concept of ethnicity has been manipulated by various agents of Western colonialism to divide and rule Africans, this chapter illustrates how this concept can be rescued from its colonised history. It illustrates that the traditional academic view has been that of looking at ethnicity through a negative lens, but a positive view of ethnicity can assist in the Africanisation process. The chapter closes by giving a brief overview of Vukani Community Radio station. This overview forms the foundations of the research findings chapters (chapters 8, 9, 10) of this study.

In the following chapter the discussion turns to the research findings of the study. This chapter has been facilitated by the research data that was analysed from micro (Vukani Community Radio) and macro (national legislations) policy documents.

CHAPTER 7

RETHINKING POLICY IDEOLOGY: ON LEGISLATION AND ITS PROVISIONS FOR AFRICANISATION

The preceding chapter highlighted a critical and decolonial perspective on research methods used in the collection of primary and secondary data that inform the findings of this study. Particularly, an argument was raised that an auto-critique approach needs to be considered in the adoption of contemporary research and data collection methods that are currently being used to gain an understanding of indigenous and Global South communities that have been historically at the receiving end of colonial oppression (administrative and settler) as well as coloniality (cf. Smith, 1999). This auto-critique is what may eventually lead to the decolonisation of contemporary research methods. In that chapter the researcher also highlighted the idea of disciplinary decadence (cf. Gordon, 2011) in the current approach to media and cultural studies in South Africa. And lastly, the chapter also expanded on the three forms of research data that were gathered in the process of generating findings for the study: policy documents, field interviews and community radio content from three (3) categories of on air programmes.

The focus of this current chapter is the analysis of macro and micro policy documents that partially underpin the findings of this broader study. The discussion in this chapter is driven by discourses which indicate that community radio broadcasting activities in South Africa do not take place in a vacuum. Rather they should be aligned to the lived realities of each community. In this instance, the current chapter attempts to report on both the primary (limited unstructured interview data) as well as secondary data (broadcasting policy documents/data) that was analysed with the purpose of understanding their impact on the process of Africanising Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Regarding the research questions of this study, this chapter grapples with the following question: how do external and internal policy guidelines help the community radio station in question to play its role of broadcasting content that is relevant to its African community? The field interview data of this community radio station suggest that the community radio station is favourable to Africanisation as a decolonising endeavour (see chapter 8), but the overarching broadcasting policy directives also have a primary influence on the ideology of this media

institution. The chapter illustrates that the cultural and identity role of broadcast media is dependent on the nature of the policy objectives as outlined by the various policies/legislations guiding and directly affecting media broadcasting in this country.

In chapters 9 and 10, the discussion is carried forward with a special focus on the research field interviews, the broadcast content as well as other variables that were outlined in chapter 5 of this study. Within the selected policy documents discussed in the current chapter, the conclusion is that there is recognition of "diverse" cultures that needs to be propelled by the South African broadcasting landscape. In the analysis of data that underpins this chapter; there is however also a realisation that, while "diversity" is championed and spelled out by the various broadcasting policy documents, there is little specific evidence to suggest that some of the policies point toward a championing of an Africanised system of community broadcasting. However, for the purpose of this study, the opportunity offered by "diversity" as spelled out in the different policy documents has been used to argue that such wording offers a lee way for the adoption of Africanisation as an ideology that is championed by Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

The table below outlines the policy documents that have been selected to gauge the impact of the macro and micro policy guidelines on the Africanisation of the community radio sector of South Africa with a special focus on Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

ORGANIZATION	DOCUMENT
1. National Broadcasting Act	BROADCASTING ACT, NO 4 OF 1999 OF SOUTH AFRICA
2. Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA).	ICASA ACT, 2000
3. Media Diversity Development Agency (MDDA)	MDDA ACT, 2002
4. Vukani Community Radio (VCR) on internal broadcasting policy	Online document sourced from the media institutions website

7.1 'POST-COLONIAL' SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING POLICY GENEALOGY: A BRIEF SYNOPSIS

In this study, the idea of the post-colony has been aligned to Mbembe's (2001) impression of a society that is grappling with the legacies of colonialism as well as the new developments that are encountered at 'independence' of the colonies. In this regard, the history of South African community media debates suggests that various discourses about the community media sector's future were largely debated during the negotiations for a democratic South Africa (postcolonial moment proper). Both historical as well as contemporary discussions on the country's broadcasting industry suggest that the community media sector has been an integral part of what is often referred to as the 'three tier broadcasting' system of the country. This three-tier system of broadcasting includes the public; commercial and community broadcasting (also see discussion on this three-tier system in chapter 4 of this study).

Primarily, the discussions on the community broadcasting sector formally emerged during the 1991 discussions which aimed to chart a way forward for the broadcasting sector of a democratic South Africa (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Bosch, 2003). Documents from the formal initial broadcasting policy discussions of the country indicate that the first organised and coordinated gathering took place through the Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves Conference (1991). As reported from the published report of the conference, its aims included the establishment of comprehensive discussions on some of the following key issues that were deemed vital into the future role of the media industry of South Africa:

> The issue of cultural diversity and language with regards to broadcasting [in South Africa]; Public, private and community broadcasting in South Africa; The broadcasting policy of the future (Jabulani! Freedom of the airwaves conference report, 1991)

From this conference report, it is important to note that the community radio sector featured widely in the discussion of the policy that would later shape the prospect of broadcasting by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) and the general community broadcasting landscape of this country's postcolonial era. Furthermore, the conference discussions about the future of broadcasting in South Africa were among the first formalised articulation of the need to have a legislated community broadcasting policy firmly in place for the future of

the ‘postcolonial’ status of the country. From the conference discussions, the suggested working definition of this community media industry reads as follows:

> Community or participatory broadcasting is initiated and controlled by members of a community of interest, or a geographical community, to express their concerns, needs and aspirations without outside interference, subject to the regulation of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (Jabulani! Freedom of the airwaves conference report, 1991)

When this working definition is compared to the later adopted official definition that was officially inscribed in the 1999 Broadcasting Act of South Africa (see discussion on the section outlining decolonial ambiguities below) it is evident that this policy conference gathering had a huge impact on the formulation of the community radio policy. This conclusion largely emanates from the realisation that the wording of this working definition featured prominently in the officially adopted definition of the community media of this country by the post-settler/post-colonial government (post 1994) (see chapter 4 as well as the discussion below on the Broadcasting Act of South Africa, no 4, adopted in 1999). It is also worth noting that the working definition resembles most of the international community's understanding of the community media sector as illustrated by the AMARC 1999 definition. Furthermore, the Jabulani Freedom of the airwaves conference report indicates that the deliberations remarked that

> …no community broadcasting sector has existed previously in South Africa, and that the active development of this sector is a priority” (Jabulani Freedom of the airwaves conference, 1991:6).

This conference discussion may have outlined important recommendations, but it is also worthwhile to indicate that this did not give any exclusive recognition of the role of this sector in the particularity and recognition of Africanity within South Africa. The discussions gave the general identity/role of the sector. From the analysis of the discussions about the conference, this lack of particularly is concerning as the country was emerging from a formal settler-colonial legacy which aimed to destabilise and destroy Africanity of the indigenes of the country (cf. Louw, 1993).

Additional historical views on the journey of the broadcasting policy to post-settler South Africa have also been captured in a compilation of discussions that capture key industry

analysis on the future of the country's broadcasting policy. Postulating on the ideological foundations of the broadcasting policy that would pave a way for the 'new' South Africa, Louw (1993:10) observed that "although many political players existed during this time (1993), in terms of the media debate, it was the ANC (African National Congress) and the NP (National Party) who dominated the playing field. In fact, many of the other players (such as Inkatha, the Pan African Congress and Conservative Party), made virtually no effort to engage in their debate" (cf. Currie, 1993). Thus, the broadcasting debate was ideologically centred among the two main political parties positioning and jostling within that era. Research literature on the debates and the crafting of documents that would be crucial to the country's post-settler broadcasting period further indicates that the broadcasting policy was situated within the 'centre left' (ANC) and the 'centre right' (NP) discourse in South Africa (cf. Louw, 1993). The failure of other political parties to enter this debate also points to the missed opportunity to drive the policy debate towards an Africa-centred position. For instance, the failure of the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress), AZAPO (Azania People's Organisation) and other African-centred (ideologically) political parties could have radically altered the debate on the future of the country's broadcasting policy. It can therefore be argued that the legacy of the ANC/NP policy contribution and discussion have ultimately shaped the current broadcasting landscape of the country.

Louw (1993) has further argued that on the side of the NP, the move was more of a reformist posture when it came to proposed changes to the media. This political party recognised the need to change from the colonial settler media status quo to a more palatable media conduct, but Louw (1993:12) also notes that the NP wanted changes that served and secured their own interests. Thus "they shifted to a centre-right interpretation of liberal pluralist capitalism". The ANC on the other hand "proposed a social-democrat (mixed economy) media system which although it would effectively redistribute some media resources in favour of the ANC's constituency, would also see a significant commercial media sector left untouched by the state" Louw (1993:12).

The move towards a somewhat leftist media during these debates was earlier entrenched by the Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves Conference (ibid.). As illustrated above, this was the conference that shaped the majority of the discourse around community broadcasting in South Africa. In discussing the impact of this leftist discourse on the community radio

sector of the country, Rama and Louw (1993) argue that in South Africa, community radio broadcasting became quite an important project for the country's left wing media activists of the 1990's. Even the Jabulani! Conference which initially shaped the discourse on this form of broadcasting is said to have been championing a leftist or Marxist vision in guiding the role and operations of the community radio sector in post-colonial South Africa. "In South Africa, it has been the Left which has been pushing for a community radio. For the Left, this form of radio broadcasting became important as it offered a potential vehicle for activating their likely constituency, amongst whom there are poor and illiterate people" (Rama and Louw, 1993:73).

This policy analysis commentary therefore offers a glimpse into the ideological foundations of the founding philosophies of the community radio industry in 'post-settler administrative' South Africa. For this reason, questions on the Africanisation of this very industry partly emanate from these ideological foundations of broadcasting policy. With the leftist movement observed as the vanguard of the history into this form of broadcasting, questions of the affirmation of the African culture become relevant. Furthermore, these questions are asked with the intention of discovering the potential of African ideologies within the worded versions of the macro policy documents that currently guide the broadcasting of the community radio sector of South Africa, and specifically the case study of this research study.

Another overarching question for this chapter is whether the history of the policy debate into community radio broadcasting of South Africa has aided or impeded the rise of an Africanised community radio model as practiced by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The sections below, therefore, give a critical analysis of the three major macro policy documents that were influenced by the broadcasting debates of South Africa and which were later adopted with the purpose of creating an 'effective' framework for community broadcasting in the country. This discussion in the sections below is conducted with the purpose of searching for possibilities for the Africanisation of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a case study for this research study.

7.2 POST-SETTLER SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING POLICIES IN REFERENCE TO COMMUNITY MEDIA

The subsections below discuss all the policy documents that have been selected for the purpose of this study. This is done because the case study of this research is also guided by national legislations in its broadcasting mandate. Debates into the official creation of policies and legislations has indicated that these are human creations with the purpose of driving particular ideologies in a particular time and thus are relevant for as long as they are deemed to serve that agenda. In this regard, Gramsci (1974) argued "…there exist social and state laws which are the product of human activity, which are established by men and can be altered by men in the interest of their collective development". The policy documents informing this chapter have been selected and analysed in the order of their implementation by the government of South Africa. As a result of being a "caretaker policy" document that was repealed within a few years of the transition to the post-settler state of South African, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Act 1993 was not revisited for the purpose of this study.

Mainly, this is because the policy document was designed to be a stand-in document and thus it arguably never really had a foreseeable lasting ideological impact on the future of the country's broadcasting. Therefore, the data in the section below has been analysed with the idea of examining the ideological possibilities that are inherent in the various policy frameworks (contemporary) so as understand the possibilities of Africanisation as a decolonial undertaking within the various legislations that are aiding the existence of the community radio sector in South Africa. Furthermore, with regards to the macro documents that have been analysed, the aim has been to understand them so long as they pertain to issues affecting the community radio sector. Therefore, amendments and changes to these documents have only been taken into consideration only in issues that directly or indirectly affect the community radio sector of the country.

7.3 DECOLONIAL AMBIGUITIES IN WRITING: ON BROADCASTING ACT, NO 4 OF 1999, SOUTH AFRICA

Research literature from the African continent suggests that the main objectives of regulating broadcasting include the promotion of plurality and the quest for a common citizenship among members of a nation. Kariithi (2003:163), for instance, states that "ideological objectives for content regulation are premised on the notion that media content may have deleterious effects on existing norms and values, and that there is a desire among societies to preserve these unique cultural qualities". With regards to this argument, the main objective of this section is that of analysing the South African Broadcasting Act No 4 of 1999, and how it speaks to the question of Africanisation as a decolonial endeavour with regards to its policy prescriptions for community broadcasting in the country.

A cursory discussion of this Act was done in chapter 4 of this study. In this section, the focus is on analysing the ideological impact of the policy document on the objective of Africanising the community radio sector. The rationale therefore is to ascertain the impact of this policy document on the Africanisation of the community radio as demonstrated from the policy document. The data analysed from the policy document indicates that this policy was legislated "noting that the South African broadcasting system comprises public, commercial and community elements" (Broadcasting Act of South Africa, no 4, 1999). The rationale for the institution of the policy is further buttressed by the impact that the broadcast media has in the "maintenance of a South African identity, universal access, equality, unity and diversity" (ibid.). In this sense, the policy document illustrates that media institutions have profound ideological underpinnings and the role that they play in South Africa needs to take into consideration the complexity of the general situation in the country. More importantly, the rationales of this policy document further outline that:

> …broadcasting system must reflect the identity and diverse nature of South Africa…must reflect the multilingual and diverse nature of South Africa by promoting the entire spectrum of cultural backgrounds, religious backgrounds and official languages in the Republic… (Broadcasting Act, 1999)

Therefore, in this sense, the policy document aims to capture and advance the vision of a diverse South African identity – non-racialism (Constitution, 1996). The policy seems progressive and embracing of the cultural hybridity that has been arguably said to inform this country's contemporary national identity. However, the short-fall of this generic identification is that the "previously disadvantaged identities" (Broadcasting Act of South Africa, no 4, 1999) are not specifically particularised nor is explicit primary attention given to each previously oppressed culture and identity, so as to rejuvenate them. This is particularly the case in African identities and the importance of community radio for these identities and cultures.

Gramsci (1974) asserts that laws of the state and society are often created to support human order and enable the domination of human beings over nature. However, the laws and policies which have no due restorative measures to address injustices of the past need to be revisited with the idea of understanding their ideological influence on this country's postcolonial identity. Thus, in this sense, the data of this study suggests that some sections of the Broadcasting Act No 4 of 1999, give the impression that South Africa, within the postcolonial era, is a clean slate. The "entire spectrum of cultural backgrounds" as noted by the policy document seem to suggest that the power and cultural imbalances that were created by colonial domination are not explicitly addressed by this policy. Or that they are addressed as equals without noting 'historical' and the oppression advanced by coloniality within the current epoch of postcolonial South Africa.

Largely, in a "new" country such as the 1994 South Africa with large historical imbalances of power - economic, political, and cultural -, the manner of achieving equality and diversity among such historical power imbalances becomes questionable. The data in this section, however, also illustrates that, with a strategic appropriation of a policy documents such as the Broadcasting Act of South Africa (no 4 of 1999) by individual African communities in South Africa, general and inclusive words such as "diversity" can be appropriated in the generation of spaces that represent 'historically' administratively and settler-colonised people. The data from this policy document therefore also suggest that there are discernable ambiguities in the quest for Africanisation as a decolonial possibility in the broadcasting Act.

This Act represents possibilities while also underscoring the impediments that can be inherited from the policy recommendations if the historical and colonial power structures in South Africa are not taken into account by the enforcers of broadcasting policies/legislations. The major themes of this study and how the broadcast Act speaks to these themes, suggest that the Act encourages the alignment of "the broadcasting system with the democratic values of the Constitution and enhances and protects the fundamental rights of citizens" (Broadcasting Act of South Africa, no 4: 1999). In this sense, the crafting of the policy documents seeks to encourage the sense of a cosmopolitan (Appiah, 2007) society in South Africa with regards to the manner in which a postcolonial society is advocated by the policy.

Hoever, the data interpreted from this policy document also suggests that the Act can creatively be tweaked to capture the potential of Africanisation at an individual community radio station. The Act visions a South African broadcasting system that "ensures that the broadcasting system is controlled by persons or groups from a diverse range of communities in South Africa and within each element promotes ownership, control and management of broadcasting services by persons from historically disadvantaged groups" (Broadcasting Act of South Africa, no 4: 1999). There is a range of historically disadvantaged groups in South Africa and this usurping of the recommendation by Africans to reflect an Africanised media system in their broadcast location provides a possibble interpretation of this ideological framework (also see discussion on the MDDA policy framework). However, the creative usurping of the policy directives can only be applied in instances where policy prescriptions can be applied in the process of broadcasting by individual community radio stations that seek to affirm their cultural ideologies in a set of specific communities.

The data from this policy illustrates that the objectives of the Act can be used to fulfil this purpose are derived from the following statement:

> 1.) to safeguard, enrich and strengthen the 'cultural', political, social and economic fabric of South Africa, 2) encourage ownership and control of broadcasting services through participation by 'persons from historically disadvantaged' groups; 3) ensure plurality of news, views and information and provide a wide range of entertainment and education programmes; 4) provide for a three tier system of public, commercial and 'community broadcasting services; 5) ensure that the commercial and community licenses', viewed collectively, are controlled by persons or groups of persons from a 'diverse range of

> communities' in South Africa; 6) ensure that broadcasting services are effectively controlled by 'South Africans'; 7) encourage the development of local programming (Broadcasting Act 199, No. 4)

An analysis of these objectives suggests that the focus on local content as well as the idea of involving 'historically disadvantaged' communities (at a general level) in the policy documents highlights the possibilities of implementing Africanisation by concerned individual community media platforms that may be based in an African ideological environment. In the drafting and publication of the objectives of broadcasting as outlined in this policy/legislation, there seems to be an awareness of the need to highlight certain ideological matters that would ideally make the broadcast media output reflect a "diverse" South African picture. Such rationales for the wording of this Act can be read from the all-embracing task that the country undertook through the "rainbow nation" (cf. Habib, 2013) outlook as emphasised by the immediate government that took reins after the abolition of the colonial settler administrative government operating prior 1994 in South Africa.

While the settler colonial government is no longer officially in place, questions still linger generally about how postcolonial policy directives and especially those of this Broadcasting Act continue to contextualise the positionality and particularity of the country and its people – especially where African culture and identity are concerned. As Biko (1978) argued, it is only proper that an African country based in the African continent should be African in style, in character and in culture. Thus, the emphasis on diversity and the missing wording that emphasizes the idea of Africanisation in the broadcasting Act point to an omission which ideally would reinforce the identity of South Africa in relation to its locality on the African continent.

The data of the analysed policy document however also illustrates that in the crafting of the legislation, there is no direct emphasis on the South African postcolonial project and the process of decolonised power imbalances as reflected by the country's media history (see chapter 3 on decoloniality). This suggests that the policies attempt to be everything to everyone in South Africa's postcolonial era. In this sense, the broadcasting Act potentially ignores the lasting power of colonialism (coloniality) (Maldonado-Torres, 2007), its impact

on particularised identities and its ability to re-invent itself as illustrated by theories of coloniality.

The Act has a number of recommendations and guidelines for the broadcasting services. These generally speak to all forms of the three-tier system of broadcasting adopted by the country. Beyond its guidelines on the general steps of broadcasting in this country, as well as the post-colonial state of diversity in the broadcasting systems of South Africa, what was of additional relevance to this study is the steps taken to ensure not only the existence of the community broadcasting sector, but the outlining and explanation of the functions and cultural contribution of the media to the South African landscape. In reference to the community media sector, the Act currently indicates 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… (Broadcasting Act, 1999)

Ultimately, this wording illustrates the decolonial ambiguities that are inherent in the policy document: general diversity vs needs of people in particular community's. However, the general potential of this policy lies in how the community media sector of this country can become a vehicle for recognising identities, languages and cultures that are often ignored as a result of colonial legacies (see chapter 8 on the role of the case study) (cf. Said, 1989). It can become a tool for recognising cultures and identities that are on the margins as a result of coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). The condition of the broadcasting Act which recognises and outlines the role of the community media therefore illustrates that the broadcasting priorities that are associated with a community broadcaster should be specifically its local surrounding and the privileging of those local identities (chapter 8 outlines the stations response to the issue of creating its own identity based on the lived conditions of its community).

7.4 MEDIA DIVERSITY AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (MDDA): ADVANCES TOWARDS DECOLONIALITY?

In this section/thematic area, the focus is on the possibilities of Africanisation as a decolonial project in the policy document capturing the aims of the MDDA Act in the community radio sector of South Africa. The importance of establishing ongoing ideological

checks and balances that include the implementation of broadcasting related legislations that are on-going has been a subject of much debate in South Africa. Ndebele (1991:33-34) for instance once argued "we [South Africa] are a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multilingual society. The challenge of the need for a unitary, undivided country is to recognise this diversity as a national asset rather than as a problem to be wished away". An assertion of Africanisation at the community media level is linked to the idea of recognising identities, cultures and people that have been oppressed by various policies of settler colonialism in South Africa.

In this section, therefore, the data/policy document was analysed with the purpose of understanding how the MDDA 2002 Act was established to deal with the ideological question of addressing identities and cultures that have historically been on the margins as a result of settler colonialism in South Africa. The section also aims to understand how the Act provides avenues for self-representation of these cultures through an enhanced means of delivering and participating in community media avenues. The data underpinning this theme indicates that the MDDA Act was established with the intention of:

> …help[ing] create an enabling environment for media development and diversity that is conducive to public discourse and which reflects the needs and aspirations of all South Africa (MDDA ACT, 2002: 4).

Furthermore, the Act aimed to redress the colonial legacy of South Africa within aspects of the media industry. The Act aimed to "redress the exclusion and marginalisation of disadvantaged communities and persons from access to the media and the media industry". In this context, the Act speaks to the idea of encouraging participation of the various groups that were marginalised in South Africa as a result of the settler-colonial legacy. Lastly, the MDDA ACT (2002, 4) states that it aims to "promote media development and diversity by providing support primarily to community and small commercial media projects".

The Act is ambiguous on the particularity of African or ethnic identities, and the question of clearly addressing the racial history of the country but it highlights a trajectory towards the recognition of individuals in South Africa who could not adequately access the media industry as a result of its colonial legacy (see chapter 3 on the legacy of the media industry in South Africa). More importantly, though the issue of redressing the past is stated, the

manner in which it aims to address the issue of the past is also partially lost in how it conceives the dynamics between the descendants of the settler communities and the indigenous Africans as well as other black communities of South Africa. In this sense, the Act indicates that in the view of the MDDA "diversity with regard to media, means access to the wide range of sources of information and opinion, as well as equitable representation within the media in general" MDDA ACT (2002, 4). Within this idea of diversity, there is a possibility for the recognition of multiple identities and cultures of South Africa. It can therefore be concluded from the wording of this Act that using the logic of particularity, the issue of Africanising the community media industry is applicable on a case by case basis when it comes to this Act.

With regard to additional aims that provided the rationales and visions of establishing this policy framework, the Act provided for the establishment of the MDDA with a vision that seems to be aligned to the idea of providing access for all South Africa to the media sphere. However, to properly contextualise the demarcation and interests of this policy document and its impact on the community media industry, the Act was crafted to explain some of the interventions it seeks to make by contextualising its role within the three-tier media system of South Africa. The Act indicates that its focus is the community media industry only. It conceptualises some of the following issues: community - the Act clearly state that it has adapted "community" to refer to an area where people reside. It further uses this word to cluster together a group of people who share identified interests – religion, culture, language etc. (see also chapter 4 & 8 for further discussion on this issue).

As there needs to be a close understanding of community in relation to the community media industry (also see discussion in chapter 8 on community and community radio as per case study), this Act provides an idea of the vision it wishes to align to the notion of a community industry. The MDDA ACT (2002, 4) indicates that:

> Community media: in this sense, the Act postulates that the conception of these words is mainly to situate the understanding of community media within the purpose of owning and controlling the media platforms by a community. In instances where such media platforms are generating or have generated a surplus income, the Act encourages the media entity to reinvest the surplus income back into the operations of the media platform.

It immediately illustrates its very idea of a community and the community media it wishes to establish. Furthermore, the Act announces the manner in which it will play its historical role of decolonising the media industry through various supports (financial, infrastructural, and advisory) of the community media sector. The Act states that its aim is to "redress exclusion and marginalisation of disadvantaged communities and persons from access to the media and the media industry…" (MMDA Act, 2002).

The establishment of the MDDA and its focus on the small/community media industry which historically does not have its genesis from the colonial media platforms of South Africa also points to the issue of ambiguously decolonising the media industry of South Africa. In settler colonised South Africa, the community media industry had not existed in a formal sense (Bosch, 2003; Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Olurinissola, 2002). Therefore, from the analysis of the policy document the aim of this Act has been to provide an impetus for the support of the community media sector to instill media plurality especially among those who were oppressed by various policies of settler colonised South Africa. This is where Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is also a direct beneficiary of the recommendations of the policy document.

The establishment of the MDDA policy, thus, supports Nyamnjoh's (2003:114) assertion that "media policy and regulation which promotes all forms of ownership and promotes new forms ownership is key to the realisation of pluralism and diversity". With the establishment of the MDDA, and the support it gave to the community media industry, Africans who 'historically' have been at the periphery of cultural representation have been able to assert their identities in the media platforms that are supported by the MDDA (see section below on objectives of the MDDA Act). The following subsection analyses the objectives of the MDDA Act is conducted with specific reference to its ideological impact on Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

7.4.1 POLICY OBJECTIVES: MDDA ACT IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY MEDIA

It has been argued that "the media and the liberal democratic rhetoric of rights that has tended to dominate media content, must listen to, and take on board, creative responses by other cultural communities, informed by their traditions, historical experiences, and socio-economic circumstances in our global village" (Nyamnjoh, 2003:135). In the context of black communities, and Africans in particular who are situated in South Africa, the dominant historical narrative indicates that such communities have never really owned mainstream media platforms so that their cultural experiences can be centered in the national agenda that is not driven by colonial reasoning but rather that which is derived from their cultural and identity experiences. The MDDA Act of 2002 seems to have been directly crafted to consider the experiences of communities that historically have not been able to own and utilize these media spaces. It seems to be interested in affirming the Being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007) of these communities in a media space so as to capture their interests. Thus, the section focuses on gaining understanding of impact of the Act in the Africanisation of a media platform such as Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a form of decolonial endeavour in the post-colonial era of South Africa. The key objectives of the Act as it partially and ambiguously allude to the discourse of Africanising the community media sector include the following point:

> …encourage ownership and control of, and access to, media by historically disadvantaged communities as well as by historically diminished indigenous language and cultural groups

Further to this, the legislation document states that it aims to "encourage the development of human resources and training, and capacity building, within the media industry, especially amongst historically disadvantaged groups" MDDA ACT (2002, 4). In this objective, there is a specific mention of the "historically disadvantaged" target group (see chapter 8 on Vukani Community Radio as a training ground). Therefore, the Act when properly contextualised using the 'particularity' lens of the broad term – historically disadvantaged – allows us to note the possibility of Africanisation as practiced by community media industry and how this allows for the Africanising of Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

More importantly, this further alludes to the possibility of Africanisation at an individual/media institution level by indicating that it aims to "raise public awareness with regard to media development and diversity issues" of the industry (MDDA ACT, 2002: 4). This objective underscores the idea of inclusion within the media industry. It is in this sense that Africans in South Africa may be able to tap into these possibilities for participating in the media industry and thereby establish African focused media institutions such as Vukani Community Radio (VCR) (see chapter 8 on the strategies of Africanising the case study). The Act is directly aimed at inculcating an urgency to see the need of media practice cultures and the importance of these among historically disadvantaged communities and particularly the African communities which form a large majority of those oppressed by coloniality in of South Africa.

The data from these policy documents suggests that, individual community radio stations are able to strategically apply the recommendations of the Act so that individual and collective community identities and cultures are represented as required by each community radio station. With the growing calls to assert particularity and decolonisation in the post-colonial project of South Africa (see chapter 3), this analysis of the legislation/policy documents is relevant for this study. The recognition of "diversity", "culture" and "previously disadvantaged" individuals by this Act also allows for a strategic redesign and application of the objectives on a case by case basis at a community radio station level. As Nyamnjoh (2003:135) notes "the reality of democracy is that of an unending project, an aspiration subject to renegotiation with changing circumstances and growing claims by individuals and groups for recognition and representation". The rest of the wording and sections of the MDDA Act, focus on the establishment of the institution which will fulfil the aims of the MDDA Act and how such an institution is to be managed. In this instance, the focus is beyond the aims of this study, as it moves to the constitution of the MDDA and the appointment of board members, disqualification from the board, terms of office and other detailed information that is not directly applicable to the day to day ideological impacts in operating a community radio station.

In relation to the ideas surrounding this study, Prah (2004:98) writes that "Africanisation is an antidote to the colonial legacy". Therefore, the manner in which this policy document has been crafted suggests that it allows for the space and recognition of African identities in

the community radio sector and more specifically at Vukani Community Radio (VCR). This is a result of how is seeks to empower "previously disadvantaged" individuals of South Africa, including Africans that were oppressed by settler-colonisation policies in South Africa. The MDDA Act can be said to be progressive as it pertains to identities that have been oppressed in South Africa and how these should be afforded space to assert themselves through community media platforms in their vicinity.

The policy document allows contours for the centering of African identities in the larger media sector that has historically denied the identities of the oppressed indigenes of South Africa. The data in this study ultimately illustrated that having ambiguously identified Africans (previously disadvantaged) as a group of people that should be afforded the space of recognition at a community media level, the Act suggests that it is underpinned by a sort of ideological and moral imperative for the promotion of local identities through media content that is local and community orientated. Kariithi (2003:162) argues that in relation to media and policy crafting "the ideological and moral imperatives are related to the role of broadcasting and its relationship to audiences". Thus, as read from the MDDA Act, the ideological and moral imperatives relate to the suggestions of decolonising past injustices and addressing this through a range of progressive policy directives that aim to recognise communities that have historically been at the margins of the media, identity and cultural representation in South Africa.

7.5 REGULATING CULTURAL TEXT: ON INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA (ICASA)

This section focuses on the ideological impact of regulating media content as outlined in the ICASA Act and how this has a potential impact on the Africanisation of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The last 'macro' policy document being analysed in this chapter partly affects the possibilities of Africanising the community media sector and more specifically the manner in which Vukani Community Radio (VCR) can rely on it for content guidelines in the process of Africanising itself (the application of specific content regulation guidelines as required by ICASA from Vukani Community Radio is explained in chapter 8 of this study). This policy document was legislated after "acknowledging that the establishment of an independent body to regulate broadcasting and telecommunications is required [in South

Africa]" (ICASA ACT, 2000). As a result, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) Act of 2000 was established with the aim of providing it with content regulation oversight for all licenced broadcasting institutions in South Africa. Furthermore, the establishment of ICASA also allowed for the "dissolution of the Independent Broadcasting Authority and the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority" (ibid) and therefore paved the way for the amendments of these Acts for the establishment of ICASA.

At an ideological level, the establishment of ICASA and the policy provisions guiding its functions had a definitional impact on the regulation of broadcast media content of South Africa. For instance, in applying the powers and privileges of this policy document, the Act highlights that "in the event of any conflict between provisions of this Act and any other prior law relating to the regulation of broadcasting and telecommunications, the provisions of this Act prevail" ICASA ACT, 2000. This statement therefore illustrates the impact of the policy provision and the supremacy of such policy directives in the broadcasting sector of South Africa.

This study uses the original Act of 2000. Although the amendments of the 2002 Act have been noted and considered, the study focuses on how the Act of 2000 possibly acknowledges and advances the regulation of content for the purpose of Africanisation of the media institution as envisioned by this study and how certain sections of the Act affect issues pertaining to Africanisation of particularised sections of the community radio sector. Furthermore, the reading of such Africanisation possibilities from this Act was done with the purpose of understanding how its policy guidelines affect the ideological possibilities of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) within the conceptual framework of Africanisation as a decolonial project. The ICASA Act of 2000 states that its aims are to assist with the purpose of:

> regulate broadcasting in the public interest and to ensure fairness and a diversity of views broadly representing South African society, as required by section 192 of the Constitution; (b) regulate telecommunications in the public interest; and (c) achieve the objects contemplated in the underlying statutes.

The data guiding this study illustrate that this policy document was established with the objective of regulating content so that local and African orientated programming and music

are given space in the broadcasting media institutions of South Africa. The data also illustrate that the policy document advocates for the safeguarding of locally produced programming, including music so that South Africa industries are optimally developed[32]. The idea of local and its meaning for the community media sector in the policy regulations is that a portion of this local content should be derived from the area of coverage. Thus, with regard to the case study of this research, the impact of this policy will be on the African community that inhabits the broadcasting location of Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

The data suggest that the policy document largely also fulfils the ideological argument which seeks to have an impact on local identities of particular communities as directed by the policy guidelines. As Kariithi (2003) argues, this may have an impact on norms and values of communities targeted by media content. Therefore, in the case of the ICASA policy, the emphasis is on the local content that is privileged by the broadcasting directives that are mandated for each broadcast medium. In the case of the community radio industry, the onus is on the individual community broadcaster to adapt the broadcasting directives in such a way that they reflect the cultural context of that specific broadcaster.

The ICASA policy document focuses on the current developments that will shape the future of broadcasting within the country and how this will affect the community radio industry and more specifically Vukani Community Radio (VCR). When particularised to suit the needs of the African community radio that is currently based in the Chris Hani District, Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the data in this policy document suggest that the station can be "anchored in the views and values of African people as well as in the practice which, in a generative dialectic, emanates from and gives rise to these views and values." The impact of this policy document, can largely be assessed in the working objectives of the community radio station's idea of local content as appearing on the airwaves (see section below and chapter 8 of this study).

[32] The matter of local content per specific community within the broadcasting area was also corroborated by interview data of the study where the internal stakeholders indicated that they are mandated by the regulations of ICASA (2000) to source the majority of their content from the area of community broadcasting (see chapter 9 on the explanation of these mandates as required from the case study).

The policy directives of ICASA on broadcast content therefore have an ideological impact on the adoption of local content by each community radio station. The ICASA 2000 Act has an internal impact on the Africanising of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) (also see section below). Furthermore, the broadcasting directives as required by ICASA are continuously monitored by this broadcasting regulation institution and are often checked when the licence renewal of a broadcaster is considered. The Vukani Community Radio (VCR) has a track record as one of the oldest community radio stations in the African continent. The conclusion reached by this study, therefore, is that the station has been able to creatively adhere to the recommendations of this policy document. The locality of the content and its impact on Africanisation have been particularly instrumental in the successful operation of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as an African focused community radio station (also see chapter 8 on localisation as Africanisation). In this sense, the conclusion reached from analysing this policy document is that the ICASA legislation has been instrumental in allowing the local identities and cultures of African communities to be given space on the airwaves of Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

The following section, analyses the internal policy (micro policies) of the broadcasting services of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). This section aims to analyse the ideological stance of the community radio station and how this illustrates the possibilities of Africanising the case study of this research (see also discussion in chapter 8 for findings on content guidelines required from the case study, and the debate on the radius of its broadcasting coverage).

7.6 INTERNAL POLICY ARRANGEMENTS: ON VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

In chapter 6 of this study, the mission and vision statements of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) were highlighted. Among its objectives, the following are listed: 1) the community radio station aims to be a tool for the collection and processing of broadcasting content; 2) it aims for maximum community participation in its structures and 3) it hopes to broadcast information that will be beneficial to community upliftment. The mission and vision statement of this community also indicates that this broadcasting platform is focused on the Chris Hani District Municipality with an emphasis on “previously disadvantaged” communities (also see chapter 6 on the community inhabiting the coverage area of Vukani

Community Radio). In the sections above, three policy documents were discussed with the intention of illustrating their potential in the advancement of Africanisation as a decolonial project at community media level.

Largely, the discussion of these three policy documents was done as a way of demonstrating their potential in advancing an African orientated ideology at community radio level. This section focuses on the internal policy arrangements that have been developed by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) to advance Africanisation. The focus is therefore on interpreting the mission and vision of this community radio station. To supplement this online sourced mission and vision statement, interview data that pertained to overall policy matters and their impact on the broadcasting mandate of this media institution were used. These interview data were also used to corroborate the online data of this community radio station.

The reliance on the mission and vision, as well as unstructured interview data is based on the partial challenges that were encountered with the sourcing of a written policy (hard copies) document of the community radio station. During 'fieldwork' at the research site, it was noted that there was a lack of written policy document at the community radio station, so this section has relied on responses from internal stakeholders at the community radio station. However, even without internal written policy guidelines, the mission and vision statements as well as the unstructured interview responses from the management of the media institution highlight the ideological focus of this community radio station.

The mission and vision statement of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) aims to target and fulfil broadcasting services to a particular community of broadcasting. The community radio station is based in the Chris Hani District Municipality, a semi urban and largely rural area that is mainly occupied by Africans (also discussion in the background chapter of this study; chapter 6). More importantly, in the written mission and vision statements of this community radio station, there is a particular kind of community that is identified as being at the core of its broadcasting objective: "previously disadvantaged communities"[33]. Taking into consideration the idea of "previously disadvantaged communities", within the area of

[33] The mission and vision of this community radio station is highlighted in its website. Retrieved: February 03, 2016. Url: http://www.vukanifm.org/

broadcasting, the area is mainly inhabited by Africans who form part of the designated previously disadvantaged communities as they are termed in South Africa. This particular focus on the constituency of "previously disadvantaged communities" as stated by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) indicates that the station has particularised and structured its content to mainly target Africans as determined by the race ratios of the area of broadcasting.

In essence, from the mission and vision of this community radio station, the ideological focus of the content is directed towards the African community in which it is situated. Theoretically, the idea of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is aligned to the idea of centering the African subject in his or her own media institution. Asante (2003, 1988) argues that Africans need to regain their own platforms and their standing and presence in cultural matters. He argues that Africans need to understand that their own way of viewing the world should be as valid as any other ways that exist in the world. This will push the concept of cultural pluralism and transformation of the world to also reflect the African world views from the perspective of Africans. This is the transformation that is vital in the quest for attaining a truly multicultural worldview and society in the universe (Asante, 2003; cf. Sesanti, 2011). The data in this study suggest that the focus of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in the African community of its area of coverage proves its ideological mission and commitment to the African community that is based in the area of coverage.

In addition to the analysis of the mission and vision of Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the unstructured interview data also illustrate that the ideological focus of this community radio station is highly dependent on the directives that are instituted by the ICASA policy. Throughout the unstructured interview sessions with the internal stakeholders of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) station, it was repeatedly indicated that some of the macro and national policy guidelines have a direct impact on content development and broadcasting strategies as well as on the infrastructure resources of the community radio station (see further discussion in sections above on impact of ICASA and MDDA policies on the community radio station). According to the station manager:

> In terms of regulations on ICASA, yes ICASA gives us the licence but again they licence us based on what our community needs. And the ICASA Act it very clearly says how they licence on the classifications of licences and all that. So, we live by that, and these strides that we are trying to make is

> to make sure that meet the needs of our community form part of our licencing obligations (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016)

From the data solicited from the unstructured interviews of this study on the impact of all macro policies on the community radio station, it was indicated that such impact is often reviewed and given on a broadcasting needs basis. In terms of the broadcasting objectives of this community radio station, the data in this study suggest that the station is constantly aligning its objectives to the requirements of the ICASA directives:

> so, what we do here is that generally, we have to think of ICASA contract. So, we have to make sure that if it says 60% locally and 40% internationally, then we have to abide by those rules (Viwe Mfundisi, VCR Music compiler, March 29, 2016).

The policy is meant to foster a sense of local African cultures through its emphasis on community narratives that emanate from the surroundings of a community radio station. Kariithi (2003:164) argues that "consequently, the 'local' in broadcast media content is primarily understood by its qualitative relevance, material benefit, and long-term contribution to preservation of cultures" (see discussion in chapter 8 on localisation as Africanisation). The ICASA policy and its stringent licence conditions for the Vukani Community Radio (VCR), has had the aim of 'visualising' the media text which reflects the African community that surrounds this community radio station. As Kariithi (2003:165) states "the regulation of content endeavours to: 1. protect the identity, unity and sovereignty of the nation; 2. promote pluralism in opinion and choice, 3. promote a common sense of citizenship, tolerance, diversity and reconciliation". In the context of Africanisation as a decolonial project for Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the regulations discussed by Kariithi (2003) seem to provide an avenue for this broadcast medium to experiment with the centering of African culture (also see discussion in chapter 8 and 9).

In addition to the reliance on the ICASA directives, the findings of this study indicate that the community radio station is also reliant on some of the macro policy directives for the purpose of its broadcasting objectives. For instance, the data of this study established that the policy of the MDDA became important to the community radio station when matters of infrastructure arose (see full discussion on chapter 8 on infrastructure resources of the community radio station). The conclusion reached by this study, therefore, is that the policy

has mainly been used by the community radio station to fulfill its need for broadcasting equipment.

The data in this study ultimately suggests that the policies (macro) are carefully analysed to benefiting the community radio station. They are also used for ideological purposes, compliance purposes as well as infrastructure purposes. For instance, in the case of the MDDA, some of the interview respondents indicated that the policy was necessary as long as the station required financial and infrastructure assistance from this organisation that assists with the development of the community media sector of South Africa. These research respondents (internal stakeholders) of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) however also argued that, subsequent to their reliance on the MDDA policy for infrastructure purposes, their aim has been to be self reliant in infrastructure without the intervention of the policy. For example, the station has ascertained that for infrastructure purposes, the ICASA policy has been reliable, but instead of relying on the MDDA for additional support, it has sought to be self-reliant through its self-created avenues of income generation (advertising and sponsorships).

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with contextualising the possibilities of various macro and micro policies with the possibility of Africanising the community radio. The aim was to understand the ideological impact of these policies on the working of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) and how these impacts on the ideological stances can affect the on-air content of this media institution. The chapter has discussed three macro policies/ legislations that have a direct or indirect impact into the existence of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). These are the Broadcasting Act of South Africa 1999, No 4; the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) Act, 2002; the Independent Communication Authority of South Africa (ICASA) Act, 2000 No.12 and how these affect the internal strategies and broadcasting content processes of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in the trajectory towards Africanisation as decoloniality of the community radio station.

The chapter has mentioned that some of the three macro policies contain ambiguous directives that can be creatively particularised to Africanise a media institution at the level

of a community radio station. Therefore, though the policy documents do not directly articulate the concept of Africanisation in the regulations, they allow for the recognition of "diverse" identities within the geography of South Africa. In this sense, the phrasing of the policies allows each member of what is termed 'diverse' groups of South Africa to instil their identity and culture within the media sphere. Consequently, this is where the possibility of Africanisation rest in these macro policy statements. Concerning the internal policy arrangements of this community radio station, the data in this study has shown that there are internal processes that aim to make the community radio station relevant to its constituency.

The following chapter discusses research data that was solicited using interviews with the internal and external stakeholders. The data illustrates the themes suggesting the Africanisation of the case study.

CHAPTER 8

RETHINKING THE ORDINARY: ON VIEWS AROUND VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

The preceding chapter contextualised the policy ideology of the case study of this entire research study - Vukani Community Radio (VCR) - in relation to the broader policies that underpin community broadcasting principles in South Africa. In that chapter, it has also been argued that there are possibilities of Africanisation within the macro and micro policies of broadcasting and that whilst ambiguous guidelines potentially advance the role of Africanisation in the process of decolonising the broadcast media (with a special reference to the case study). In this chapter, the 'particularity' of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a case study and its role within the conceptual framework of Africanisation as a decolonial endeavour is elaborated. The chapter focuses on detailing the semi-structured interview data (see chapter 5 for the procedures followed in sourcing the research data for this study) on the units of analysis that were used by the study in the process of framing the discourse of Africanisation as a decolonial undertaking at a community broadcasting level.

As outlined in chapter 5 of this study, the units of analysis include: 1) the use (and relevance) of African languages by the community radio station as a means of promoting local identity and cultural pride; 2) the assessment of content and its relevance to the immediate needs of the local African community surrounding the community radio station; 3) the focus and presence of content relating to local cultural and traditional practices; 4) participation of the local community in the overall running of the community radio station (including on-air personalities, programme planners, and local music); 5) perspectives, contradictions and other local views on what is considered to be the role of the community radio station in contributing towards an African identity for the broadcasting platform. In addition to these units of analysis, this chapter also analysed the data in reference to the primary aim of this study: to find out whether Vukani Community Radio (VCR) has been Africanised by its internal and external stakeholders to ensure that the broadcast content reflects the character, interest and identity of the local African community it serves.

For the purpose of generating and making sense of results for this chapter, the research data was subjected to thematic analysis (see chapter 5 on the discussion of thematic analysis) and, thus the discussion in the current chapter revolves around the themes that emerged from the interviews data, discussions and partial observations. The broad themes that emerged from the data pointed to a 're-definition' of community radio as practiced by Vukani Community Radio (VCR), on an 'Ubuntu' focused community media platform and on the contribution of the community radio station to African cultural and traditional debates. Through the themes discussed below, it became clear that the community radio stations role is pursuing the process of focusing on the 'local' as a form of Africanisation and also that the community radio medium is instrumental in debating issues of particular African identities within the broadcasting location. The chapter further established that the ethnic question was still an important area of discussion at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) and also that the issue of religion continues to receive a pluralistic approach in the broadcasting service of the community radio station.

Furthermore, the data analysed in this chapter illustrates that the community radio station is undertaking a set of 'normative' formats of journalism that are arguably under the wider banner of Pan-African journalism practice (Sesanti, 2010; Skjerdal, 2012). This community radio station also plays an important role in the decolonisation of the media through a special focus on the role of African languages and their function as an African public sphere. From the research data, it was established that Vukani Community Radio (VCR) has an interesting conception and adherence to cultural protocols, values and traditional practices of its broadcasting constituency.

Lastly, the results of this chapter indicate that the media institution is particularly progressive in the inclusion of dynamic ethnic communities that are situated under its broadcasting mandate. Thus, the data outlined in this chapter illustrates that the best format for understanding the Africanisation of the media practices in South Africa can be gauged from micro media platforms that have clearly demarcated their audience identities, cultural needs and values. The chapter concludes that African particularity can thus be best understood in some sections of the community radio sector of South Africa.

Prior to discussing the themes that emerged from the 'field' data; the chapter in the following section discusses the suitability and state of the case study as a 'modern' media institution in the service of African communities. The section highlights the infrastructure and technological suitability of the community radio station in the execution of its broadcasting duties. In the following section, some of the researcher's impressions recorded during the period of conducting partial participant observation on the case study are also presented (also see chapter 5).

8.1 IMPRESSIONS OF THE MEDIA INSTITUTION: VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR) AS A 'MODERN' FACILITY

The idea of Africanising media practices has been a central discourse among South Africans since the dismantling of direct settler based colonialism in the country (Sesanti, 2011; Fourie, 2008; Tomaselli, 2003; Willems, 2014). Blackenberg (1999, 44) for instance argues that "the media is integral to the modern-day liberation project, as a facilitator to ensure widespread participation in the political system and in all aspects". Thus, for a media platform to fulfil its role as a modern day 'liberation project', it has to be equipped to flawlessly undertake this function. In the process of assessing of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a facilitator of cultural and ideological liberation of particular Africans (its broadcasting constituency) from the settler colonial situation, the aim was also to assess its infrastructure and daily functioning and how these are indicative of its 'modern' day appropriateness to deliver on its broadcasting role and mandate.

With regard to the above, throughout the 'field' work at Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the impression was of a professionally and highly respected community broadcasting platform from the perspective of both the community members that the researcher interacted with and the internal stakeholders who were involved in the daily broadcasts of the community radio station).

Thus, unlike the rest of the town infrastructure, which seemed out-dated and largely neglected (potholed roads, rundown buildings without modern amenities, no traffic lights, livestock roaming the streets) within the local Cala Town, the building and broadcasting infrastructure of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) resembled a 21st century broadcasting environment that is highly technologically equipped. It was also observed on a number of

occasions that this community radio station was furnished with up to date computers that are used to aid the process of broadcasting to the local community (also see Figure 5 on the technical and technological equipment possessed by the community radio station).

Furthermore, it was indicated[34] to the researcher that the station (see organogram on Figure 6) had its own in-house technical manager who regularly maintained the software, broadcast equipment and the computers that were used by the staff and volunteers of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The respondents also explained that the community radio station had a media content database that recorded and stored all their broadcast content through the office of the music compiler. The computers appeared to be technologically up to date with shared workstations where the broadcast programming was scheduled. The researcher also observed that the music compiler had his dedicated workstation whilst most of his work peers shared the remaining workstations. The reason given for this was that he was involved in planning the entire music compilation of the station as well as for the monitoring of the music output per programme. He had the additional duty of monitoring the recording of the material broadcast on a daily basis (general discussion of the musical strategy of the community radio station is discussed in the sections below).

[34] This explanation was gathered through a personal informal conversation with the station manager. I kept the record of the conversation as notes in my daily diary that was used to record my observation of the research visit in the local town of Cala and the surrounding areas of broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR).



Figure 5: Siphoxolo Liwalala presenting the Masakhane programme: 09:00-12:00. The picture also highlights some of the technical equipment that is available at the main studio of broadcasting.

Throughout the entire 'field work' period, Vukani Community Radio (VCR) seemed to be buzzing with excitement as various employees and volunteers seamlessly shared the workstations and held various brainstorming sessions within the boardroom of the station. In addition to the up-to-date computer hardware that this community radio station had, it was revealed that the broadcasting platform had various software programs that were used to aid its broadcasting mandate. These included software programs such as "News-builder" (a software used by the news desk to package news headlines during the on-air reading process), "cool edit" (used for editing news and audio packages) and Zetta (used for saving content already broadcast by the community radio station). Thus, with its up to date technology, , the community radio station demonstrates that even a semi-urban and rural based community radio station with a special interest in the local African community within its broadcasting range can be technologically astute.

However, despite its technological equipment, it was observed that some of the technical duties were outsourced by the community radio station to a private company. For instance, it was revealed "the website was not yet managed in- house, but was managed by a company called Techphonic which created it. So, currently, material and pictures are sent to them to update" (Sinethemba Nota, VCR Technical Manager, 30 March 2016). Overall, the community radio station illustrates that African focused broadcasting platforms within the community radio sector are able to acquire and maintain the required technological tools to meet its 21st century broadcasting objectives. In fact, the entire infrastructure and layout of the community radio station conjures the idea of a broadcast media platform that is well resourced.The building where the community radio station is housed is in fact a relatively new building that was made available through government funding[35]. Thus, the advanced infrastructure nature of this community radio station demystifies the notion of some South African community radio platforms that are under resourced and ill equipped (cf. Fourie, 2008).

On various interactions with the station volunteers, the general ideas were that the media platform owed its advanced infrastructure to the stations managers' ability to source funding from different organisations. At the time of conducting the field work at the broadcasting station, this community radio station had in the past received funding/ and formed partnerships with various national and international organisations, namely, the German Development Service, Engender Health; National Community Radio Forum; German Technical Corporation; IDASA; Office of the Premier; National Community Radio Forum and the Institute of Advancement of Journalism.

The station's funding also emanated from European and other international agencies, but the ideological stance of the media institution was not unduely influenced, as the funding was used to advance the causes of the immediate African community to which it broadcasts (see findings in the sections below). The data in this study also suggest that the stature of this broadcaster among its peer community radio stations in South African has been elevated by the station's current role as the coordinating hub for the Eastern Cape

[35] The funding aspects of the community radio station are multiple. The technological and other general facilities of broadcasting were donated by the MDDA (see chapter 7 on MDDA). The building was built and donated by the South African Department of Public Works. To sustain itself, the community radio station additional relies on small advertising and sometimes grants by generous organisation.

Community Radio Forum. The radio stations manager further explained that the high-end technical nature of broadcasting facilities further allows the broadcast employees and volunteers to have professional media experience that sometimes helps the internal stakeholders to quickly adjust when they are eventually employed by mainstream media platforms[36]. This disclosure by the manager of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is indicative of how the broadcasting platform also positions itself as a broadcasting training hub which allows its employees and volunteers to advance their media careers elsewhere.

The working structure of the organisation was presented in a clear organogram that typifies the lines of responsibilities within station. The organogram illustrates its professional structure and the lines of broadcasting as envisaged by the internal and external stakeholders of the radio station. The will and participation of the surrounding community is guarded by the mandate of the board which is meant to represent the community. For instance, one respondent said, "…also when people, as I was saying to you that some of them are able to call us and say that we want to listen on this issue and that, then we communicate those things with the board, that we think of making changes in such a manner and all that and then make those changes" (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016).

The following Figure indicates the working protocols within the community radio station:

[36]Conversation with Xola Nozewu (Station Manager of Vukani Community Radio)



Figure 6: The organogram of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The organogram resembles a typical 'modern' day organisation with clear lines that are indicating the hierachy and lines of power within the broadcasting institution.

From a normative media organisation point of view, the structure of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) represents clear power lines within the organisation (also see section below on the election of the board and the participation strategy for the community in electing the board members). To enable further processes of participation in the representation of the African community, the community radio station manager also outlined that their broadcasters are exclusively recruited from within the boundaries of its broadcasting geography; that is from its community (see discussion on chapter 4 and section below on community in community radio). In fact, at the time the 'fieldwork' commenced, various interviews were being conducted to replace on-air personalities who had recently resigned from the station. Therefore, overall, the impression of the case study as a broadcasting platform is in line with a technologically up to date media platform that is also aligned to the

cultures and identities of the broadcasting community (see themes below). This advanced nature of the technology and broadcasting equipment is indicative of an African broadcasting institution that delinks from the normative perception of African institutions that are seen to be outdated and backward (Netshitenzhe, 1999). Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is the absolute practice of Chinweizu's (1999) vision of an African community radio station that is technologically up-to-date yet also centred on the lived realities of their African constituencies.

The thematic focus of the following section begins with a discussion of the concept of 'community' in community broadcasting and the daily mandate of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). This section is followed by numerous themes (see listed themes in the introduction of this chapter) and later, the chapter is concluded with a discussion of how the community radio station pursues the role of being an African public sphere platform.

8.2 DISCOURSES ON 'COMMUNITY RADIO'

In chapter 4, the concept of community radio was widely defined taking into consideration the various 'regional' and 'local' [South African] perspectives on the sector (cf. AMARC, 1998; Banda, 2006; Berger, 1996). The data of this study ascertains that the definition, conception and practice of ''community radio' as it relates to Vukani Community Radio (VCR) transcend some scholarly discourses (see discussion on the subsection below). The community radio in South Africa is generally seen as a "media [sector] for the community, by the community" Mavhungu (2009, 2). However, the subsection below mainly subjects the community radio station under study to the broader definitional characteristics of the community radio sector of South Africa. As illustrated in initial discussions (see chapter 4), the concept of community radio in this country generally consists of'geographic' as well as community radio of 'interest' (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Rama and Louw, 1993). However, from interview data derived from Vukani Community Radio (VCR) stakeholders, the character and broadcast mandate of this community radio station seems to be premised on an evolving concept of 'community radio' (cf. Berger, 1996; Banda, 2006) based on existential demands

and community nuances as experienced in the largely African community of the Chris Hani Municipality District (see discussion on the subsection below).

8.2.1 REVIEWING THE 'COMMUNITY RADIO' IN VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

As indicated by various scholarly outputs, the concept of community radio has a fairly long-established history in South Africa (cf. Bosch, 2003; Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Mtimde *et al*, 1998). While organisations such as AMARC-Africa (Mtimde *et al*, 1998) have provided various guidelines on the definitional character of the community radio sector, historical and contemporary debates on the state of the sector illustrate that definitional elasticity continues to be a factor in the practice of community radio broadcasting. As established by the data of this current study, the concept of community radio should mainly consist of community needs as identified in a locality. For instance, a participant said "they [all stakeholders of the community radio station] felt that the station must cover the whole district so that the platform communicates with all the stakeholders. And they saw the way Vukani is structured; it's the station that can actually do that" (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016). This supports Berger's (1996) argument that how we define community radio should not be guided by abstract notions but should relate to a community's needs. Furthermore, some analysis of the 'community' nature of community radio has also suggested that the continual treatment of this broadcasting sector should reflect a fluid and multi-dimensional approach (Bosch, 2003). The research of this current study and the case study's standing as a form of community radio affirm these definitional notions of the community radio sector. For instance, it was postulated by the station manager of this community radio station that:

> Vukani's broadcast focus is not only on Cala Town. This is a district platform. We have coverage of eight municipalities throughout the district. But again, in terms of our coverage, it does spill over to other areas as well. There are other areas that we cover as we have seen that they need the radio station as a platform of communication. So we feel that as a radio station that is based in an area that lacks economic opportunities, we feel that we need to go beyond to being just a district platform but again try to accommodate the areas that we spill over to (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016).

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From the manager's point of view; an office that was reported to be intimately involved in conceptualising the broadcasting policies of the case study; Vukani Community Radio (VCR) seems to have transcended the usual notion of a community radio as it operates in a small community (cf. Alumnku, 2006; Majozi, 2000; Manyozo, 2012). There transcendence of the community radio station - from a position of small African community centred station to a district focused community radio station therefore points to the continuities and discontinuities that are an important feature in understanding the concept of community media in South Africa (cf. Berger, 1996). The shift towards the re-thinking of the sector's definitions and how a community radio such as Vukani Community Radio (VCR) can redefine its broadcasting urgency also points to a peculiar form of decolonising the understanding of the sector by the specific broadcasting practitioners (cf. Appadurai, 1949).

While the global, regional and national norms of the sector have been discussed, the case study of this research is intimately involved in demystifying these widely accepted roles of the community radio sector by constructing its individual role based on the nuances and needs of its broadcasting community. The station manager stated that ""…they [stakeholders] felt that the station needs to cover beyond what is covering now… So, it was easier for us to convince ICASA because we had something that was coming from the people" (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016). Thus, the African people being serviced by the broadcast medium showed their individual urgency in redefining their understanding of the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a traditional community radio station. This stance by this community is in line with Akpojivi's (2012:193) argument that the "…complex and intricate nature of the regulatory mechanism and the conceptualization of community radio have made it difficult for the regulatory body(s)…" to effectively demarcate (geographically) and regulate the practice of some community media institutions. Vukani Community Radio, seemingly, has no small regulated radius or small geographical community mandate to guide it on its coverage. Hence it was relatively easy to negogtiate for wider coverage within the geography of the district municipality.

It is further worth pointing out that, in reflecting a decolonised approach towards universal definitions of the sector, the founding principles of this community radio station revert to

the consultative need as understood by normative definitions (cf. Tacchi, 2003; Moyo, 2012; Mgibisa, 2005). One 'veteran' community broadcasters at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) who has been with the community radio station for more than 18 years, remarks that this specific broadcasting platform started as a small-town radio station by a group of university students[37] (CALUSA). He indicated that it explicitly consulted widely to get a firm approval from the community:

> It was started by old men such as Godfrey Silinga, Dumisa Ntsebeza, Lungisile Ntsebeza, Sipho Thabo, Bhiki Khayingana and Siphiwe Liwani, it is people who started the project (sic). They initiated it in 1993 and then the process of the broadcasting licence took place, and it went on air in 1996. It started on air on the 9th of April. Then it went on until 2006 and it left CALUSA and stood as an independent project. How it stood as an independent is that a process of visiting the towns we broadcast to was started, and we met up with stakeholders and where someone from the ANC, SANCO, PAC, UDM and TINIP and each organisation would nominate their representative and radio forums were formed. In those radio forums, they took a single person from each town and then a board of trustees was formed (Mnyamezeli Mpumela, VCR Producer & On-Air Broadcaster, *Amasiko Nezithethe*, 30 March2016).

Therefore, the history of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) points to a community broadcasting model that has continuously evolved to meet African community aspirations (in Figure7 we see how this community station has evolved from a small community to the now large scale geographic broadcaster that it is). From initially consulting the community to get community input for the establishment of the initial small community radio station, the station kept this approach when it identified a need to expand from its initial constituency (Cala Town) and move towards a more regional focus (Chris Hani District Municipality). The manager of this community station explained that they consulted widely with the community and the core stakeholders of the station such as municipalities, local Chiefs and NGOs. This consultation approach was facilitated by the community radio clubs that the station instituted within the wider geographical area that falls under its broadcasting region.

[37] The story of the development of this community radio station was also narrated to me by Prof Lungisile Ntsebeza who is now a senior academic at the University of Cape Town. He indicates that their intentions were also aimed at challenging the homeland system, which of course had been established by settler colonial government of South Africa with an intention of keeping Africans in the labour reserve parts of the country. Thus, from the establishment of Vukani Community Radio (VCR), we have ideological ambitions of its initial founders to decolonise the area of broadcasting by Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

The consultative approach of this media platform also illustrates the community participation aspect that is expected from a community radio station. Furthermore, the history of this radio which started broadcasting at the time that the community media broadcasting sector of this country was being established also points to the tenacity of an African semi-urban and rural based community radio station. The continuing broadcasting from this community radio station bears witness to its ability to sustain itself despite the challenges that are often faced by community radio broadcasters in South Africa (cf. Fourie, 2008). As a result of financial constraints and the inability to adhere to strict licencing conditions, several community radio stations in South Africa have closed (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Bosch, 2003; Fourie, 2008).

In the case of Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the move towards a regional community broadcaster has also allowed this community radio station to tap into a more regional advertising market that is largely unavailable to small conventional community radio stations. Thus, at a definitional level and the advantages associated with transcending the rigouros understanding of the sector, the data of this study illustrates that the case study of this research is also responding to the geographic sense of 'community' and taking advantage of the 'commercial' potential associated with a wider geographic community instead of a small community radio station. As one internal stakeholder argued:

> Vukani is falling under the geographic [licence]. With the geographic you will notice by the fact that the target of this licence is the community in general. So it is driven by the needs of the community and all that (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016).

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Furthermore, the advantage of this community radio station in its practice outlook as a 'geographic community radio' (see chapter 4) station is that it is able to accommodate a plurality of voices and local identities while also striving for (African) particularity. In the case of this community radio station, it is not randomly focused on the people of its geography, but on their topics of discussion, language and how the station positions its broadcasting mandate[38]. The data derived has established that African subjects are the

[38] In its website, this community radio station indicates that its main focus is on the previously disadvantaged within the geography of the Chris Hani District Municipality. Taking the race ration relations of the area, this simply state its focus is on Africans who are IsiXhosa speakers of the Chris Hani District Municipality.

prime target audiences of this media platform. The geographic community outlook of this station also accommodates the growing demands that have been placed on the broadcasting medium by local stakeholders.

Originally founded on the premise of being the "voice of the voiceless", Vukani Community Radio (VCR) now sees its mandate as that of a "district broadcaster" (see Figure7 below). It was repeatedly explained by both the station manager and the programs manager that the growth in the demands on the community radio station forced it to expand its broadcast mandate. The expansion was from a small semi-urban area that constituted surrounding areas of Cala Town to a community radio station that broadcast to eight (8) small municipalities.



Figure 7: The branding of the radio station captures its evolving aspirations. The radio station now brands itself as a "geographic broadcaster". This Figure illustrates an earlier conceived role of the radio station.

To a great extent, the expansion of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) to service eight (8) municipalities, though also keeping the traditional title of a "community radio", ultimately constitutes a redefinition of the normative understanding of the sector. It is the kind of definitional elasticity (Berger, 1996) that re-centres the privilege to define oneself according to the purpose that one has established, in this case, to serve the wider African community

of Chris Hani Municipality. This take on standard definitional acceptance by the community radio station also asserts its right to name and re-name itself as guided by the individual objective of the community radio station.

This definitional elasticity which has been adopted by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) also demystifies the 'coloniality of power' that may be prevalent in the daily functioning and understanding of the community media sector of South Africa (see chapter 3 on decoloniality of the media). Thus ultimately, this definitional shift is also indicative of the decolonial shift in the understanding of the community media sector and the individual urgency of community radio stations in the process of defining their individual role and mandate. Ultimately, the data of this study illustrates that Vukani Community Radio (VCR) represents a delinking in the abstract 'universalist' understanding of knowledge about broadcasting mandates (cf. Mignolo, 2007) of the sector and the urgency to conduct media practice as determined by individual communities that practice broadcasting and are served by this community radio station.

8.3 MEDIA AND UBUNTU: AFRICANISATION PATHWAYS?

In general discussions about the ideological status of South African media, their related practices and content, the concept of Ubuntu has widely been suggested as a potential means of Africanising the country's broadcasting practices (cf. Rodny-Gumede, 2015). Largely this is because, Ubuntu is acknowledged as an ideal Pan-African ideology that promotes and instils the role of emancipatory media and co-existence (Blackenberg, 1999; cf. Ramose, 2002) for a society that has been widely culturally oppressed through various policies of westernisation and settler colonialism (cf. Tuck and Yang, 2012). For a scholar such as Kamwangulu (1999, 25), "Ubuntu is a multidimensional concept which represents the core values of African ontologies: respect for any human being, for human dignity and human life, collective shared-ness, obedience, humility, solidarity, caring, hospitality, interdependence, communalism" (see also in-depth discussion of Ubuntu in chapter 2). Considering Africanisation in the context of identity and its cultural role in South Africa prompted Blackenberg (1999, 43) to note that "the challenge of Africanisation, especially in

a society as multifaceted as South Africa's, is to recover the African ways [African culture, norms, epistemologies, myths, values etc.] while at the same time incorporating the imperatives of the here and now". Thus, in this milieu of Africanisation, Ubuntu becomes a decolonial ideology of dislodging media practice from its normative western-centric conceived role (see chapter 3; Kasoma, 1996). In the subsection below, the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a media platform catering largely to an African community has thus been analysed in relation to its Ubuntu role as conceived, practiced and expected from the media platform by its constituencies.

8.3.1 AN UBUNTU FOCUSED MEDIUM: RESPONSIBILITIES OF VUKAKINI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR) TO THE COMMUNITY

Rather than the traditional notions that are ascribed to Western and Westernised media platforms (liberalism and neo-liberalism), the working and responsibilities of community radio and more specifically that of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) point to a growing need to centre African community radio broadcasting around the concept of Ubuntu and other complex lived realities of African societies. Largely this is because Ubuntu constitutes the cultural fabric and ethics of African societies (Ramose, 2002). It is an African system of recognising and upholding the humanity of others in relation to one's own humanity.

For this reason, the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is seen as that of an Ubuntu focused media platform for the African community that forms its core constituency. The data of this study indicates that the case study transcends the normative role of the media as expected in a 'liberal' democracy such as South Africa[39]. However, the constituencies of the community radio station used in this study expect their broadcasting media platform to play an active community building and Ubuntu affirming role. This is contrary to the "watchdog" role (McNair, 1998) that is largely expected from media structures. A remark by a community member who is an active listener of the radio station states:

> This radio station is very important to me and the people of this area because we tend to access information on things that would otherwise not be easily accessible. For instance, if you have lost something, you are able to come to Vukani and get that which you had lost, such as ID, your handbag,

[39]The normative media structure of South Africa has largely been defined through the liberal roles that are expected from traditional role of the media. The discussion on this role appears in chapter 3 and 4 of this research study.

> cattle and so forth for other people. So it has made life easy, such as listening to program on deceased people. It works quiet a lot for the people… (Nolusindiso Ncaphayi, Cala Resident, VCR Listener, 31 March 2016).

The manner in which this community radio station is understood by some members of its broadcast community borrows heavily from the characteristics that underpin the ideology of Ubuntu (see chapter 2). The data from this study illustrate that the community radio station is expected to be more than a traditional media platform. In his reply, one broadcaster stated, "…we start the process of helping them with regards to their needs. And then we put them in conversation with government people, the NGO's, with any person…" (Malixole Teketa, VCR Producer & On-Air Broadcaster, *Imbadu*, 30 March 2016). The respondents expressed their appreciation of the radio station, especially in its Ubuntu related duties and its responsibility to the community. These were said to include: empathy in helping community members in need (by bringing their plight to the attention of those who can help), by respecting and upholding the humanity of individuals who do not necessarily hold a powerful status in the community, by being readily available when requested by the community members to arrive in various areas of the broadcasting spectrum and lastly, by being 'loud speakers' for community voices that have various challenges, including cases of lost possessions. "…we are champions in that area [Ubuntu] because we have come up with solutions, because we put them in conversation with people so that they can be helped…." (Malixole Teketa, VCR Producer & On-Air Broadcaster, *Imbadu*, 30 March 2016).

The Vukani Community Radio (VCR) speaks to an interesting relationship between the media platform with its core constituency. It exemplifies how the community sees the broadcasting platform as a community voice that is underpinned by the Ubuntu ideology. Chibvongodze (2016; cf. Ramose, 2002) asserts that, within African philosophy, the concept of Ubuntu is positioned within the framework of humane associations and it strengthens the 'Being' of one person in relation to that of another 'Being'. The concept is ordinarily understood to indicate that the individuality of a person is only complete if it affirms and re-affirms that of other individuals (cf. Ramose, 2002).

Applied to a broadcasting media platform such as Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the concept of Ubuntu dictates that the media transcend its normative media functions by

playing a re-affirming role in the community it services. The normative functions of the liberal media can become devoid of the ideological concepts that are held in high esteem by some African societies (Kasoma, 1996). These mainstream roles include keeping their constituencies informed, educational and entertainment roles, a public space for political discourse and giving publicity to political and societal developments (cf. McNair, 1995). The mainstream media understand the community radio sector as having additional functions that include the 'developmental' and participatory roles of the media (cf. Fairchild, 2001; Manyozo, 2012). The data from this study show that the community radio station plays the Ubuntu related function of prioritising the needs of its particular African constituency (cf. Blackenberg, 1999; Kamwangulu, 1999). The importance of the Ubuntu related philosophy at this community radio station was further affirmed by another community member who stated:

> Vukani is an accessible station. We are able to reach it even through phone calls and they give us their phone numbers. It is not easy to gain access into stations such as uMhlobo Wenene [national broadcaster]. And it is the most helpful station here in our community. It helps us here at Chris Hani, because even if it is called at any time, it comes, its manager never says no (Nompucuko July, VCR Listener, Komani Resident, 31 March 2016).

During the research interviews, many respondents focused strongly on the manner in which the community radio station contributes to social benefits. At a cultural level, such a perception of this media platform should ideally be connected to the lived expectations of being a media platform in the service of an African community. As the respondent above remarked, the media platform was readily available to assist in satisfying the needs of its constituency. This availability meant that the community radio station was seen as being vested in the interests of the African communities that it serves. The data in this chapter firmly supported the view that the existence of the station was largely connected to the needs of its broadcasting community. This data illustrated that this was not a platform that was alienated from its core community. Furthermore, the issue of Vukani Community Radio's (VCR) positive intervention in community affairs was an important reccuring underlying theme for a number of the research respondents who seemed to value this broadcasting platform when acting beyond the expected functions of a mains stream media institution (cf. McNair, 1999). Another respondent noted:

> …let me say if a person has an important issue that they want to know about that is about to take place here, for the community or a meeting, or a person has lost something and they are searching for it, they come to Vukani and explain their problem and then they broadcast it, and it gets solved. Maybe things like meetings or maybe there is a missing child and so they are brought here to Vukani and then an announcement is made on the radio and it is heard. So a lot of people are helped through such, even if there is something urgent that needs to be broadcast, it helps in that sense… (Weziwe Dodo, Cala Resident, VCR Listener, 31 March 2016).

This role, arguably, may be a common and general feature of other radio stations or media platforms in general, but a media platform that serves an African community should be seen to strengthen the cultural fabric and values of the specific community. Therefore, with regards to the concept of Ubuntu, the re-affirming of humanity by one individual in relation to the rest of the community (Ramose, 2002) can be witnessed through symbolical acts that may include: empathy with fellow community members, solving specific challenges facing the Chris Hani District community as well as being available to advise members of this community on how to solve their immediate challenges. Thus, in conducting itself in a manner that restores the humanity of the African community through its broadcasting services, Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is seen by the respondents of this study to be culturally connected to the humanity of its broadcast location. As one of the respondents in the study remarked:

> I would say that this station needs to be close to people. Especially in this area that it is based in, there are things such as pre-schools, like community projects, it should be able to support them especially when they request help from them. On some things, it helps because even in families where there is death, it does go there and support sometimes financially. Where there is sadness, it is able to empathise with people (Nolusindiso Ncaphayi, Cala Resident, VCR Listener, 31 March 2016).

This respondent therefore succinctly states the Ubuntu role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in the community. That is how their community radio station can be used to meet the cultural expectations of their specific community. Her aspirations are not only for a media platform that fulfils normative media functions (cf. McNair, 1995). Rather this specific respondent articulates the need for Vukani Community Radio (VCR) to be community centred in its role and approach to solving the challenges of the Chris Hani District community. She identifies the need for the station to be socially receptive of people and

expresses the need for the broadcasting institution to be involved in the well-being of the community including in playing roles such as starting community upliftment projects.

Thus, in this sense, the community radio station plays an important role in centre(ring) the concerns of Africans (Asante, 2003) within its broadcasting location. Furthermore, through this cultural role that is connected to the people of the Chris Hani District municipality, the community radio station demonstrates the de-centering of western values that are often associated with the role of the media (cf. McNair, 1995; Kasoma, 1996; Fanon, 1952). In this sense, the broadcasting platform becomes central in the uplifting of African humanity and values (cf. Asante, 2003; Karenga, 2003; Mazama, 2003; Netshitenzhe, 1999). Thus Vukani Community Radio (VCR) seems to demonstrate an Africanised approach and fulfils the expectations of an African broadcasting platform. That is, it is able to centre the interest of their specific broadcasting constituency in the processes of its broadcasting activities.

8.4 MEDIA & THE CULTURAL FACTOR

Scholars such as Kubayanda (1989, 26) argue that "the discourse of decolonisation has to do with a critique and a deconstruction of the principles, articulations, and practices of colonialism. In other words, the discourse of decolonisation represents and identifies categories of differences". Thus, a decolonial endeavour does not stop at the 'independence' of the colonised, but rather involves continued deconstruction of colonial legacies within the various post-colonies (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). In 'post-colonial' states such as South Africa, and the legacies that underpin these states, Mbembe (2001, 14) notes that "the postcolony encloses multiple durées made up of continuities, reversals, inertias, and swings that overlay one another, interpenetrate one another, and envelope one another." He further postulates that "[It] is a particularly revealing, and rather dramatic, stage on which are played out the wider problems of subjection and its corollary, discipline" (ibid, 102-103). Thus, the post-colony is entangled in the past and the present.

This study attempts to uncover how the concept of Africanisation represents a decolonial project within the media sphere. As a space for reflecting and portraying the ideals of society, the media is an important avenue for understanding how culture is particularised

and championed to uphold the Africanity of a people that are emerging from settler based colonialism (cf. Tuck and Yan, 2012). It is in this context that this subsection/ subtheme analyses the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a cultural 'text' for matters that pre-occupy the people of the Chris Hani District. Most importantly this subsection looks at the role of language as a decolonial tool for cultural survival. This role of language in decoloniality was asserted by Appadurai (1949, 89; cf. wa Thiong'o, 1981) who argued that "the cultural aspect of decolonisation deeply affects every domain of public life, from language and the arts to ideas about political representation and economic justice". By analysing the role of language in the decolonisation (cf. Wa Thiong'o, 1981) of Vukani Community Radio (VCR), we are able to further understand the processes of Africanising this community radio station.

8.4.1 AIRWAVES AS A CULTURAL 'TEXT': VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

Various theoretical arguments have been raised on the importance and championing of 'previously' oppressed languages as a decolonial project. Wa Thiong'o (1993, 13), for instance, argues that "the evolution of the present global order over the last five hundred years has seen the world being dominated by a handful of languages; European languages of course and the cultures these have carried will have shaped the dominated in similar ways". A focus on the privileging of local African languages by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is a direct criticism of coloniality of media spaces by the dominant languages of colonisation (cf. Wa Thiong'o, 1981). In fact, it is Kubayanda (1989) who also argues that the discourse on decolonisation needs to directly critique the underlying fissures of colonial legacies, including the languages of colonisation that are often privileged without any rationality.

Media institutions, have demonstrated that "…cultural technologies produce not only content and thus something called ideology, to be negotiated by already located viewers [or listeners], but also material practices with their own structural effects and tensions" Berland (1992; 45). In South Africa, language as historically used by the broadcast media, has played a dual or ambiguous cultural role in the subjection as well liberation attempts of African humanity (Biko, 1978; Lekgoathi, 2011).

In Lekgoathi's (2011:118) analysis of Radio Bantu and how it was used by settler-colonisers to dehumanise Africans, this scholar postulates that "vernacular radio was a powerful medium used effectively by the apartheid state to disseminate and popularise the Bantustan ideology through the medium of African languages". And as mentioned previously, this is mainly because the radio medium had become a viable strategy where print and film had failed because of audience reach and literacy factors. The use of radio in settler-colonial South Africa was meant to create negative division based on ethnic politics and genealogy. However, Africans also sought creative solutions to bypass the philosophy of institutions such as Radio Bantu. In the case of Africans working at such apartheid created vernacular broadcasting platforms, "language [also] proved useful in sneaking in subversive information by a tiny fraction of announcers" concludes Lekgoathi (2011:118).

Thus, in the context of Radio Bantu, radio as a broadcast medium became a tool of both oppression and a creative means of subverting that oppression. However, it was not only the medium itself, but more importantly language that proved an important tool in this colonial and decolonial duality. Mainly that is because "language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture" Wa Thing'o (1980:13). In this study, data has established that the community radio station under consideration has been consciously using African languages (IsiXhosa) to appeal to its broadcast constituency:

> …Vukani is supposed to cover the IsiXhosa language with 96%. And then Afrikaans is supposed to be 2%. And then English should be 2%. But then again, we came in, we had to look, we had to guard against the translation of one language to another. Our understanding of the community radio and its languages is based on the community we are actually covering. This is if you have a Xhosa speaking community, you are supposed to do their content on their own languages… (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager; March 22, 2016)

The language broadcasting demographics of this community radio station were carefully considered when the language structure and the privileging of such an African languages at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) were outlined. The primary language of communication in the broadcast area is majority African (IsiXhosa). The ability of a people to comfortably communicate and the manner with which a language is used by the people is of course central to how people define themselves in their immediate as well as 'universal' environments (cf. wa Thiong'o, 1981). The huge focus on IsiXhosa as an African language by

this community radio station was because their broadcasting community mainly speaks this language. For example, it was explained that "…it gives people hope and raises people's interest as they listen to their language because they will understand exactly what is happening in their village…" (Thandeka Nozewu, News Editor/Acting Programs Manager, March 29, 2016). Another respondent indicated that

> …in most instances, we tend to use IsiXhosa. It is because the participation of our listeners mainly happens in IsiXhosa. It is highly important when speaking with people, to speak in a manner that they understand, in the way that they will be able to get the message…" (Malixole Teketa, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016).

Without a privileged African language system, the ability of the communities to relate to their community radio becomes questionable. In instances where community numbers were skewed towards English or other alternative African languages (IsiZulu, XiTsonga, TshiVenda etc.), the licencing conditions of the community radio station would stipulate that it had to adhere to the realities and languages of those specific communities. By using these languages, African language community radio stations potentially promote decolonisation at the local community level. It is this decolonisation that allows people to own and relate to their respective languages as part of their cultural and lived identities. Vukani Community Radio (VCR) use of IsiXhosa can be interpreted as aiming for a "cultural-relative" strategy (Wiredu, 1980:33) in its African community. This is through the use of an African language that is widely used in the area of broadcasting.

In addition to the strict licencing[40] mandate of providing the opportunity for an African language to be the centre of communication with its relative community, the programs manager of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) further explained:

> Our focus is mainly on IsiXhosa. But there is English, there are other languages that we use for we have people here, in this Chris Hani area that speak Afrikaans and those who speak English and we also have those who speak IsiXhosa. But I think this is important [IsiXhosa] a lot because our area is dominated by people who speak our indigenous language… (Thandeka Mbobosi, News Editor/Acting Programs Manager, March 29, 2016).

[40] The licencing conditions of the community radio sector of South Africa have been outlined in chapter 4 of this study where the community radio sector of the selected 'global' and South African community radio sector is discussed.

In this sense, the language philosophy of the case study of this research is geared towards mainly focusing on the local indigenous African community. Furthermore, for Vukani Community Radio (VCR) the role of the community radio station in upholding the cultural particularity of its surrounding community in the language factor has also been recognised at national media agency levels. For instance, in 2012, the community radio station was the overall winner of the MDDA Sanlam & Local Media Award in the category of "excellence in indigenous language". Thus, this community radio station seems to be respected at national level and among its peers for using an indigenous language to communicating key community concerns. The importance of African languages as practiced and upheld by this community radio station also points to the question of the 'decolonial turn' (cf. Bañales, 2012; Maldonado-Torres, 2007), where previously degraded languages are now held in high esteem by their speakers and practitioners. Furthermore, the act of using the airwaves to focus on African languages in an era where Western languages have become the norm points to decolonial roles of a media institution around power and knowledge role of languages. For example, one community member who regularly listens to the radio station and sometimes takes part in the content discussions of the radio station said:

> It is very important [African languages] my brother because most people who are from this area are Xhosa, and those who speak different languages are very few and well then it's not as if they don't hear IsiXhosa as well, they hear it, well I have never heard someone saying they can't hear it. If that is the case, I am sure there could be arrangements made for them. But what I know is that Vukani is listened to by Xhosa people. So it is a Xhosa speaking station (Weziwe Dodo, VCR Listener, Cala Resident, March 31, 2016).

Ultimately, the language that is used by the community radio station is also seen as a measure of accessing information that would not be readily accessible if or when English or any other 'western' language had been used. The African language is, therefore, used to put Africans at the centre when they are engaged in any matter of concern to them (Asante, 2003). It allows them to be part of the conversation around matters that directly affect their lives, livelihoods and those of their wider communities. Vukani Community Radio (VCR) then becomes a catalyst in the use of African languages for the purpose of inclusion. This is contrary to instances where languages that underpinned settler colonialism in South Africa continue to be often used to conduct public discussions around issues that affect exclusively

African communities. This radio station has become instrumental in how the creation of multiple and decolonised forms of communicating through African languages can be realised (cf. Wa Thiong'o, 1981).

8.5 LOCALITY AND AFRICANISATION

The 'space' where a community radio station operates arguably informs the identity of such a specific broadcast platform. This assertion is further advanced by Carpentier (2007, 1) who for instance, argues that "one of the areas where community and place did play an important role from the early days onwards was in community radio theory and practice". The location of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is largely representative of semi-urban and rural audiences (see chapter 6). Furthermore, this locality is also inhabited by a largely African community (see discussion in chapter 6 of this study). Thus, a better way to understand this community radio station and its locality is through the theorisation of "space".

Lefebvre (1974, 78) has argued that "social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of things and information". In his analysis of space, he argues that social space is a result of historical actions, but it also allows fresh actions to occur, by recommending some and negating others based on their perceived value. But, then, the question most pertinent to the current study is " what – and whom – does it [space] express and signify?" (ibid., 73). This question can best be understood at the level of the "representation of space"; how a media platform can become a "representational space" for a specific community. Thus, as a space/locality, the data presented in this chapter has established that the Chris Hani District municipality is the area that is represented by Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

The subsection below is aligned to the idea of the micro media platform (community radio station) as a space that encapsulates local ideologies and knowledge systems. The subsection specifically grapples with the concept of news production within a local space and how this informs Africanisation as a decolonial process.

8.5.1 ON AFRICANISATION THROUGH HYPER LOCALITY: THE NEWS & JOURNALISM APPROACH

An uncritical and direct Western media adaptation in African contexts aspires to reinforce the neo-colonisation of the African people and their media content (cf. Kasoma, 1996; cf. Tomaselli and Shepperson, 1999). In reaction to these assertions around news production, Skjerdal (2012) has argued that the African normative journalism approach seems to point to three broad alternative models for the African media practice: 1). Ujamaa journalism, 2) Ubuntu journalism and 3) oral discourse journalism. The community media sector, is often required to honour local content that is indicative of the concerns and aspirations of the communities that they serve. This form of hyper localisation within the context of the South African community radio sector is directly required as a broadcasting characteristic by the licencing authorities in South Africa (Bosch, 2008; Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; see also chapter 7 discussion on community radio policy discussion in South Africa). In the context of this country's community media broadcasting mandate, the centrality of the space/locality in broadcast content is an important aspect of community broadcasting. In instances of such a broadcasting sector being situated in an African community, the centrality and recognition of African principles should ideally be at the centre of the discussions that take place about this African community (cf. Asante, 2003). Vukani Community Radio (VCR) station's manager remarked:

> So the 80% is our news that we source from local areas. How do we meet that percentage? What we have done, we have reporters that we are placing on these local municipalities. So each reporter feed us with news stories per day. That is according to the targets they are supposed to meet. So we cover 8 municipalities, it therefore says that a day, you have about 16 stories. That actually shows you that we have no space to accommodate news from outside of our region. But then we go from 80% up to 90%, at sometimes we up to 100% local. We are quiet fine with that because we are in a virgin area. (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016).

The above assertion emphasised the idea of space being particularly central to how people received their news from the broadcasting platform. It is this very concept of space and the highlighting of local information, local knowledge, local culture, local and current developments that also ensures that Africanisation takes place as the broadcasting content captures and centralises the community's interest within the space or geography of broadcasting. The need to create news content that is 80% or 90% local highlights the role

Vukani Community Radio (VCR) plays in the quest to create a meaningful understanding of the current developments within its space of broadcasting. This focus around the local can also be seen as an important strategy towards de-westernising news content and flow. This move by the community radio station is commendable, especially in the current era where news production is dominated by mainstream and internationalist news organisations for the 'benefit' of worldwide audiences. Figure 8 below gives an idea of the origin and locality of news as broadcast by this community radio station:



Figure 8: This pie chat represents the news organising style as applied at Vukani Community. The chat divides the news into the various localities of broadcasting by the radio station. The chat also represents the news content of each region and its allocated minutes.

The news editor of this radio station explained that, even in matters of 'national' interest, their policy takes interest in the bulletins only when they directly affect the community. For

instance, the data of this study established that the community radio station reported widely on the 2012 Marikana massacre[41] as it directly affected some of the community members residing in the area of broadcasting. A participant noted, "…for instance, the Marikana issue, that saga of Marikana was also affecting us because our fathers our brothers are there. We covered it on that basis…" (Thandeka Mbobosi, News Editor/Acting Programs Manager, March 29, 2016). Thus, at national, if not international level, news stories broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) only become the community's story in that sense. The context of the local community is vital in the packaging and broadcasting of news by this community radio station.

It was also indicated that the aim of the news policy and strategy at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) was geared towards privileging the knowledge interests of the local African community that is mainly serviced by the community radio station (also see chapter 7 on policy discussion about Vukani Community Radio). In this context, the community radio station gives preference to stories that unfold within the Chris Hani District community. Furthermore, it emerged from the data for this study that the community radio station had made a decision to be directly involved in the sourcing of content for the news service. The data established that the community radio station was not interested in being a secondary broadcaster of news that has been sourced from other media institutions. Rather the station aimed to "…generate our own news…" (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016). Thus, whereas some media platforms are consistently fed news content from internet sources and other news feed platforms, the community radio station did not make use of such services when local context and relevence was sought. Largely, this strategy is also part of giving explicit focus to the local space that is inhibited by the community of broadcast. The idea of using local resources and thus generating local news was further explained by the stations manager who said:

> So we did not want to go back and say now that they want national news, lets listen to other platforms. And then read these news like that or let's google for newspapers and all that. But we said, if it goes to that extent, we need to generate our own news (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016).

[41]This 16 August 2012 massacre resulted in the death of 34 mineworkers who were killed during an industrial strike action by the mineworkers. Some of the miners were migrant labors who came from different areas of the Southern African region, including the Eastern Cape province of South Africa.

The data of this study also indicates that the community station was particularly not interested in any form of convergence with national media organisations. It was indicated by station representatives that their primary focus was exclusively the Chris Hani District municipality as a space to be serviced by this media platform, in pursuit of hyper localising the media content which is their community's interest. The rationale for hyper-locality in the news content of the community radio station was explained as a twofold strategy: 1) training local media practitioners to understand the dynamics of field reporting as well as 2) giving attention to local interest narratives. Thus, for the coverage of news in each municipality, the community radio station employs a minimum of two journalists to be situated in each of the small municipal areas that it services. This amounted to a total of about sixteen (16) journalists. The placement of these journalists in their respective municipalities allowed the management of the station to emphasize that "…when you are listening to us, you get to know about Chris Hani [District]. We are quite sure about that. If you are listening to us, you will know what is happening in Chris Hani..." (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016).Further queries on how the journalists work with the communities revealed that there was an emphasis on the African cultural protocols observed by the local communities. These protocols have always been respected by journalists working among the communities served by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The community radio stations news editor explained:

> …we are able to handle those [African cultural sensitive issues] circumstance. When I was talking of us being African people, it is important that we respect people. Firstly, when you are talking to elders there must be an appropriate form [prefix] of addressing elderly people such as fathers or you must address them in the rank that they hold. If it is a Chief, you say Chief so and so, and so forth. I was meaning that.

She continued thus:

> …And then on stories about issues such as traditional circumcision, we know the type of questions to pose when faced with problems such as the death of an initiate. But in our cultural protocols, we avoid exposing what takes place during traditional circumcision exclusions when an initiate is being made a fully-fledged man what rules are followed because we respect the culture (Thandeka Mbobosi, News Editor/Acting Programs Manager, March 29, 2016).

From these assertions and from all the data that have been collected by this study, it can be concluded that the manner in which Vukani Community Radio (VCR) engages their broadcasting constituency amounts to the perfect "rules of political engagement in African traditional settings" Sesanti (2010, 347). This engagement was demonstrated by the respect that was accorded to certain cultural practices that inform the African society residing in the Chris Hani District municipality. In fact, the concept of respect was observed as a reciprocal cultural action that is demanded and expected from all resident members of African communities (Kamwangulu, 1999).

Respect is an integral concept that governs human relations in African societies. In this way, "…respect was not only expected of ordinary people, but of the kings themselves – their authority depended on it" (ibid, 355). In the context of the news production process of Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the acknowledgement of the African protocols of the community was an additional indicator of the centrality of Africanity and how this is upheld by this media platform. It is a further affirmation to the connectedness between the community radio station and the space or locality of broadcasting.

8.6 MEDIA AND IDENTITY

Generally, the media industry is widely understood to be instrumental in representing communities' identities and cultures (Hayman and Teer-Tomaselli, 1989). In South Africa for example, Zegeye (2008, 17) maintains that "there has been a tendency in analyses of the link between media and identity formation to concentrate on representation, that is, how culture, people and events are represented in the media within different context and how that influences the formation of their identities." In that same argument, he further notes that "often the more structural aspects of the societies within which these identities are formed, and the effect they have on identity formation have been neglected" (ibid.17). To fill this lacuna, this subsection aims to understand how a community media broadcasting platform not only represents identity but also how it preserves such identities within the project of Africanisation as a decolonial process.

As a micro-media tool that is controlled at a community level, the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) seems to be extended to various intricate and nuanced means of preserving identities that have largely been threatened by Western modernity and the broader project of westernising the universe. The data from this study illustrate that at a 'local' level, the media can serve as important catalysts for preserving local identities that would have been eroded by coloniality (cf. wa Thiong'o, 1981). In the following subsection, the issue of the media and the preservation of the African identity is examined within the context of the case study of this research – Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

8.6.1 PRESERVING LOCAL AFRICAN IDENTITY: ROLE OF VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

Some scholarly literature has reasoned that "the totalizing notion of human experiences and possibilities enables the colonizer to force the colonised to adapt to his laws, customs, religion, language and social values" Kubayanda (1989, 26). It is in this context that the on-going strides to inculcate decoloniality even at a small community level have been hailed as proof that aspects of cultural imperialism and coloniality continue to be challenged (wa Thiong'o, 1981). Within the context of community media, and specifically Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the value of the medium as suggested by the data of this study explains how "the particularities of daily [and local] experiences" waThiong'o (1993) are captured on the airwaves.

As argued in the sections above, Vukani Community Radio (VCR), as a community broadcaster, has strategically designed its content to focus on issues that are important to the African community at a specific local level. Thus, in relation to other broadcast platforms that operate at provincial and national level, the strategy of the community station is mainly to preserve and speak to the local values of their community of broadcast. It was indicated, for instance, that in relation to national and other international media platforms, the approach of this community radio station is geared towards debunking the notion that people need to be subjected to 'external' sources of media influence:

> … if you want to listen to uMhlobo Wenene[42], then definitely they have that space nationally and those resources. Us, we focus on that which we think is our strong point. That is Chris Hani… (Xola Nozewu, VCR Station Manager, 22 March 2016).

In direct contrast to media platforms that are saturated with national and international media content, the research results of the study indicate that this community radio station seems to have carved a niche that entertains local preoccupations and identities. The data in this subsection has also established that in conducting its broadcasting duties, the community radio station tries to ensure that it is

> …not using a language that demeans people, and that we African people we observe respect and cultural protocol when we are working with sources… (Thandeka Mbobosi, News Editor/Acting Programs Manager, March 29, 2016).

Various strategies have been put in place to safe-guard the preservation of local selves through practices that privilege the most immediate and relevant content of the community's needs. It was acknowledged by the respondents of this study that the station is a cultural asset for preserving local identities and cultures of the community. For instance, on several occasions, the community radio station involved the wider communities on the airwaves by inviting them to contribute cultural and traditional content.

> So there will be a woman's traditional ceremony, there will be a traditional music event, a certain village will have an event, I go there carrying my recorder and go record the songs that they sing and dance to…

This respondent further stated that

> …another thing that I do, is that when a listener is listening to the radio, they must enjoy listening to a familiar voice. That is another way of making people interested, come to you and record you singing traditional music, and so you will tell your friends that they must listen to the station at a certain time and you will be singing at Vukani" (Mnyamezeli Mpumela, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016).

In this sense, the community radio station not only ensures that it represents the lived cultures and identities of the surrounding African community, but also contributes to the

[42] Umhlobo Wenene is an IsiXhosa broadcaster that operates at a national level. The radio station forms part of the SABC radio broadcast platforms.

preservation of these cultures and identities by broadcasting them to any members of other communities who may have lost touch with these cultures and identities through various means of detaching from them as a result of westernisation or colonisation.

8.7 PARTICULARISING AFRICANITY: ANOTHER LOOK AT ETHNICITY

In a country that has been ravaged by settler-colonialism for several centuries, the role and recovery of indigenous cultures continues to be a subject of debate in the route towards a decolonised and pluralistic South African society. Discussing the role of Africanisation and its claim to cultural particularity for a people in search of decolonised lived realities, Mafeje (2000:4) indicates that "Africanity is a historically-determined rebellion against domination by others. There is nothing new about it, except the historical conjuncture. Since the era of western colonialism, Africans have always referred to themselves as Africans in contradiction to their foreign oppressors and exploiters". However, as argued in chapter 6, Africanity can be discerned from wider ethnic umbrellas. In the following subsection, the analysis grapples with the concept of ethnicity as an everyday reality of the broadcasting platform – Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The attempt at analysing ethnicity within the discourse of Africanisation is also driven by the need to decolonise African identities from the colonial legacies of the empires (cf. Mamdani, 1996; Fanon, 1961; see chapter 6). Ultimately the subsection seeks to understand how ethnic identities have been conceived and reproduced within the broader identity of the community radio station under consideration.

8.7.1 ON ETHNIC BROADCASTING & ETHNIC BROADCASTER: VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

Ethnicity is still an important identity aspect of life as lived by many African as well as other 'offshore' communities (Grosfoguel, 2004). In chapter 6, ethnicity was discussed comprehensively as informing the background of the case study and how this discussion potentially informs African particularity. In that chapter, it was illustrated that the area of broadcasting for Vukani Community Radio (VCR) demonstrates a complex ethnic character

that has been central to the lived notion of African culture in the area of broadcasting (see chapter 6).

The analysed data for this subsection have demonstrated that the community of broadcast still recognises ethnicity as part of its African identity. For instance, some respondents of this study indicated that they still identify themselves as belonging to the AmaXhosa, AbaThembu, AmaMpondo or AmaMfengu ethnicity. However, despite recognising these identities, the respondents also stated that the land/ geography/ space they occupy technically and traditionally belong to the AbaThembu ethnicity which has traditionally governed the area for several generations. “The land belongs to Thyopho [traditionally ruling AbaThembu clan]” (Mnyamezeli Mpumela, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016).It was also explained that the community is able to embrace positively the different ethnic dimensions that constitute the Chris Hani District community. In this sense, the community embraces their ethnicity to deal positively with their identities of Africanity. The community seems to be decolonising the negative ethnic rivalries that have become endemic among African communities following the demise of official settler and direct administrative forms of colonisation in Africa (Mamdani, 1996).

As a broadcast media platform that targets different and multiple sets of ethnic identities within the Chris Hani District community, the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is also important in how the idea of the perceived incompatibility of these ethnic identities continues to be debunked and decolonised by the broadcasting platform of the community. On how it sees itself in relation to the ethnic composition of its broadcast location, one of the oldest serving staff members of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) explained:

> The station itself is not an abaThembu station. It is just built on their land. The reason why it does not belong to the abaThembu is that, in the years of existence, as an example its slogan was “the voice of the voiceless” or “izwi labange nazwi”. At that time, it was just a station broadcasting in this area and this Cala town. The slogan now is “Chris Hani district broadcaster”. It is a broadcaster for the district municipality. It does not belong to the AbaThembu only. But it is situated, its roots are here in AbaThembu ” (Mnyamezeli Mpumela, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016).

Consequently, instead of being a single ethnic media platform, this radio station has grown to represent a ‘multi-ethnic’ (Budarick and Han, 2015) African public sphere (see subsection below on African public sphere). The data of the study also revealed that whilst the

community radio station targets various ethnic communities within the district, its official language of broadcasting is mainly IsiXhosa. "…But our main language of focus is IsiXhosa because the majority of people who listen and those who take part in the show speak IsiXhosa (Malixole Teketa, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016).

The use of this language is also embraced by all ethnic communities served by the radio station. This is because all of these communities primarily speak IsiXhosa even though some may not be of Xhosa ethnic genealogy. To a large extent, this move by the community radio station and how it embraces the multiple ethnic identities of the district community represents a certain form of harmonious ethnic relations strategy that transcends the colonial divide and rule system among African communities (Mamdani, 1996; Fanon, 1961). As a system of broadcasting representing a set of different ethnic identities within a single district community, the value of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) can also be lauded as that of recognising difference, but being able to harmoniously transcend those differences in African communities. In this sense, the radio station is forging the unifying process of decolonising African identities that have been fractured by colonial strategies of divide and rule (Mamdani, 1996).

8.8 RELIGION ON THE AIRWAVES

Religious broadcasting and debates around this form of broadcasting have featured prominently in various discussions about the ethical and religious conduct in multiple identity communities. This is the reason, that the portrayal and broadcasting of religion by media institutions remains a site of avid research interest among those preoccupied with the identity and cultural roles of media platforms (cf. Stout and Buddenbaum, 2003). The most important question for this subsection revolves around how a micro media community broadcasting platform such as Vukani Community Radio (VCR) accommodates religion within its broader and multiple cultural and identity responsibilities.

Some research literature has demonstrated that "in the study of religion and media, framing has value far beyond just knowing what is in the news. It also determines the types of information that ultimately contribute to public opinion about particular religions. Knowing

what type of information is out there is very important, given that the treatment of religious groups is tied to the kinds of information available to citizens" (ibid. 1). Thus, the main issue discussed in this subsection is how Vukani Community Radio (VCR) treats and accommodates the religious dynamics in the programming that is directed to the wider Chris Hani District community.

8.8.1 MULTI-CENTRED APPROACH TO RELIGION: VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

As mentioned above, religion is an important part of societies in general. However, just like any other complex and dynamic society, the community that is served by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) consists of various religious beliefs that are prevalent in the African continent. In catering to these religious denominations, this community radio station constitutes a symbolic notional pulpit that captures multiple religious' beliefs that are prevalent within the African community situated in the Chris Hani District. In discussing this role (religious broadcasting) of community broadcasting, Bosch (2008) argues that this specific sector has several religious community radio stations (community of interest radio) as well as general geographic licensee community broadcasters. It has been demonstrated that such broadcast platforms "serve the purpose of therapy and confession, providing an outlet for listeners' frustrations, and finally, that religious community radio stations provide a virtual church by transcending physical boundaries, resulting in instantaneous religious community building" (ibid, 84).

The religious role of this station can be described as catering to a 'multi-religious' constituency. The data emanating from the interviews suggest that the station caters to a number of denominations, including African religious denominations [inkolo yakwantu[43]]. In the case of strict Christianity, it was observed that this radio station was crucial in using religion to speak to community problems. For instance, one respondent remarked:

> I mainly support that program on preaching. It is God related, and I see it as quite important that programme a lot. That programme works because as guests, we preach, and the gospel goes to the listeners and through that they get helped. Then sometimes some listeners they even request our numbers, then they get helped because I wouldn't say it's just a normal programme that one, ehhmmm

[43]Inkolo YakwaNtu constitute an indigenous belief system that is mainly practiced by African communities that do not conform to the Christian doctrine in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. The belief system is therefore an assertion of plurality within the dominant religious systems of the world.

> it takes care of a person to their fullest. It looks at since they were at this stage of their, and then they should reach a level that suits them at a spiritual level. Also with the help that they should be getting physically, we tend to give advice to the people, we look for programs for them. So I see that program as very important because we are preaching the word of God and Jesus. So that people can praise Christ wherever they go to church, wherever a person goes to church they must be sure that they have Christ because we believe that when they have Christ everything will be alright… (Fezeka Silwana, VCR Listener; Cala Resident, Mach 31, 2016)

Although this specific programme is identified as a strictly Christian religious programme, the data emanating from the field interviews showed that the broadcast slot also partially fulfiled the characteristics of Ubuntu ideology. Within the religious broadcasting context, this Ubuntu ideology was illustrated by how the specifically Christian slot borrows heavily from the characteristics of Ubuntu, including empathy and care characteristics (cf. Blackenberg, 1999) to assist community members who wish to use the slot in addressing their personal and material challenges. With regards to the Christian religion being adopted and practiced in such a way that it underpins traditional African concepts such as Ubuntu, the conclusion reached by the study was that "cosmopolitan" or "Afropolitan" (Mbembe, 2007) religious practices are being used to make sense of changing African belief systems. The absorption of African concepts into the Christian belief system at this community radio station also attests to the fact that "the dominant culture [and religion] was not imposed, nor will it be imposed, by the extinction of the dominated cultures [religion]" Quijano (1993, 152). The data suggested that in these religious slots on Vukani Community Radio (VCR), we find distinct religious denominations existing side-by-side.

Furthermore, through the broadcast practice of being tolerant of different religious denominations that are practiced in the Chris Hani District municipality; this community radio station seems to be geared towards a 'plu-riversal' religious ideological approach. It was stated for instance that the community radio is also involved in the broadcasting of inkolo yakwantu (indigenous African religion) programmes. Recently, the station was involved in the annual programme of the African faith centred church. "Then the African beliefs church on yearly basis has an event there on the mountain of Nonesi. Then get there on a Friday and a traditional healers event is held. On the following morning, they gather here…" (Mnyamezeli Mpumela, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016).

In this sense, the community is not mono-ideological when it comes to religious broadcasting but seems to be anchored on the religions that are prevalent within the African community in the Chris Hani District. Hoover (1997) argues that the media are highly underpinned by the construction of a religious public sphere. In what is often described as multi-cultural society such as South Africa, the case of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) illustrates that some media institutions are making a determined effort to uphold a tolerant public sphere culture that embraces diverse religious practice. For instance, it was noted on several occasions that the radio stations have a crucial role in religious preaching in that community.

However, unlike 'community of interest' radio stations that are often established to cater to a dominant religion in some South African communities (Bosch, 2008), the value of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is especially crucial as it embraces various denominations under the single umbrella of a general community media platform. It was indicated that this is particularly possible for this community radio station as its licencing conditions are geared towards a geographic community (see section on reviewing the community radio in Vukani Community Radio). Thus, in this instance, the possibility of catering to all the cultural and religiously diverse communities within that geography is possible as the licencing condition is flexible enough to experiment with the airwaves of religious plurality. Martin-Barbero (1997, 108) argues, "the media offer the opportunity for people to come together to understand the central questions of life, from the meaning of art to the meaning of death, of sickness, of youth, of beauty, of happiness, and of pain". In reference to this argument one of the respondents said:

> …This station, Vukani, yhoo I don't remember the year, but I had just lost my husband, and so I listened to a religious show, and it helped me a lot in that situation (Weziwe Dodo, VCR Listene, Cala Resident, March 31, 2016)

It appears that the community radio station, as a religious public sphere platform based in an African community played several roles for this respondent. Whilst stricken by grief as a result of losing a life partner, the respondent above relied on the broadcasting platform for religious strength, for access to a community that understood her circumstances and to a form of notional counselling from the airwaves (cf. Bosch, 2008). This was all done through

religious preaching, listening as well as talking to the religious broadcasters of the community radio station. It was further revealed that the community radio station has dedicated slots that cater for religious preaching, including a Thursday women's (mainstream and various versions of the Christian denomination) programs, a Sunday programming and a weekly African culture and religion based show (see discussion in chapter 9 of this study). The data emanating from the study of Vukani Community Radio also illustrated that the benefits of the show are not only spiritual or religious but that the discussions within these shows often result in material assistance for the needy. For instance, one respondent stated:

> …on Thursdays where there is preaching of the gospel, and there is a prayer by women, and some express their problems and they get solved. In fact, there was a man who had a problem, he did not have a home and he is on a wheelchair, so Vukani helped him a lot in that problem. So a lot of people get help, even in sport and young people (Weziwe Dodo, VCR Listener, Cala Resident, March 31, 2016)

This 'material' benefit of the community through the assistance of the airwaves is yet another illustration of how the community radio station is also an African community media platform that embraces the values and characteristics of empathy and care. Ultimately the broadcasting entity through its religious programming also creates a platform where various denominations harmoniously exist on the airwaves. It responds to the goal of religious harmony among Africans.

This development is in stark contrast to the early media cultures of South Africa where the media has historically been used to oppress African religions in favour of the Christian religion (Ziegler and Asante, 1992). However, with Vukani Community Radio (VCR) we are ultimately faced with a community based media platform that radically embraces the concepts of religious tolerance in a multiple belief society.

More importantly, the presence of the Christian religion on this community station also highlights the long held tradition of appropriating this religion to serving the liberation projects of the oppressed within their surroundings and circumstances. Gonzalez (2014:51) argues that "slaves transformed the religion imposed on them into a liberative brand of Christianity. The religion of the slave master became the religion of the slaves…". Thus there

is no contradiction in the existence of the Christian religion on the airwaves of an Africanised media institution. Its co-existence side-by- side with indigenous African religious denominations on Vukani Community Radio (VCR) illustrates the appropriation of beliefs for the benefit of those who adopt such religious practices.

However, Benghela (2012:1) also notes that "one of the challenges for the church in Africa is a discourse on how to speak about God in Africa in the hope of finding relevant answers to people's problems." Furthermore, it is stated that "the challenge of reinterpreting the message of Christ in a language appropriate for indigenous people remains a critical need. The time is now here for theologians and Christian thinkers alike in Africa to propagate the Christian message of total faith from an African perspective". For Vukani Community Radio (VCR) the idea of religios preaching seems to be tied to lived challenges of the broadcasting region. The religious preaching is also closely aligned to the concept of Ubuntu as a necessary responsibility of the station towards its community of interest.

8.9 MEDIA AS A MEMORY TOOL

The most unacknowledged role of the media is how it can serve as a pedagogical tool based on its manner of continuously re-living the past through certain means of broadcasting the 'memory'. Fokasz and Kopper (2010, 1) argue that "parallel to its topicality the media creates communities of remembering in modern societies". Largely it acts as notional spaces of remembering through "shared reference points for the community to recognise itself and to remember the past" (ibid.). In the following subsection, the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as an aspect of community and cultural memory is examined. This role is analysed through the perspective of the decolonial role of the media. Wa Thiong'o (1981) argues that colonialism was meant to subject African identities to a 'cultural bomb' where subsequent African generations would not be able to see anything positive in their African cultures. However, as a broadcast tool that instils cultural memory, Vukani Community Radio (VCR) can be seen as a contemporary tool for maintaining social/ African community historical culture at a time when it would have been obliterated by colonialism and coloniality (cf. Quijano, 2007; Said, 1989). In this sense, the community radio station

therefore can be seen as means of averting the consequences of the 'cultural bomb' that was meant to obliterate the memory of in Africa. The following subsection addresses the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a broadcast tool for cultural memory.

8.9.1 THE AIRWAVES AS A CENTER OF CULTURAL MEMORY: THE CASE OF VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

The role that the media should play in South Africa is still an evolving matter of discussion (Fourie, 2008; Sesanti, 2010; Berger, 2002). The data emanating from the interviews in this study confirm that in some instances, rural and semi-urban African communities in South Africa continue to rely on oral tradition as a means of passing information from one generation to the next. Some respondents in this study revealed that family cultural practices in the area of broadcasting are often passed from one generation to the next through the tradition of oral naratives. Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is used as a customary tool to strengthen such practices as well as act as a traditional and cultural memory depository to ensure that African traditions and cultural norms can "…still be alive within the modern context" (Gueye, 2014). It was indicated that, on a number of occasions, the station served as a centre of memory for cultural practices and customs that are often not clearly remembered by the local people who wish to observe and perform certain traditional and cultural rituals. For instance, a participant noted:

> As an example one listener would write down a topic and send it through as a result of not having answers to whatever it is that is bothering them. So you find that as the topic has been written, yourself as a broadcaster / journalist of the show, there are areas that you need further explanation on, and so you arrange to meet the person who wrote the topic so that they can clarify the topic as to what is happening, what is it that they would want clarity on. And then after that, you go to people who have more knowledge on this issue, like elders, the red people[44] [abantu ekuthiwa ba bomvu] those people that are often said to be uneducated, the people that are said to be traditional people [emaXhoseni]. The people who undertake such practices, people who do these African traditional and cultural rituals. Then you ask from them and they would explain to you how they wish to explain… (Mnyamezeli Mpumela, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016).

[44] As explained in previous chapters, the term "Red People" was historically often used to demarcate differences between westernised and non-westernised people. In this context, the term therefore also illustrates the on-going cultural struggles in asserting decolonisation within the locality of Chris Hani District Community.

In this instance, the media platform performs the role of a cultural memory by facilitating discussions on matters of the de-archiving of cultural knowledge for the benefit of current African generations who may have lost such knowledge as a result of the partial fading of oral traditions practiced in the region of the stations broadcasting range. In this instance, the community radio station acts as a wise 'grand-father/mother' who is able to provide cultural counselling for current African generations who do not necessarily have access to particular forms of cultural memory. As suggested by the data in this study, the community that Vukani Community Radio (VCR) broadcasts to is still predominantly a society which observes and cherishes African customs and traditions.

> Because when I look at it, the people in this area that we are in predominantly still observe customs, cultures and traditions (Mnyamezeli Mpumela, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016).

Unfortunately, the passing of knowledge – from one generation to the next - around the indigenous knowledge systems pertaining to these customs can at times elude the current generation of communities that observe such cultural practices. Thus, most of the members of the communities who need knowledge and advice on their cultural practices often rely on the community radio station to educate them on the correct practices they should follow. In most instances, the advice on the community's traditions often forms part of the discussion that is debated in various cultural programming on the airwaves.

In some instances, this cultural memory even extends to the idea of tracing one's lineage through clan names that are a reference point for the family genealogy of an individual. Neethling, (2004, 5) demonstrates the value of clan names by arguing that "Xhosa speakers, through their clan names (*iziduko*), are linked to a common ancestor. When Xhosa speakers meet for the first time, they usually ask about clan affiliation: *Ngubani isiduko sakho*? ("What is your clan name?")" With regards to this cultural value of clan names and the discourse around them on the airwaves, one respondent explained:

> On Friday I change the order and do lineages and clan names. When I talk about lineages and clan names… This one is on Friday at 8 [pm]. And even little kids with no knowledge of topics that we discuss during the week, here they are able to ask their parents as to "who am I?" "You are Bhele, Qunta, Mafu, Dlambu…" and they will memorise this and on Friday will call and say, "Hi presenter and I am this and that clan". I am trying to make sure that this culture does not end [of tracing your lineage]. That is the main reason of this show (Mnyamezeli Mpumela, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016).

Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is therefore instrumental in availing knowledge of historical practices including the value of clan names to a generation of Africans who may not be familiar with the cultural symbolism of tracing one's ancestry. On the importance of the past and its relevance to the future, Quijano (1993, 150) argues that "among ourselves [the colonized], the past is, or can be, a personal experience of the present, not its nostalgic recovery. Our past is not lost innocence but integrated wisdom, the unity of the tree of knowledge with the tree of life, which the past defends in us as the basis for an alternative rationality against the instrumental rationalism that dominates our present".

Thus, to a certain extent, this community radio station performs the role of being a 'virtual or living museum' where people tune in to make sense of their African lineage, identities and cultural practices that are not often available to the current crop of Africans residing in Chris Hani District municipality. This process is also vital in decolonising knowledge that is often lost as a result of not being recorded and available as a reference archive for future generations of Africans. In this sense, the community radio station re-centres the history of African culture (Asante, 2003) so that people who are experiencing the fissures of coloniality (cf. Maldonado-Torres, 2007) can balance the knowledge currently circulating on mainstream media about their identities and cultures.

8.10 ON MUSIC WITHIN AFRICANISATION

The importance of music and its lyrical content has been widely acknowledged as constituting an important part of humankind. Makina (2015, 41) for instance notes that since the beginning of time, music has been able to narrate the human condition. In time of upheavals, of joys, in consciousness raising exercises, and in pinpointing social and political struggles, music has played an important role (ibid.). In some instances, music has been acknowledged to transcend its role of entertainment and instead fulfils a pedagogical role (Sithole, 2012, 1). Even in Africa's postcolonial status, music has often been used to unmask the injustices that have befallen some of the postcolonial states within the continent. At a historical level, Du Bois (1903, 179), for instance, argues that music was often a coded yet articulate message of the enslaved Africans to the rest of the world. It was "the music of an unhappy people, they tell of death and suffering and unvoiced longing toward a true world"

Du Bois (1903, 179). In such circumstances, music also becomes a means of memory, a way of remembering how an identity was produced and reproduced by enslaved Africans. While acknowledging this role of music, the subsection below looks into the manner in which music is being strategically used at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) and how this speaks to the idea of Africanising content and acknowledging the particularity of speaking to certain identities of the community through music. The following subsection therefore analyses the general use and approach to musical content by the community radio station (also see chapter 9 on umngqunggo[45] as a musical genre in cultural broadcasting).

8.10.1 BROADCASTING MUSIC FOR AFRICANS: VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO'S (VCR) APPROACH

In reference to South Africa and the cultural role of music in broadcast media, Bosch (2003:149) argues that "while schools were once the site of political struggle and the negotiation of generational consciousness, music, popular culture and radio have become the new critical sites for identity formation". In this sense, the role of broadcasting media needs to be seen in relation to its identity formation role for the community it services. Largely this is because the media industry and the content published or broadcast in these platforms are embedded in socio-political underpinnings (Hayman and Teer-Tomaselli, 1989). This subsection discusses the rationales surrounding planning of the use of muusic at Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

Hayman and Teer-Tomaselli (1989) remark that broadcast media content, including music is constitutive of ideology and as such can interpellate the everyday life of a people. Thus, the musical planning strategies practiced by the internal arrangements of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) guided us into the overt ideological and cultural thinking behind the broadcasting of music by the community radio station. It also allowed the study to draw conclusions on the ideological role of music as practiced by the radio station in its broadcast role for the African community based in Chris Hani District municipality. The data of this

[45] A holistic discussion of 'umngqungqo' is undertaken in chapter 9. For the purpose of the reader who may not be familiar with this genre music, that chapter highlights its symbolical importance to the geographic community of the community radio station.

subsection suggested that there is a centrally planned procedure followed at the community radio station:

> Generally, my office deals with music, it is an office of the music compiler. So basically, what I do ahhh I communicate with recording companies, uhhhmmm, I collect music from them, I communicate with independent artists as well. Yes, what I do basically I collect music from different sources, like on the internet and that and then what I also do is to compile music for every show. I compile for all of the shows. The presenter has a 50% allowance to what songs they want on their play list but then the main is reason why there is a music compiler is to compile the play list so that the station has a control over its play list. Yes, because sometimes the presenters, they want songs that are explicit or person likes a certain song and we realise that they want to play it every time. So yes, that what we try to avoid and so I do that on a daily basis. Make sure that they don't repeat songs and a lot (Viwe Mfundisi, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 29, 2016)

The statement above suggest that music output of this community radio station is centrally controlled through the office of the music compiler. The compiler explained that this strategy allows the community radio station to have firm control of planning and selecting the appropriate lyrical content and to meet the local musical quotas as specified by ICASA. For any broadcast medium, music becomes a constitutive tool for speaking on identities (Bosch, 2003). This is especially the case in a community radio station that is broadcasting music for the benefit of a rural and semi-urban African community. The value of music is also underpinned by arguments which suggests that "nothing dramatizes the eagerness of the African to communicate with each other more than their love for song and rhythm" Biko (1978:46). Furthermore, "music in the African culture features in all emotional states. When we go to work, we share burdens and pleasures of the work we are doing through music" (ibid, 46). The musical planning strategy of the community radio station illustrates that the focus is on the following genres of music:

> when it comes to music, our shows have different target audiences. So we cater for them, so let's just say the play list for a certain, we play soul, and then in another we play R&B or we play jazz and Afro-pop and stuff, and so what we do here is that generally, we have to think of ICASA contract. So we have to make sure that if it says 60% locally and 40% internationally, then we have to abide by those rules. I think it has gone up, I think it says 70-30 [70% locally and then 30% internationally]. But then, in terms of the shows that have soul, soul music is rare in South Africa, and so yes, you have to have overall broad concept as, at least even if the show is 100% internationally, it shouldn't be the whole day. The whole day should be 70 and 30…(Viwe Mfundisi, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 29, 2016)

As a community radio station, Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is mandated to promote local musical content. Hence, the quota of the musical content is skewed towards locally created

music content. In the context of Africanisation, this strategy is aimed at curtailing neo-imperialism and coloniality that often manifest itself through the airplay of international music to the detriment of local musical content and industry. Whilst the concept of local music reveals the strategic focus of Vukani Community Radio (VCR), it can be argued that as a result of the complex cultural heritage of South Africa, the local focus can also conceal the cultural power dynamics as experienced in South Africa. For instance, an uncritical approach to local music could conceal the fact that South Africa theoretically entertained "a settler [colonial] future" Tuck and Yang (2012, 3). That is because "the horizons of settler colonial national-state are total and require a mode of total appropriation of indigenous life and land…" (ibid., 5).

Therefore, in instances where "local" is used to refer to the national picture of music, the musical strategy of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) partially falls short of appreciating the power dynamics within the post-colonial state of South Africa and how this can be detrimental to the decolonisation of music broadcast for a community radio station with a focus on Africans. This is why it is possible to observe that where R&B and soul music are localised on the airwaves of this community radio station, the conclusion reached is that they are mostly the carbon copies of western versions of this genre of music. From the interviews, the musical compiler stated that the only uniquely Africanised genre of music that does not predominantly emanate from the west is the Hip-Hop and House genre. The language, message and musical beats of this genre are distinctly South African according to the musical compiler. It is what he referred to as "underground Hip-Hop". When asked how local music is organised for broadcasting purposes, the community radio's music compiler indicated that:

> So basically its nationally. And nationally can be your neighbour, it can be your community from the region or district or it could be community from all over South Africa. So, in that 70, we take from, anything such as other provinces to our own province to our own district. So, we stick to that. And then we as Vukani we try our best to accommodate local artists from this region. Cause they hardly have a platform to play their music. So, what we do is to try as much as we can to help them out. Like now we have, it's not an initiative but it's a, we organise DJ's from the district to come on Fridays (Viwe Mfundisi, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 29, 2016)

His response suggested that the programmes at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) were somehow structured to reflect musical cultural content at both national and local regional

level (chapter 9 of this study specifically analyses indigenous music prevalent at the community radio station). These discussions showed that the idea was to recognise all the musical genres that characterise the South African musical industry. In its community appeal, the data of this study suggests that the musical broadcasts of the community radio station also plays a nostalgic role for some members of the community. For instance, it was stated that:

> The programmes that are important at Vukani it is the one that is done by Thandeka Mbobosi on old songs. Plus, that one by Linda Magazi on youth chat. Plus, the jazz because people from Queenstown love jazz a lot. That one of old songs it is listened quiet a lot by old people. And you see that they comment about it reminds them of old days. It reminds them of old days and their brothers and sisters who had departed from this life (Nompucuko July, VCR Lisener, Komani Resident; March 31, 2016)

The sentiments shared by this respondent point to a cultural tool that has also been instrumental in shaping nostalgic sentiments among the African community of broadcasting. Svetlana (2001:7; cf. Dlamini, 2009) defines nostalgia as "as a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy." Therefore, in the case of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) the sentiments are that the community partially looks at the community broadcasting platform as a site of cultural nostalgia; that is a longing for days gone by of the elderly. The media platform is therefore used by some members of the community to psychologically revert to eras that have passed by and to reminisce on these eras gone by. Svetlana (2001) explains that nostalgia is a longing for a different era; it is a journey back to our childhood. Thus, the identity role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is also tied to the ways in which people make sense of their historical and contemporary realities through music and lyrical content broadcast by the community radio station.

8.11 THE AFRICAN PUBLIC SPHERE

Theoretically, the concept of the public sphere was popularised by western discourses on public gathering and the discourses accompanying such gatherings. In fact, it was Habermas (1989) who argued on the role of a rationale public sphere as exemplified by the early coffee shops in Europe. The problem with such discussion forums as theorised by Habermas, was that they were seen to be elitist in their nature and were thought to encapsulate the views

of selected members of their societies. However, as a cosmos of discussion on social matters, the concept of the public sphere has been debated by scholars (Hungbo, 2012; McGuigan, 2005; Habermas, 1989) and this has pointed to varous notions of a 'cultural public sphere'. Thus, within African communities, we have noticed an 'appropriation' and re-thinking of the public sphere which has included the rationales of local debates concerned with African thought processes and concerns (cf. Rønning, 1993). In this subsection, the concept of the public sphere is discussed on how local community is making use of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) and its ability to satiate their broadcasting and discursive needs. The subsection aims to present the community radio station as a discursive forum for matters that are pertinent to the local African community of the Chris Hani District.

8.11.1 RADIO STATION AS AN AFRICAN PUBLIC SPHERE: ON VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

Media platforms (magazines, newspapers, radio and television) are often regarded as public sphere platforms that constitute areas of public concern (Habermas, 1989; McQuail, 2000). Ideally, they are meant to provoke and facilitate discussion in order to make sense of humanitarian concerns and aspirations. However, in recent times, the concept of the media as an inclusive public sphere platform in South Africa has been critiqued as a result of inequalities that have forced people to be preoccupied with poverty and other social ills affecting the citizenry (Wasserman and Garman, 2012). In reflecting on general aspects of the community, the data for this study suggests that Vukani Community Radio (VCR) can be seen as a 'subaltern' (Spivak, 1988) African public sphere that is instrumental in creating debate and discussion around community concerns. Interviews with respondents demonstrate that such community concerns can vary from making sense of changing African traditions to engaging public officials on service delivery concerns.

Whereas the concept of the public sphere has been criticised because of its apparent elitist nature (cf. Habermas, 1989), the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a notional public sphere for the discussion of community concerns seems to be geared towards easy access for the community members in their arena of public discussion. Through interview responses, it was indicated that the community radio station is readily available to listen to community members when these communities have matters to discuss. The radio station

also facilitates these discussions by cutting the costs of dialogue inclusion to the broadcasting platform as a public sphere; for example, by incurring costs of teleconferences so that the voices of the 'subaltern' identified African community can participate in most instances. Thus, in this sense, this community radio station becomes a 'counter public sphere' within the broader notion of micro public spheres (Keane, 2004). Largely this is because it represents 'smaller' voices within the notion of dominant colonial narratives and discussion occurring in some public sphere debates.

Furthermore, through its role as a widely accepted community arena of discussion, the community radio station is instrumental in centering African subjects in discussions that are inevitably about these very subjects. This role is congruent with Asante's (2003; and Mazama's, 2003) Afrocentric theory where Africans need to be central in any discussion that concerns their worldly interests, views, values and their urgency to participate in discussions that concern them. The role of the community concerns that are discussed on the stations programming was explained by one of the content producers responsible for a discussion programme:

> It is a show with a broad focus on this broadcasting platform. It looks at people's needs and interests. It helps people who are facing challenges in solving those challenges. And so, the show facilitates the role of bringing those in authority and those that are not. And issues that affect them in playing the role of coming into contact and solve their challenges (Malixole Teketa, VCR Producer & On-Air Broadcaster, *Imbadu*, 30 March 2016).

In the context of African societies, Rønning (1993) has argued that the public sphere needs to be seen as a gathering arena on social and cultural interests that are linked to issues of gender, social as well as cultural interest groups. This type of public sphere is especially applicable to the decolonial discourse as anti-colonial struggles in Africa took place within the broader ideas of a counter public sphere (ibid.). In reflecting on community concerns, the data of this study suggest that the community radio station also demonstrates the role of community centred media by discussing topics that often do not interests national/mainstream media agencies. Furthermore, as a means of facilitating discussion between the community and the authorities, the producer of a discussion program at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) indicated:

> It works like this, it is a show where every beginning of the month there is a platform where the listeners are given an opportunity to call and state what they wish for the radio station and this show called Mbadu should help them with. Once they do that, we start the process of helping them with regards to their needs. And then we put them in conversation with government people, the NGO's, with any person, with Chiefs, headmen and anyone who is responsible for answering their questions (Malixole Teketa, VCR Producer & On-Air Broadcaster, *Imbadu*, 30 March 2016).

Thus, as an African public sphere, the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is not only preoccupied with the idea of cultural discussions but in facts transcends these to include additional community concerns that are part of the everyday. As explained by another research respondent, the station is in fact readily available to the community that it serves:

> I would say Vukani is very important because, it is able to be accessible to people, even when we have a problem at Chris Hani they do come (Nompucuko July, VCR Lisener, Komani Resident; March 31, 2016)

Thus, the elitist nature of the public sphere is overcome by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) through a number of strategies, including shying away from arbitrarily controlling on-air discussions by asking listeners to suggest the topics of the week and discussion angles. In this instance, the community radio station is also subscribing to the concept of a participatory media platform that gives access to surrounding communities to be involved in the broadcast content of such media platforms through participation and direct representation (MISA, 2000; Tyali and Tomaselli, 2015). The availability of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a means of communicating and discussing community interests has also been hailed by most respondents of this study. "…this radio station is very important to me and the people of this area because we tend to access information on things that would otherwise not be easily accessible" (Vuyo Mhlekwa, VCR Listener – Cala resident; March 31, 2016).

As illustrated above, it was also repeatedly asserted that unlike mainstream media, the community radio station was readily available to listen and assist with community concerns. The idea of a readily available media platform to engage and report on community concerns is therefore another indication of how the concept of the public sphere continues to be decolonised by alternative media platforms that have an interest in small-medium community set-ups. Asked about the value of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as an African and local public sphere, a volunteer of this community responded:

> I would say they [communities] walk away with information, they learn obviously because you notice that a lot of people from villages like to hear as to what is happening around…" (Linda Magazi, VCR Producer and On-Air Personality; March 30, 2016)

Though the concept of the public sphere has been criticised for its emphasis on rationale debate (Habermas, 1989), the idea of an Africanised public sphere as exemplified by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is indeed a continuous stride towards an inclusive public sphere that is not concerned with the Euro-North American normative standards of debates. The concept of participation through Vukani Community Radio (VCR) and the range of strategies that have been put in place to ensure community access to the media platform illustrate that the community radio station has a rationale role in ensuring that Africans use media platforms according to their wishes and agency.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The focus of this chater has mainly been on the steps undertaken and the impressions of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as an Africanised media platform. The chapter has outlined empirical data on the internal strategies applied by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in the Africanisation of content at a local/district level. This chapter presented data on empirical and semi-structured interviews with the internal and external stakeholders of the community radio station. The internal stakeholder interviews aimed to explore the strategies of Africanisation as a decolonial project and how these are planned and practiced by the community radio station. The data from this study has confirmed that Africanisation still informs an important part of planning and execution of broadcasting strategies by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Among others, this conclusion was confirmed by how the community radio station represents an African public sphere; its affirmation of African identity through adherence to cultural protocols and its advancement of African particularity by focusing on the local geography and the dynamics of ethnicity within its broadcasting constituency.

The focus of the following chapter is the analysis of the media content for the purpose of generating additional research results for this study. The chapter is underpinned by data that were sourced from the broadcast content of Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

CHAPTER 9

RETHINKING THE AIRWAVES: ON VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

An analysis of the broadcast content of the community radio station understudy is the main concern of this chapter. As indicated in chapter 5, a total of ninety (90) individual programmes (30 programmes per selected genre x 3 = 90) broadcast during a thirty (30) day period were analysed for the purpose of understanding the extent to which the airwaves of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) have been Africanised. In total, these 90 programmes (constituting all of the individual programmes sourced from the three categories/genres of radio content) amounted to 270 hours of community radio content analysed for the purpose of this study.

These programs were sourced from the following three (3) categories: [Talk Radio, African Cultural Lifestyle & News/Current Affairs] of community radio programming (see themed sections below) that are broadcast on a weekly schedule of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The on-air broadcast programs namely included the following: 1) *Amasiko Nezithethe* [Traditions, Cultures and Customs], 2) *Imbadu* [General talk/discussions] and 3) *Siyangcamla*/ Current Affairs [News] programme. The aim of this selection was therefore to analyse this on-air content in relation to the major themes of Africanisation that emerged from such media content.

As mentioned in chapter 1 of this study, Africanisation has been theorised as a decolonial agenda that allows the non-western subjects to assert their urgency when delinking from coloniality and westernisation. The media in this sense therefore acts as a form of cultural liberation and expression platform; it is seen as central to the modern-day project of cultural and identity emancipation (Blackenberg, 1999). The data of this study illustrate that certain media platforms potentially allow researchers to assess the strategies that either uphold or undermine ideologies that can strengthen the role of Africanisation as a decolonial project.

At Vukani Community Radio (VCR) each broadcast programme occupies a three (3) hour slot (see table8 below). The three (3) selected programmes constituted the 'population of

interest' when it came to examining the popular cultural themes for Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Therefore, the analysis in this chapter, aimed to identify key aspects of the community radio content that are aligned to the cultural role of broadcasting within a selected African community. The entire weekly content schedule of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is presented in the Table below (broadcast time, programme name and name of broadcasting individual/individuals). As mentioned above, three categories of broadcast media content have been analysed (see chapter 5 for justification). While three categories have been selected for the purpose of media content analysis at the community radio station, the total weekly broadcast schedule of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) consisted of the following programming:

Time	**Programme Name**	**Producer & Presenter**
00:00 – 02:59	Sibiz' Amathongo	Lungisani Dinga
03:00 – 05:59	Sivuka Nazo	Abongile Kibi
06:00 – 08:59	The Breakfast Show	Patrick Msengana
09:00 – 11:59	Masakhane	Amanda Ganyaza
1 2:00 – 14:59	Siyangcamla/Current Affairs (Midday Show – 13:00 – 14:00)	Linda Magazi
15:00 – 17:59	Siphen' Ezethu	Tsepo Ratsibe

18:00 – 20:59	Ezisematheni: Ezamasiko Nezithethe	Mnyamezeli Mpumela
21:00 – 23:59	Imbadu	Malixole Teketa

Table 8: Weekly Programming schedule at Vukani Community Radio (VCR), the schedule highlights the 24-hour content program structures on a week day basis.

Consequently, the media content analysis in this chapter looks into the themes and content of the programmes as discussed in the order below. Appearing in this chapter therefore is discussions on cultural programming (*Amasiko Nezithethe*), followed by a discussion on community talk radio (*Imbadu*) and its symbolism and then lastly, a discussion of themes emerging from the news/ current affairs programme. More specifically, the entirety of this chapter's analysis and discussion has been approached with an idea of understanding Africanisation as a decolonial project within the airwaves of Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

9.1 ANALYSING CULTURAL PROGRAMMING: *AMASIKO NEZITHETHE* AT VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

On a weekly basis, Mnyamezeli Mpumela[46] criss-crosses the semi-urban and rural settings of the Chris Hani District Municipality in search of innovative approaches to broadcasting and mainstreaming African cultural and traditional practices for the community of this municipality in its broadcasting platform. Poorly resourced for this purpose as a result of rudimentary technology (for outside broadcasting) and limited budget as a community media worker, he carries an outdated voice recorder to capture the lived faith and belief systems of the people of this district. In an interview held at the stations offices, he narrated how he is often invited to ceremonies linked to African cultural practices and traditions. Here he said that he is often asked to capture *iimigidi* (home coming of African male traditional initiates), *iintonjane* (traditional ceremonial celebrations of reaching puberty by a girl child), *imitshato ye sintu* (African traditional weddings) and so forth.

[46]Mpumela is the broadcaster and producer of *Amasiko Nezithethe*. His approach to producing this programme was narrated to me during the data collection process of this study.

> …we have topics that come from listeners, that is people of this community. One would have for instance had a traditional ceremony where a traditional beer was brewed and then on the following day an animal would need to be slaughtered. Whether it's a goat or a cow (Mnyamezeli Mpumela, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016).

He is often asked to record these events and then broadcast them in his African tradition and culturally programme that is broadcast from Monday-Friday of the week. The programme was conceived and initiated for the purpose of show-casing ancient as well as contemporary African belief systems, traditions, customs and cultures of the people that inhabit the Chris Hani District Municipality. From Mpumela's assertions, the programme aimed to capture what he believes is the often misunderstood, eroded and degraded cultural systems of African people as a result of colonialism. In this sense, the programme underscores the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in revisiting, discussing and clarifying the cultural and African traditional issues that are of concern to its community of broadcasting. In this sense, Mpumela's community radio programme 'mainstreams' African cultures and traditions within the ambit of its airwaves. It resuscitates misunderstood practices for the purpose of this current generation of Africans. In many instances, this programme makes use of the community and the elderly (often regarded as the experts of cultural and traditional practices) to explain key themes of discussion that emerge on a daily basis from this programme. The programme therefore allows the study to better understand the role that Vukani Community Radio (VCR) plays in Africanising the airwaves for the purpose of the listening community that is based in the Chris Hani District Municipality.

As outlined in chapter 8 of this study, Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is positioned to instil the hyper visibility of the local culture as lived in the Chris Hani District. Therefore, within such attempts of cultural visibility, there is some specific programming content that is especially designed to concentrate on specific instances of culture, traditions and customs. Thus, the focus of this analysis is highlighting the significance of this particular programming (*Amasiko Nezithethe*) in underscoring the lived African cultures within the Chris Hani District. The focus is particularly within the bounds and themes of content that is being broadcast by the community radio station on a weekly basis. During the interview sessions with the internal stakeholders, it was indicated by some respondents that the programme is one of the oldest running programs at the radio station. It was initiated in 1998 with a

specific aim of creating conversation and awareness around African culture, tradition and customary dynamics within the broader African community that resides in the broadcasting district of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Below are the various sub-themes that emerged from the analysed content of the programme. From the data of this section three key subthemes begin to emerge: 1) importance of African poetry; 2) the significance of Umngqungqo [particularised African music]; and 3) on-air topics of discussion.

9.1.1 DECOLONISING POETRY AT VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR): THE ROLE OF '*AMASIKO NEZITHETHE*'

Discourses on the philosophies of African societies have long established that African praise poetry represents an important historical and cultural aspect of these societies. For instance, Covert (2009; 1) postulates that "African culture is steeped in oral tradition. One of those traditions is the praise song. It is a spoken poem about a person. Each line in the poem gives one "praise name". A praise name is a colourful description (imagery) of some aspect of the person. The praise poem could be chanted to a drum or performed as a song". Furthermore, this sort of poetry relies on emotional charged language as well as rhythmic imagination to express the feelings of the poet towards the subject matter being tackled (Mtumane, 2000).

In the analysed media content that is broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR), African praise poetry has a central role in setting up the overall cultural theme of the community radio show [*Amasiko Nezithethe*]. It was established from the content of this community radio programme that on a daily basis, the opening/start of the show is marked by African praise songs whose message is on the post-colony that is South Africa (see the transcribed example of such a poem below). Thus, in the context of Africanisation, the role of such praise singing can be discerned from the symbolic role of the praise poetry as well as the explicit message – 'the praising' - that is in the lyrical content of the daily poem marking the start of Vukani Community Radio's (VCR) African cultural programme (*Amasiko Nezithethe*).

The praise poem in question seemed to be central in critiquing and questioning the status quo in 'post-colonial' South Africa. Repeatedly played in a three (3) minute segment, it was

apparent from the analysis that the praise poem is not directed at a particular person but at a political system that the poet conceives as "uMbhombhayi" [the system]. The following quotes from the poem illustrate the critique that is directed at this particular political system:

> 1) "Mbhombhayi usi dyobhile nge ntshongwe isizwe" [Mbhombhayi you have stained the nation with soot]; 2) "Mbhombayi usintlonkothisile isintu" [Mbhombayi you have fooled our cultures]; 3) Wathi uza nenkululeko kanti uxela inkunkuma" [You said you were bringing freedom but you brought nonsense]; 4) "Wathi uzane lizwe kanti uza nelishwa" [You said you were bringing back the nation but you brought back bad luck]; 5) "Wabiza ukuba ungu Mongameli, kanti ungu smanga ndini" [You said you were the president but in actual fact you were the worst nightmare]; 6) "Umbhombayi wazi biza ukuba uyi president kanti uyi predator" [You have called yourself a president but in fact you were a predator]; 7) "Kuba uyityile imali yethu wade wayi vungula" [because you misused the people wealth and played with it].

Of most importance and symbolism in the content of this poem is the tone and criticism that it is directed toward the 'postcolonial' political system that underpins South Africa at large (see discussion below). In the content of the poem as illustrated by the translated lyrics above, the message that sets the tone of the program lies within the system of thought which critiques coloniality (also see chapter 3). The selected lyrics from the poem indicate that the subject of critique is a system which had illusions of freeing African 'beings' from the bondages of coloniality existing in South Africa. For instance, in the selected poem, reference is made to the failed project of African cultural emancipation, the failure to realise the dreams of liberation for the people as well as shortcomings of the 'post-colonial' project for the 'previously' colonised. Furthermore, even when the stature of the president is invoked in the lyrical content of the poem, the embedded message seems to be directed towards a system that the president overlooks/ presides over instead of the overt critique to the personality of the president. For instance, there is a harsh critique of the promises of freedom that the poet views as having been given by presidents since 1994, yet have seemingly failed to significantly accomplish; or assist in changing the lives of those who were colonised through various systems, including the apartheid policies (cf. Fanon, 1961). This critique can also be understood as an affirmation of Said's (1989) observation about the continuities of colonialism even in the post-colonies.

Within the overall message of the poem, the president is seen to be a figurative individual who presides over a system that continues to subvert and oppress the African personhood. Therefore, within the broader interest of this study, the poem is symbolic as it relies on the acknowledged African system of public communication that is used culturally (Mtumane, 2000; Kunene, 1982) to either critique or praise the African post-colonial status of the country. In this sense, the poem is underpinned by the rationality of critiquing coloniality (Quijano, 2007; Maldonado-Torres, 2007) as it is invoked within the airwaves of the African community radio station.

This segment of the community radio programme therefore re-centres Africanity as it uses African symbolism to pinpoint post-colonial challenges to indigenous African 'Beings'. Lastly, the significance of the poem in the working of the specific programming is also apparent in the genealogy of historicising the cultural relevance of media platforms. By the use of African poetry in its content, the community radio programme continues the long held cultural tradition where African praise poetry was recited before or after important addresses (Kunene, 1982). It is used by this community radio programme to signal the African discussions and tones that will feature throughout the programme. Kunene (1982) further posits that these 'praise' poems can either critique or 'praise' the speaker or the system that people find them in socially. In this sense, African poetry as utilised by the producers and on-air personalities of *Amasiko Nezithethe* has significant cultural relevance in Africanity. It is used to sensitize the citizenry of the broadcast area to the legacies of colonialism that seem to be prevalent as outlined by the praise poet. It highlights the idea of an ongoing struggle towards decolonising Africa even within the ambits of the 'postcolonial' moment. Ultimately, the role of poetry in this media content becomes vital in its symbolic (African cultural symbolism) and as a result of the message that is captured within the poem.

The following section specifically looks at the use of music that is rooted in the identity and culture of the African community of the Eastern Cape area in South Africa. The section is a continuation of the discussion appearing in chapter 8 of this study, which generally looked at the manner of strategizing and thinking about music at Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The focus here is particularising the specific cultural relevance of the music that is used within the *Amasiko Nezithethe* programme.

9.1.2 ZOOMING IN ON PROGRAMME MUSIC: *UMNGQUNGQO*

In all of the analysed media content (90 hours of content for this community radio programme), the sequence of the on-air program also followed a particular pattern in structuring the key cultural signifiers within the community radio programme. For instance, it was noted that the praise poem (see discussion above) was immediately followed by a particular kind of music that is historically and contemporarily indigenous to this part of the Eastern Cape Province. It was also observed that on this specific community radio programme (*Amasiko Nezithethe*), the musical strategy privileges 'authentic' music that informs African customs, traditions and cultures of the people residing in the Chris Hani District – the African indigene. This is because the programme uses a particularised form of indigenous music as an identity signifier of the African community that it seeks to be in conversation with. *Umngqungqo* as a dance and musical genre has been instrumental in marking major events for the people of this region. Akrofi, Smith and Thorson (2007, cf. Hansen, 1981) have, for instance, argued on the role of this musical genre by insisting that "*umngqungqo* dance is the most significant marker of identity at the intonjane[47] ceremony. It is the only form of Cape Nguni communal music, which is both sung and danced to by persons of the same sex, namely women". Within the Cape Nguni community, the understanding of this dance is contextualised to the ethnicities that are part of the greater Eastern Cape region. Therefore, the role of music in this particular programme informs the wider cultural contribution of this art form to media platforms as cultural 'texts' (also see discussion on 'cultural text' in chapter 8 of this study). Reflecting on music and radio, Liganga (2008, 41) argues that:

> Music can be symbolic when its lyrics are referred to in relation to dramatic action. It is indexical when considered for its aesthetic function, although it may create the mood of the play, or transpose the intended listener's memory to a certain time and space in which case it can be both indexical and symbolic. Sound effects which directly reflect 'natural sounds' are indexical because they directly link sound to what it represents in the real world.

This assertion also underscores the importance of umngqungqo as a musical genre that is important in the cultural identification and expression of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as

[47]Intonjane is merely a maiden's ceremony which is traditionally held to mark the transition of the different stages of the girl child. It is an African traditional ceremony that is still practiced in some areas of the Eastern Cape province. The traditional importance of the ceremony is also ethnic relative, with some ethnic groups holding it in high esteem.

an Africanised media platform. In this regard, the musical genre has a long history and relevance to the community of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) broadcasting. Secondly, this type of musical format has been theorised to be a spontaneous expression of community voices during various cultural and traditional events held by members of the community (Dontsa, 2007). The producer of the programme that uses this musical genre at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) explained the manner in which the music is directly captured from these events for wider broadcasting at the community radio station.

> So, when there will be a woman's traditional ceremony, when there will be a traditional *umngqungqo* music event, or a certain village will have an event, I go there carrying my recorder and go record the songs that they sing and dance to (Mnyamezeli Mpumela, VCR Producer and On-Air personality, March 30, 2016)

It was explained that the producer of the programme often visits African traditional ceremonies and records the musical showcasing by these rural communities. In this sense, the music is directly sourced from the members to reflect their cultural identities through *umngqungqo* as a dance and a musical performance of the communities of broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). Dontsa (2007:393) explains that "when performing the umngqungqo dance, women always stand with their backs to the audience and carry a stick or sjambok in one hand. This is because the focus is graceful back movements, as Xhosa women do not lift their legs too high when dancing in *umngqungqo*". Within this [*Amasiko Nezithethe*] specific programme on culture, traditions and customs, the music and dance accompanying umngqungqo sounds are not necessarily seen in the context of the lyrics recorded in the music. Rather, the aim or importance of this musical genre lies in the symbolical and aesthetic importance of the music and how this captures the lived cultures and customs of the people of the Chris Hani District municipality. Often times, the lyrics of the music genre are not discernible and sometimes do not make sense to those who do not originate from the communities that create the lyrics or sounds of this music. Rather it is the cultural visibility of this musical genre that is important. Consequently, and within the context of Africanising media content, Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is instrumental in privileging the customs and cultures of the African people as practiced through this musical 'genre'. In achieving this goal, the programme of this community radio station highlights the cultural visibility and importance of African rural identities in the music that is broadcast in

the programme. Most importantly, this programme becomes the signifier of these lived identities in a world that continues to question their Being (cf Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

9.1.3 AREAS OF DISCUSSION: ON CULTURAL CONCERNS OF THE PROGRAMME

Some media broadcast programmes are designed to follow a certain trend or pattern during the period of broadcasting. Without fail, during the discussions of the programme, the on-air presenter of *Amasiko Nezithethe* regularly greeted his audience (using his clans names in the process) then proceeded to the introduction of the program. This took twenty (20) minutes. The first segments of the programme after the introduction consisted of praise poetry and umngqungqo music which is indigenous to the area of broadcasting. The announcer regularly introduced the program by saying, "Ngamasiko Nezithethe kuze singahlukani nemvelo yethu" [it is customs, cultures and traditions so that we may never lose our history and identity of origin]. The significance of such a daily introduction of the program needs to be understood in relation to the exact objective of the programme – to advance social discourse on African culture and traditions.

Furthermore, this programming that particularly focuses on traditions, customs, norms, values and cultures of the African society within the broadcast district is symbolic, as it highlights the on-going discourse of Africanity (cf. Mafeje, 2000) at local community levels. The poetry and music are important in defining the cultural role of the programme, and the analysis of on air content points to discussions highlighting how the programme is also emblematic of the cultural role of media programmes in African communities. The points of discussion within the analysed content indicate that the programme has an important cultural value in discussing and addressing matters that are of concern to the African community of the Chris Hani District Municipality. Using the saturation point logic of qualitative research (see chapter 5), for the purpose of this section, reasonable points of discussion were captured as demonstrated in the discussion below. Some of these topics of discussion have highlighted the preoccupations of this on-air programme. Included in the topics are the following key sub-thematic areas:

AFRICAN SYSTEMS OF GOVERNING: This topic which was discussed on February 10, 2016; dealt with the different perspectives on the role of traditional leadership as practiced within

a small settlement outside the small town of Cala – Cala Reserve. In the programme discussion, the on-air personality gave a background to the show by indicating that within the Cala Reserve area, there was an on-going and unresolved concern that was created by the 'unconstitutional' installation of a traditional 'headman' for the community of Cala Reserve. Subsequent to this alleged unilateral decision of the local Chief to install the headman, the community revolted against the decision and claimed that the manner of choosing the 'headman' was not in accordance with the customary rules of the area. The discussion involved five (5) guests who had come on this programme to properly contextualise the discussion around the headman-ship dispute. In addition to the guest interviews, the on-air discussion was also driven by callers who telephoned throughout the show to express their views on the topic as well as those who further called to seek clarity on particular aspects of the headman-ship discussion.

This and a number of discussions around traditional leadership became a recurring theme in the discussions of this programme. From the contents of this specific thematic part, the area of interest was how the community radio medium became instrumental as a form of discussion arena on indigenous African leadership issues that had historically characterised African communities (cf. Peires, 1981). More importantly, the data of this study, as illustrated by the content of the programme in the discussion on this form of African governing system indicates that the wider community was involved when it came to guarding against the culturally corrupt practices that had been alleged. This was illustrated by the discussion which touched on whether the right protocols were followed by their traditional leader in the appointment of the 'headman'. The media programme allowed civil voices to take part in a discussion that involved a recognised African mode of governance in their area of residence.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DREAMS: subsequent to this broadcast programme (and some later ones) - discussions on traditional leadership on this community radio programme; the cultural discussion broadcast on February 17, 2016 specifically dealt with the concept of "dreams" within the cultural and traditional religious ideas of the community of broadcast – African community of the Chris Hani District. During these particular discussions, the on air-personality of the program announced that the discussion on that day was specifically

geared towards understanding, analysing and interpreting dreams and their significance in African communities. The topic on this issue was introduced thus:

> In tonight's show, we are talking about the issue and significance of dreams. And so, it happens that you have a dream about a wedding, that there is a celebration and when you wake up tomorrow, there is news of death in the family. Otherwise you dream that there is a funeral, or that you are attending a funeral and people look bereaved, and when you wake up, that there is someone in the family who is about to get married. It is where we are tonight. Let us decode dreams this way (*Amasiko Nezithethe* Show, Mnyamezeli Mpumela, 11 February 2016).

In this particular programme, there was no 'expert' to illustrate and expand on the meaning of dreams within the community. Rather the program was driven by caller discussions and these focused on the community's experience of dreams and the meanings that they derived from such dreams when interpreted by either themselves or by family member. On the analysis of the content emerging from this community radio programming, it was observed that cultural mystery became a recurring theme in the discussions of the programme. These discussions either revolved around the significance of dreams, with further cultural discussions on the show revolving around issues of burial procedures for traditional healers, issues of witchcraft and lastly on-air discussions around African life today and African life as lived in the past.

NOSTALGIA OF BELONGING: REGARDING COMMUNITY RADIO IN THE RE-MEMBERING OF ANCIENT RULING CLANS: The topic of discussion for February 19, 2016 was the AmaGcina clan, which forms part of the greater and 'traditionally' ruling AbaThembu clan (see chapter 6 on ethnicity of the broadcast location) that oversees most of the area of broadcasting by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The point of discussion was the on-going meetings within this clan group, and additional means of trying to unite the different members of the group so that they would get to know one another – an explanation that was repeatedly emphasized for the purpose of contextualising the on-air discussion. As a way of providing background information to the discussions for that particular day, the on-air personality of the community radio programme recalled the different meetings that had taken place to familiarise the clan members (AmaGcina) with each other. In addition, the announcer gave dates of upcoming meetings to be held in areas such as Molteno, Ezibeleni and Hofmeyer in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. Lastly, the show announcer also introduced an

on-air radio guest by the name of Sandiso Khohliso who had been invited to unpack the meaning behind these clan meetings. The topic was introduced as thus:

> It is traditions and cultures so that we may never forget where we come from. In this topic of today, we will be bringing you a conversation about the gathering of amaGcina. If you remember, last year, there was an announcement and call for amaGcina for a gathering in Cradock. They met and whilst still looking at that, they met again in Ezibeleni…and so our first question is: what are the plans of amaGcina this year? How is the peoples interests in this amaGcina issue? How will amaGcina gather as a nation? (*Amasiko Nezithethe* Show, Mnyamezeli Mpumela, 10 February 2016).

The overall analysis of the programme content also illustrates that clans or the existence of clans and ethnicity still informs the cultural ethos of the programme. However, unlike the negative connotations that has characterised some of the greater post-colonial Africa and its ethnic groups (Mamdani, 1996), the discussions at Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in general, and more specifically, in cultural programming illustrate that ethnicity and Africanity in general can be rescued from colonial cultural engineering. This conclusion was reached as a result of the positive contributions in the discussion and how even clan members who were not members of the AmaGcina clan positively contributed to the discussions surrounding this topic.

The sampled analysis (using the logic of data saturation) of the content from the particular programme (*Amasiko Nezithethe*) illustrates that the programme itself is indeed specifically designed to underscore discussions on African cultures, customs, traditions and current cultural affairs within the Chris Hani District. Keeping in mind the principles of saturation point in relation to the trends within the content analysed, this community radio content as primary data of this study illustrates that the focus of the programme content within this particular slot is specifically focused on a community that does not use this media platform to discuss mainstream popular culture on its airwaves. The data of this study indicate that context and particularity of the community of broadcast is important in planning topics of discussions. The on-air broadcasting of this particular programme seems to present intricate issues that appear to be held dearly by the African community of broadcast – Chris Hani District Municipality.

This particular focus of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is therefore another attestation to the manner in which the community radio station privileges local concerns, local identities, and preoccupations of a people that reside within a specific locality in South Africa. The station re-centres the identity and cultures of this African community (cf. Asante, 2003). Taking into consideration the location of the community radio station and its broadcasting mandate, the programme discussed in this section indicates the particularity of Africanity. It is Africanity within the community radio context and this underscores the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in 'exhibiting' local cultures that are lived outside the metropolitan and mainstream urban centres of South Africa.

Furthermore, it highlights the differences between the 'new Africanity' (Masilela, 1989; Mbembe, 2001) and 'older' forms of Africanity which are arguably still rooted in history and the significance of this history in relation to culture and identities of a people in discovery and rediscovery of their identities (cf. Gramsci, 1974). In conclusion, the community radio station further problematizes the rural, semi-urban and urban cultures of South Africa. The data analysed for this section illustrates that even peripheries (communities) have an urgency to de-centre the mainstream from such community's centres, including mainstream popular media cultures emanating from the West or even Westernised Africa.

In the following section, the discussion turns to the additional data of the community radio program that was analysed for the purpose of this study. Here the analysis is of the broad and general discussion of topics and issues that are of concern and interest to the area of broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The discussion below focuses on the significance of *Imbadu* (see chapter 6); a programme that deals with topical community concerns.

9.2 *IMBADU*: A FOCUS ON COMMUNITY CONCERNS

The act of social talks or more appropriately, taking part in social discussion within African communities has been widely acknowledged to constitute a symbolical cultural act. Biko (1978; 45) for instance argues that "westerners have in many occasions been surprised at the capacity we [Africans] have for talking to each other – not for the sake of arriving at a

particular conclusion but merely to enjoy the communication for its own sake". In this sense, social discourse is recognised as an important aspect of African communities. Within the bounds of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as exemplifying important characteristics of an African society, the 'talk' or 'social discourse' character of this community radio station underpins its cultural role. For instance; the broadcast content data of the programme that was selected for the purpose of this thematic analysis – *Imbadu* – displays classical characteristic that underpin the appreciation of African social dialogue (cf. Biko, 1978). The name itself, illustrates the concept of love or appreciation of dialogue among the listeners of the program. The direct English translation or understanding of the word "*Imbadu*" is the appreciation of social discourse among IsiXhosa speakers. It therefore refers to the acknowledged importance of social discourse among Africans (cf. Biko, 1978).

As with all of the additional data of the programmes that were analysed for the purpose of this study - *Amasiko Nezithethe* and Currents Affairs (Siyangcamla) show - the analysed media content on *Imbadu* amounted to a total of thirty (30) programmes - broadcast on a weekly basis (also see chapter 5). The central question for the data of this broadcast content was how the programme *(Imbadu)* advances the concept of Africanisation as a decolonial project? In keeping with the on-air objectives of this community radio programme, the focus of this study's analysis was the dialogue aspect of the programme and how this potentially illustrates advancement towards Africanity (cf. Biko, 1978) in a media institution (in reference to the case study) of 'post-colonial' society. A further question was how themes emerging from the data of this broadcast content of the show align to the ideological underpinnings that guide Africanisation (see chapter 2 and 3). As indicated by the table listing the community radio programmes that are broadcast at Vukani Community Radio (VCR), (check above Figure 8), the broadcast programme is a three (3) hour slot that is mandated to facilitate the discussion of social affairs – health, governance, culture, crime, safety or any aspect of life that affects or is in the interest of the African community situated within the Chris Hani District Municipality. With regards to the data/ broadcast content that was analysed for the purpose of this thematic area, the format/ outline of each show was structured to reflect the following pattern of packaging each broadcasting programme of *Imbadu*:

- Greetings and welcoming of the audiences by the anchor of *Imbadu*

- Daily introduction of topic to be discussed
- Musical interlude
- Topic of discussion – facilitated by the host with relevant guests and telephonic discussions.
- Musical interlude
- Concluding remarks

On the aspect of talk/discussion as the primary focus of the show is that the topics that featured widely on the airwaves can be summed up through the following key sub-themes of social dialogue:

ON THE PROGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRACY: The discussion on this thematic area revolved around the strides that have been made by South Africa as a country since the 'introduction' of democracy in 1994 – the country's 'post-colonial' moment proper. From the analysed data, the idea behind these specific areas of discussion was to indicate progress that can be attributed to the post-apartheid governments and society of South Africa. The show's host introduced the area of discussion for the show this way:

> If you are looking at the state of the country, South Africa, what progress has the country made? In terms of the twenty-two years since South Africa attained democracy, is there something that you identify where you could say there is progress? Or the country is stuck in one place? That there is no visible progress? We want to hear from you at home… You comment therefore on your experiences and the place you are based at. Whether you see progress or lack or degeneration in progress of the country. We are having a conversation in that way (*Imbadu* Show, Malixole Teketa, 10 February 2016).

The discussion facilitated by this community radio programme, began with immediate matters of 'economic development' around the Chris Hani District and how people perceived their progress within the 'post-colony'. For instance, several phone callers acknowledged the importance of local government structures and their centrality to economic and social progress of people who are based in the Chris Hani area. In a response to this topic, one caller for instance, accused the people who work for the municipality of the Queenstown [Komani] area of being directly responsible for the slow progress in solving economic and socio development challenges (10 February 2016). The caller explained that in her view, the resources meant for the upliftment of communities within the area were made available at the national level but continue to be misused at the local level. According

to several callers the challenge in using these funds judiciously was the local/ community level office bearers who were perceived to be responsible for the slow progress in economic/ social progress of South Africans in the post-colonial era. One caller stated that:

> You see this democratic government, I salute it. But I salute it very minimally. If you see in the East London and Queenstown[48] areas, it was not easy to go to Queenstown. It was not easy to go to the East London area. Do you see that area that is known as the Kei River? That place which has shops in it. In that area, we use to produce *dompassess*. There was Transkei on one side and then Ciskei on the other. But it is still difficult Mr Teketa. You see, in rural areas and these areas that we live in, it is still very much difficult. If a municipal counsellor is called by the communities, they never come around (*Imbadu* Show, Listener Response, 10 February 2016)

Issues of corruption and reckless handling of public funds were the key areas of concern for all the people who commented on this discussion. Furthermore, the role of the programme in this aspect was aligned to how these issues were affecting African communities in the postcolonial era of South Africa. Context was therefore vital in addressing issues affecting the community of broadcast. The example of how issues were affecting these specific communities included the inability to break the lasting legacies of poverty created by colonial South Africa and seemingly continued by 'democratic' South Africa. Therefore, while the issues on challenges facing South Africa may be interpreted to be a challenge for every South African, in the aspect of this community radio programme, the contextualisation of these issues to its specific community allowed the community to have a sense of specific particularity when discussing their immediate concerns.

POST-COLONIAL CHALLENGES FOR YOUTH: Another area of discussion that generated controversial and heated conversation in this community radio programme was the topic of "teenage pregnancy in schools" (17 February 2016). With regards to the analysed data and pattern of discussion of this topic, several themes emerged within the conversation: 1) the cultural significance of teenage pregnancy within the postcolonial context of South Africa. The analysed data suggested that this [pregnancy] trend was especially noted in school going teenagers; 2) the various community myths that are associated with being around a

[48] The use of these names within postapartheid or postcolonial South Africa also highlights the continuous coloniality of spaces and geographies that continue to take their identities and naming from the urban metropols that colonised South Africa.

pregnant person were another theme of discussion within this topic; 3) the role of teenage fathers, especially the responsibility that is not equally shared when teenage mothers are taken out of school whilst teenage fathers continue with their lives also featured in the discussions; 4) lastly another area of discussion noted from the analysed data was what 'penalties' pregnant or impregnators of teenagers should incur e.g. dismissal from school?

This topic of discussion generated various views from the callers. Curiously, however in observations, the data sugest that participants in this community radio topic were people who identified themselves as parents and concerned elders of the community. While it is true that elders in most African communities are revered for their wisdom and counselling (Achebe, 1959), however, the topic of discussion seems to have alienated and omitted the direct voices of teenager's themseves. In the discussions around this topic, the majority of responses emanating from the concerned parents and adult voices dwelled on the need to 'punish' disobedient teenagers, the need to instil the culture of safe sex among young people in the area of broadcast as well as the consequences that are important when the youth/ teenagers are found in such circumstances. Lastly, the theme of these discussions also pointed to generational differences and how the parents viewed their conduct during their teenage years as comparatively better than the conduct of current teenagers.

ON LOVE AMONG AFRICANS: The last theme and topic that formed part of the discussions in this programme was romance within the community. Timed for the month of February[49], the anchor posed a question on how the 'month of love' was treating the listeners of the community radio station. The discussion of this topic within the programme illustrate that the community radio station and within this specific programme demonstrate that topics of discussion can vary: from 'serious' matters such as economic issues, to 'light' matters, such as romance and dating during the 'month of love' as announced by the on-air announcer. This specific topic of discussion also points to the appropriation of a Western concept in some African communities and how they sometimes can be used for the purpose of talking about intimate relationships on a public platform in an African community.

The community reponded to the topic of romance which was posed by the community radio anchor (18 February 2016), with a range of answers: from satisfaction about their current

[49]This month is traditionally associated with the Valentine's Day. The acceptance of the Valentines and the culture associated with the 'month of love' again demonstrates the ingrained Euro-North American notions of

relationship situations to explicit confessions on the challenges and tribulations that some individuals have felt over their romantic antics. In its manner, the topic was discussed in a 'light' and entertaining style. Therefore the symbolic meaning of this topic as part of the programme with a general interest on Africanisation of a community radio and on-air discussions showed that topics of discussion at this community radio station that is directed at Africans did not necessarily have to be confined to 'serious' matters of the society. Rather, as an arena of community discussions, the program, through this topic of discussion, accommodated issues that may be of interest to some members of this community. In achieving this end, the topic also demonstrated a minimal level of slanting towards popular culture in relation to the celebrations of commercially themed events such as Valentine's Day and how these have infiltrated even semi-urban and rural communities in Africa.

In discussing the themes that have been identified using the saturation logic of qualitative research, the areas of discussion in this programm point to the lived challenges, realities and preoccupations of post-colonial African societies in Africa. Fanon (1961) has warned that the post-colony is likely to suffer from acute challenges including rampant corruption and reversals towards the colonial situations. It is these reversal and continuities of the colonial situation that render Africanisation as a decolonial project relevant among those whose identities and cultures have been consistently undermined. This also underpins the analysis of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) Africanisation in the purpose of being a broadcasting community media platform for an African community.

With regards to "*Imbadu*" as an important area of social/virtual discussion among Africans, the data of this study highlights that such a community radio program is important in continuing the lineage and culture of Africans through discussions or just enjoying conversation for its own sake (cf. Biko, 1978). Although the structural challenges of connecting to the radio programme through paid telephone conversation may eliminate some Africans from this social conversation, various alternative means of taking part in the discussion are possible, and have been devised by the producers of this community radio programme. These include the possibility of taking part in the programme by suggesting a topic of discussion in the monthly open program of brainstorming topics with the community members. This initiative also allows Africans who have been consistently silenced or undermined by colonial media (Ziegler and Asante, 1992) to play a social role in

identifying and creating a dialogue around the challenges facing their communities. During the semi-structured interviews of this study; the producer of this programme revealed that, on a monthly basis, the programme developer acceped suggestions from members of the community on topics for discussion on the programme.

In addition to these two forms of community radio participation measures (Tyali and Tomaselli, 2015), the community radio programme has a 'sms'[50] line where individuals could share their views through text messages. Thus, in conclusion, Africanisation in the context of this community radio programme is advanced through the principles of privileging dialogue by the community members on topics that are of interest within the community radio's constituency. This is also demonstrated through the process of conducting discussions/ debates and social conversation within the area of Chris Hani district municipality. Most importantly, the approaches to these discussions seemed to rely on the African idea of conducting discussions for the purpose of enjoying the area of discussion as well as raising social consciousness about challenges facing the community. While this is the case, the benefits of such discussion are also extended to the various functions of the media, including that of entertainment and cultural pedagogical benefits (cf. McNair, 1995) for the African listener residing in the area of broadcasting.

In the following section, the discussion centres on the cultural significance of Africanising news that is broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The aim of the section is mainly that of rethinking the idea of news within the confines of an African community and its broadcast medium.

9.3 CURRENT AFFAIRS (*SIYANGCAMLA*): ON HOW WE HEAR ABOUT OURSELVES

The news content of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is designed to reflect current affairs and developments within the area of broadcasting – Chris Hani District Municipality. As indicated in discussions in chapter 7 and 8 of this study, the community radio station's approach (the policy of the radio station) is heavily reliant on the hyper 'portrayal' of the area of broadcasting - an area that is largely occupied by Africans wthin the South African geography. Thus, the focus on Africans by this study is also based specifically on the idea of

[50]This abbreviation refers to the popular abbreviation for "short message service". Or text messages sent via a cellphone.

understanding the colonial impact on Africans within the 'post-colony' and how a community broadcaster plays a role within these postcolonial identities.

As illustrated above, Mbembe (2001) highlights how the post-colony is entangled with the continuities and discontinuities of the colonial legacy. In South Africa, this can largely be attributed to failure to radically decolonise the 'post-colony'. Tuck and Yang (2012, 13) have argued that "decolonisation specifically requires the repatriation of indigenous land and life". In the same vein, Fanon (1967) postulated that "because of the various means whereby decolonisation has been carried out have appeared in many different aspects, reason hesitates and refuses to say which is a true decolonization, and which is a false". South Africa theoretically entertained "a settler future" (Tuck and Yang, 2012, 3) through its post-apartheid 'rainbow nation' project did not radically transfer land or overtly validate the indigenous life and culture of Africans. However, this study is set within a particular locality and examines how an African broadcasting channel grapples with Africanisation as a decolonial project in the area of broadcasting at the Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The focus on this locality is driven by Wa Thiong'o's (1981:2) assertion that "the sum total of all these [imperial] blows no matter what their weight, size, scale, location in time and space makes the national heritage".

The role of the local has the potential to Africanise and this potentially informs decolonisation of the local. The data analysed from the programme content indicates that localisation with a focus on news that is relevant to the geography of the African people points to an anti-imperialist, anti-western and anti-colonial urgency in narrating local developments and current affairs issues. The analysed content of the programmmes on current affairs (see chapter 5), the news content of broadcasts from Vukani Community Radio (VCR) displayed the following characters:

- It is presented in an African language (IsiXhosa), which is symbolic, in that, it is largely connected to the discourse of language and decolonisation in Africa (also see chapter 8 on language as a cultural text) (cf. wa Thiong'o, 1981)
- The news content largely honours the class dynamic of the geographic area by focusing on the stories of the subaltern (cf. Spivak, 1989). It also focuses on the often neglected communities of the semi-urban and rural areas.

- Lastly, the content of the news stories was radically local in the package of on air-broadcast material. This approach reinforced the idea of the hyper visibility of African life in the airwaves of these very Africans.

The content analysed mainly emanated from the patterns and philosophy of broadcast news narration as practiced in this community radio station. The official name of the community radio programme is "Siyangcamla[51]", and it largely makes an important reference to the value of news as conceived by the radio station. This is mainly because the name and its allusion to the perception of news as a community story/narrative/discussion where the very community needs to gain a form of dialogue participation (cf. Tyali and Tomaselli, 2015) in their own stories and current affairs. With regards to the analysed content of the programme, the conclusion reached on the analysed content of the programme was that the structure of the programme was typical of a current affairs news program. The programme followed the following pattern: 1) the introduction of the name of the program and a brief explanation of what the programme is about; 2) the announcement of the producer (content developer) and anchor of this news programme, as well as the number of journalists who are placed in the eight (8) municipalities of broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) (also see chapter 8). The content indicates that the radio station gives equal treatment to all the regions of broadcasting by the community radio station, (also see Figure 8 in chapter 8). These news stories were packaged according to the 'most important' developments as judged by the journalists and producers of the show. During the semi-structured interviews with the producers of the show, it was indicated that there was no particular significance to this judgement, as all news from the region was broadcast within the period of the programme. One producer noted:

> …and then we the workers of Vukani and the management of Vukani we made sure that to focus a lot on issues that are happening around people, that are happening in the areas around us. That is why you will find that our news are completely different to when you listen other media platforms. That is because our main focus is on issues that are happening here in Chris Hani" … (Thandeka Mbobosi, News Editor/Acting Programs Manager, March 29, 2016).

As indicated earlier, thirty -one (31) individual programmes broadcast from the current affairs news desk were analysed (on-air content of the programme). In total, this community

[51]A translated meaning of this indigenous word loosely referrers to the idea of commenting on current affairs (news) by the local community of Chris Hani District on Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

media broadcast content amounted to a total of 90 hours of broadcast content used for the purpose of understanding the key themes that emanated from this news programme. As ascertained from the analysed data, the news reports and commentary from these programmes pertained to the following key themes:

POLITICAL HEADLINES: (12 February 2016) the news reports and discussions that were captured in the programme on this particular date were packaged to outline the political and civil society developments within the Chris Hani district municipality. The theme from this programme reverberated on all the news reports that were broadcast by the community radio station. The reports outlined recent gatherings held by various civil society groups, trade unions and government associations within the district of broadcasting. For instance, the bulletins that were broadcast on the 12 February 2016 programme included a prayer meeting by SADTU (South African Democratic Teachers Union) in the town of Ngcobo (part of Chris Hani District). The news report on this gathering stated that this meeting was on: 1) concerns about the matriculation pass rate in schools within the district of the municipality; 2) teacher wellbeing and 3) salary of educators. Other reports that emerged from the news program included a report on a meeting between an organisation named SASFINA and the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture within the Chris Hani District. In addition to these news stories, there was a report on SANCO (South African National Civic Organisation) as well as a visit by Emalahleni Municipality officials to deliver livestock sheds for the community of the area. All news reports capturing political issues in the area of broadcast were narrated by the community radio stations journalists who were based in these other local municipalities. Thus, the issue of sourcing news from mainstream media reports proved to be irrelevant in the working of the Vukani Community Radio (VCR) news room.

CRIME, INDUSTRY & ECONOMIC HEADLINES: in subsequent reports that were broadcast in the headlines of current affairs of this broadcast programme, the main areas of focus were: 1) crime; 2) industry and; 3) economic headlines. For instance, the headlines of the programme dated 17 February 2016, reported the sentencing of two Nigerian immigrants (based in the region of broadcasting) who reportedly were sentenced to life imprisonment for rape in Queenstown/Komani. The reporting of such cases by this media platforms illustrates the need to illustrate the negative elements that happen within African

communities by even Afrocentric and ecolonial media platforms as well (Mpofu, 2014). Further reports in this thematic area included a parliament visit to the Lilly mine in the Mpumalanga province where mineworkers had been trapped underground. There was also a new report around the economic performance of South Africa and how this affected the people of the district municipality. With regards to character and packaging of the news content, the reports were also linked to comments by journalists and by spokespeople in the economic sector and by parliament officials. As with the above discussed themed, the focus of news, the reports in this sub-theme were either directly or indirectly linked to the Chris Hani District municipality. Thus, though the reports on crime were specifically in Queenstown/Komani, the report on the parliamentary visit to the mines directly affected the community of broadcast as some of the migrant workers in the mines are from the Chris Hani District municipality.

EDUCATION, CULTURE AND HOUSING HEADLINES: with regards to additional key themes that were noted in the current affairs reports, the study established that issues pertaining to education, culture and housing were prevalent in the news reports of the community radio station. On the issue of traditions and culture, the analysed news reports featured a developing story on the arrest of abaThembu King, Zwelibanzi Dalindyebo and how this affected the dynamics of African indigenous leadership in their ethnic community. These news reports highlighted the undercurrents in choosing a successor among family member, reportedly divided on the successor to the King who at the time was incarcerated. The news reports were balanced in featuring competing representatives of the 'factions in the succession battle. Additional reporting and the key themes emerging from the show highlighted the housing crisis experienced by some members of the communities of the Chris Hani District. For instance, on the programm of the 23 February 2016, there was a report on houses being demolished on plot of land whose ownership was still to be determined by the South African land claims process. Lastly, a report on the programme of the 24 February 2016 carried reports on education projects by the NYDA (National Youth Development Agency) and CEDA training agency who were visiting the Chris Hani District area to sensitise the youth to the importance of education and training opportunities offered by these national agencies. This report also featured education bursaries available from such organisations.

YOUTH AFFAIRS, LANGUAGE AND GOVERNANCE: in subsequent analysed content of the current affairs programmes, the pattern of reporting illustrated that issues pertaining to youth, language and governance services were an important interest to this African community radio station. The majority of reports were based on local developments within the area of broadcasting. In instances where these were informed by national developments, the pattern of reporting contextualised the developments to the situation of the district. For instance, the community radio station reported (23 February 2016) on a visit by the Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture to the City of Port Elizabeth for the International Mother Tongue' day. In this instance, the reporting emphasised the importance of mother tongues for the local citizens of the area. In additional reports in that same programme for the day, mentioned a gathering of Junior City Council structure in Queenstown to discuss issues affecting the youth in the area. This junior council was primarily made up of high school students and the aim had been to allow these students to develop their debating and leadership skills in a formal and structured programme. In addition to these reports, some of the prominent themes that featured frequently in the news were on governance concerns and milestones. For instance, in one feature story, the reports focused on a private-public partnership between Engen fuel retailers and the Eastern Cape department of transport which allows students to excel at high school level within this area of the broadcasting constituency of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) station. The story lauded the success of the programme and how such a partnership has allowed students from underprivileged backgrounds to gain opportunities to further their education through bursaries.

Although the entire thirty (30) current affairs programmes were analysed, the rule and principles of data saturation were applied in the analysis and the identification of key themes within the programmes (see chapter 5 for the justification of the data saturation approach in qualitative research methodology). Therefore, the themes identified themes reflected the key issues that emerged in all the analysed content. Consequently, in instances where the content was repetitive on issues earlier identified (even though the setting of stories had differed) the theme was identified and captured in-situ of patterns identified in the analysed data. Additionally, in analysing the themes and how they speak to culture and decolonisation of the news reports within the community radio station, the data collected

confirmed that the analysed content indeed showed that the station has been true to its mandate of privileging the local African narrative. This is contrary to some normative media culture of saturating media audiences with global news content.

Ultimately, the news room of this community radio station has illustrated an urgency to delink from the colonial and imperialistic role of the media. Mamoe (1979, 39) concludes that "western imperialism destroyed the indigenous cultures in South Africa with colonisation. They did this through technological superiority and control of the mass media." The developments within the newsroom department and specifically the current affairs programming of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) are indicative of resistance towards coloniality and imperialistic role of the media. The focus on the local and African narratives further affirms the role of community radio in debunking the idea of the importance of international rather than local African media content. The assertion and concentration of local African stories by the current affairs programme can therefore be understood as a decolonial approach in practice (cf. Mignolo, 2007).

This is where the narrative of the local is highlighted to indicate the many narratives of the world – a 'pluriversal' or multi-world approach in media practice. Within the hierarchy of news production and dissemination, the local stories continue to be of primary importance to the current affairs production team of Vukani Community Radio (VCR). In this instance, the content of local news stories wittingly plays an agenda setting role in its preoccupation with and thinking about African contemporary developments within the Chris Hani District (cf. Sadar, 2008) of broadcasting by the community radio station.

This strategy of putting local news stories at the top of the hierarchy in news dissemination by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is also illustrative of the Afrocentric theory and its insistence on prioritising Africans in their own narratives and world views. Asante (2003) has in fact concluded that Afrocentricity actively seeks the recognition and placement of African principles at the centre of any engagement that involves African people, African culture and lifestyles of Africans. In the case of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) the current affairs content therefore demonstrates that recognition of Africanisation at a local level is central to its content development and broadcasting mandate.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, the discussion revolved around the content that was used as a case study to understand Africanisation strategies as manifested on the airwaves of the radio station. This content emanated from three (3) categories of community radio content – African culture and tradition content; talk content and news content. Each community radio category consisted of thirty (30) recorded media content programmes per selected genre (90 in total). The use of this broadcast content was meant to contrast and align the information gathered from the research interviews with the actual practice of broadcasting content by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The chapter concludes that the primary focus of all these selected categories of community radio content is the African community that reside in the Chris Hani District municipality. The data analysed in this chapter illustrated that the historical as well as contemporary concerns of these categories of community radio represent the lived realities of the African community of broadcast. In these programmes, the chapter has ascertained that the content represents hyper local and African based concerns. The music selected, the topics discussed and the news broadcast by these different programmes speak to the question of Africanising the community radio station.

In the following chapter, the discussion draws to wider conclusions and recommendations from this study and suggets ways of charting the way forward for future research on media and Africanisation in South Africa.

CHAPTER 10

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

The main focus of this study was on the exploration of processes that Africanise the community radio industry of South Africa at the contemporary stage of this country's 'postcolonial' period. Taking into consideration the historical and contemporary roles that have been played by media institutions in the subjection and oppression of black people and African people in particular (see chapter 3 & 4), this study sought to understand the ideological underpinnings of a media institution that is controlled by citizens who had been 'historically' oppressed by the broader media industry of colonial and neo-colonial South Africa. Cognisant of this historical role of media institutions in buttressing colonialism, imperialism, its associated Euro-North American culture and ultimately its role in affirming the oppression of the colonized, the study attempted to gain insight into how the Africanising of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) has or continues to be inculcated as a form decolonial undertaking by the African people who control this media institution.

Bennett (1982; McNair, 1995), for instance, argue that media institutions have overt as well as subliminal political undertones in their produced, processed and published/broadcast media content. For this study, the understanding of how a media institution can be Africanised was done taking into consideration these overt or subliminal ideological roles of media institutions. It was Ziegler and Asante (1992) who also outlined the ideological question of colonized media systems in the westernizing project of colonisers. As the system of colonialism is directly followed by coloniality (Maldonado-Torress, 2007) in the 'former' colonies, this study reasoned that the 'colonial situation' in the media industry would still be present during this era of coloniality (cf. Castro-Gomez, 2007).

Scholarship within some of South African media industry's contemporary developments has also affirmed the continuities of the colonial and racist project during the postcolonial period of this country (Chiumbu, 2015; Sesanti, 2011; Nyamnjoh, 2005). It was these assertions on the existence of the 'colonial situation' within the industry which provided the impetus for the investigation of Africanisation and how this could be understood as a

decolonial undertaking by a micro media institution that exists “for and among” Africans of the selected study location/geography. Therefore, to make sense of the arguments and ideological conundrums faced by this study; the thesis started with a set of questions that were used to explore the steps that were being taken by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in Africanising its broadcasting services. These questions included the following key research question: i) using Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a case study, what assessments could be made that the community radio sector of South Africa has been Africanised by its internal and external stakeholders? This question was supplemented by the following set of sub-questions that guided the rationales and thinking behind this study:

i) how has the community radio station in question (Vukani Community Radio) adapted its broadcasting format to suit the everyday needs of the African community it serves?

ii) how do external and internal policy guidelines help the station in question to play its role of broadcasting content that is relevant to the community?

iii) if any exist, how do variables such as the use of language, local voices, local music and local stories help in building a decolonised identity of the station?

vi) do communities see relevance in the concept of an Africanised media platform?

In its entirety, this study therefore aimed to answer these research questions. The answering of these questions was approached through a multi-step approach, including that of reviewing the literature on the topic, collecting research data and analysing these data sets for the purpose of arriving at findings for this study Therefore, in bringing this study to a conclusion, this chapter briefly illustrates how the study has responded to its initial objective and rationales and whether it was able to answer the questions that the research aimed to address. This chapter also sums up the entire study. In addition to this, the chapter outlines the major findings of the study and makes concluding arguments based on these findings.

The following section provides a summary of the key areas that have been addressed by this study. Here, the structure of the thesis and how this has guided the research to eventually arrive at this conclusion chapter is elaborated. This structure relied on a set of arguments

that were included in the preceding chapters of the thesis so as to foreground the conclusion that has been reached by the findings of the study.

10.1 STUDY SUMMARY

To illustrate and understand the concept of Africanising the community radio sector, with a specific focus on Vukani Community Radio (VCR), this thesis was organised in a specific format and logical sequence so as to follow the argument that underpins the thesis. The following key areas within the thesis aimed to structure and make sense of the argument that is advanced by this study. These sections included the following:

10.1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

After highlighting the initial introduction to this study (chapter 1) the focus moved on to engaging key literature as a way of contextualizing the major themes (Africanisation, Media and Africanisation as well as Community Radio). These major themes were addressed in chapter's 2, 3 and 4. Chapter 2 conducted a 'balanced' critical analysis of the concept of Africanisation. The focus of the chapter was significant for debates that are ongoing but in the past, have also underpinned the ideological concept of Africanisation. More importantly, those debates were foregrounded by illustrating that the idea of Africanisation is a contested terrain in scholarly circles. The chapter further proved this assertion by highlighting the critiques as well as proponent scholarly arguments that surround the ideas of Africanity, Africanising and Africanisation. Scholarly and philosophical work from Fanon (1961) Mbembe (2001) and Appiah (1992; 2007) etc, was used to illustrate the conceptual contestation that still underpins Africanising as an ideological concept representing the lived realities of Africans.

To balance the arguments, the chapter, also relied on the academic literature that advances the concept of Africanisation as an alternative to the hegemonic power of Euro-North America cultural realities. These academic arguments were advanced by Diop ([1955] 1987), Mafeje (2000), Biko (1978), wa Thiong'o (1981) and Ramose (1998). This chapter therefore concluded that Africanisation is an important and relevant lived idea that needs to be

pursued in the quest for the advancement of cultural plurality as well as in supporting the notion of tolerating and appreciating differences in the communities of the world. To make sense of the ideological focus of the study within a media institution, chapter 3 aimed to examine the historical project of media institutions and how it was traditionally used to advance the colonial project. To advance this objective of the research, chapter 3 of this study has foregrounded its argument with the objective of making sense of the ideological question on media institutions and the question of coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Castro-Go´mez, 2007; Grosfoguel, 2007) within the so called 'postcolonial societies'. This chapter posited that the foundation of western and westernized media institutions was underpinned by the foundation of colonial oppression. It is in this sense that the chapter indicated that media institutions in the 'historically' settler colonized world may be susceptible to the continuities of the colonial legacy and hence ideological imaginaries away from the Euro-North American ideas of media institutions need to be pursued. Furthermore, the focus was applying the concept of Africanisation to the media industry. The chapter began by highlighting the intersection of media and Africanisation. It focused on the history of indigenous 'media' systems, examined the colonial role of the media and ultimately applied the concept of coloniality in the operation of some media institutions. The chapter also discussed the selected theories of the study which included the following: (1) 'Coloniality of power' (2) 'Coloniality of Knowledge' (3) 'Coloniality of Being' and the (4) 'Decolonial Turn'. In order to locate the African subject within the question of decoloniality, in chapter 3, the researcher also included the 'Afrocentricity' theory and how this theory advances the idea of centering Africans in any debate that seeks to speak "for and about" Africans (Asante, 2003). The chapter further pursued the arguments of cultural imperialism as carried out by media platforms and lastly identified the general functions of radio in advancing cultural affirmation.

The last and final chapter that looked at the literature of the main themes underpinning this study was chapter 4. Its focus was the conceptual and general scholarly arguments surrounding the idea of the community radio sector. In that chapter, various arguments were presented to illustrate the complex nature of the sector and how global and regional definitions of the sector need to be understood so that the context and broadcasting practice within the sector could emerge per its location. The main arguments used were by

key authors including Bosch, 2003; Manyozo et al, 2012; Banda, 2006; Teer-Tomaselli, 2001 and Berger, 1996 etc. In its entirety, that chapter focused on the scholarly discourses surrounding the community radio sector. It highlighted the different conceptual departure points of the sector, looked at the history of community radio in South Africa, the different functions of community radio stations, and the cultural impact of this media platform as well as the concept of community radio as an alternative media sphere. The chapter concluded by looking at the concept of 'community' within the community radio sector.

The aim of chapter 6 of this study was to highlight the complex nature of the research 'subjects', their ethnic identities and the role of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) in highlighting the history, cultures and everyday realities of the African communities that receive their broadcasting service from this community radio station. Most importantly, the ongoing ethnic question of the subject of this study and how it can be used to advance the idea of African particularity was highlighted.

In chapter 5, the issue was raised about the method and the manner in which contemporary research emerging from the Global South and other areas that have been subjected to colonialism and how they need to rethink the idea of contemporary research method. As illustrated by the chapter, the aim was not to discard the method its entirety, but rather to reveal its colonial association so that a process of decolonizing the method can emerge. In that chapter, arguments as espoused by the scholars of decolonizing the method of enquiry were presented. These included Smith (1999), Tuck and Yang (2012) and Fanon (1961). This chapter therefore provides an auto-critique to the idea of the method and thereby partially exposes the limitations of the research method as well as its historical affiliation to the project of colonization and oppression of non-western societies. But more importantly, as the chapter illustrates, the short-term goal was not to entirely discard the method but rather critique and adopt some portions of these methodologies for the emergence of the Global South narrative.

This is akin to Achebe's (2009) argument about the question of decolonizing the language (see chapter 2). In it, he asserted that even some instruments from coloniality can be used to engage the current colonial situation in the Global South so that new and just narratives

can emerge through its critique and 'progressive' adaptation within contexts of its application. In that regard, this study has relied on a critiqued and contextualized case study format in positioning the case of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a case study of enquiry. The chapter highlights the steps in implementing a case study for a research study (Yin, 1999) and how this area of research framework has been adapted for the purpose of this specific study. The chapter lastly indicates the type of data used by the study as well as the challenges in relation to issues of language translation as well as observations of the locality around the case study.

Also in that chapter, the historical nature of ethnicity as lived and negotiated in the broadcasting location was examined. The aim of such undertaking was to give a historical perspective to the nature of identities and how in some circumstances, they are still observed and traced to the history of African communities. Furthermore, the chapter reviewed secondary data and available literature on the contemporary question of ethnicity as an identity and contested African cultural marker. This background information of the broadcasting location was further contextualized to the broadcasting mandate of the community radio station, as outlined by its contemporary task of being a community radio station that broadcasts at a regional municipality level. The argument in the chapter has therefore also highlighted all the eight (8) municipalities that the station broadcasts to. Lastly, this chapter presented a brief overview of the case study. Ultimately, this section was meant to briefly introduce the case study, its history and some recent research reports around the case study and its location.

10.2 ON MAJOR EMERGING THEMES IN THE STUDY: CHAPTER 7, 8 & 9

The section below gives an overview of the conclusions that have been derived from the findings of this study. These themes illustrate the discourse of Africanising as decoloniality and the trajectory of Africanising as understood and contextualized to the community radio sector by this study.

10.2.1 RETHINKING THE BROADCASTING MANDATE: ON POLICY AND AFRICANISATION

In this section, a summary of thematic areas as illustrated by data and themes that emerged from the policy analysis chapter are presented. In chapter 7, the data emanating from the analyzed 'documents' (hardcopy and online) suggested that four broad issues can be discerned from these policy documents (macro and micro) as advanced by various national legislations as well in-house (Vukani Community Radio) policy outlooks. The question of both macro and micro policies was instrumental in identifying their impact in the ideological quest to gain understanding of the instituting of Africanisation as a decolonial project within the case study.

Based on their overt and covert impact on the existence of the station as well as on the broadcasting content of the case study for this research study, the following policy documents were selected: 1) Broadcasting act, no 4 of 1999 of South Africa; 2) ICASA Act of 2000; 3) MDDA Act of 2002; and 4) Online document sourced from the media institutions website (see chapter 7). With regard to the three broad and macro policies that guide the existence and operation of the community radio sector of South Africa, this study concluded that none of the above-mentioned policy documents/legislations overtly address the issue of Africanisation. However, it was also noted in chapter 7 that objectives that seek to 'diversify' the media industry of this country could potentially underscore an opportunity for all individual community radio stations within the sector in this country to institute ideological positions that suit their particular social settings, including that process which is being currently undertaken by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). For instance, with regards to the Broadcasting Act, no 4 of 1999, the work of Kariithi (2003) was cited in support. He argues that broadcasting policies in reference to media institutions need to consider the "effects on existing norms and values, and that there is a desire among societies to preserve these unique cultural qualities" (ibid. 163). It was in this context that the argument was presented for currently existing legislations/policy frameworks to consider the particularity of the area of broadcasting by community radio stations.

Furthermore, the chapter analysed the retrieved online content made available by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) on their ideological stance and how this can be interpreted as affecting their internal working and broadcasting arrangements. That thematic section

indicated how the broadcasting platform has fashioned itself as a community development broadcaster with an emphasis on “previously disadvantaged communities”. Although this statement was identified as too general to be reduced to the idea of Africanisation as a decolonial undertaking, various interview respondents (see chapter 8) succinctly particularized the communities that are at the centre of Vukani Community Radio’s (VCR) broadcasting focus and mandate. In chapter 6, it was indicated that these are African communities that are mainly speakers of the IsiXhosa language. Chapter 7 therefore concludes that though the online published mission and vision statements of this station maybe ambiguous, the interview response data (chapter 8) played a crucial role in contextualizing the particularity of the community radio station's focus.

10.2.2 RETHINKING THE ORDINARY: ON VIEWS AROUND VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

The focus of this subsection is on summarizing the views of the internal and external stakeholders of the community radio, which is the subject of this study (see also chapter 8). In chapter 8, numerous themes were identified as instrumental in providing perspective on the Africanising processes as undertaken by Vukani Community Radio (VCR). The themes identified in that chapter included the following: “‘re-definition’ of community radio”, an "Ubuntu’ focused community media platform”, “airwaves as the cultural text”, “on Africanisation through hyper locality”, “preserving local African identity” “on ethnic broadcasting and ethnic broadcaster” and a “multi centered approach to religion”. In that chapter, the analyzed data further allowed for the emergence of the following set of thematic areas: “the airwaves as a center of cultural memory”, “broadcasting music for Africans” and “radio as an African public sphere”. More importantly, the chapter used primary data (semistructured interviews), and partial observation of the working arrangements of the station to examine not only its ideological position, but also its technological fitness to institute this ideology in an increasingly technological savvy society.

In that chapter, sufficient evidence was found to conclude that the stakeholder’s views of the community radio station were engaged in various means of Africanising the content. This chapter, through the emergence of themes from the data allowed the study to note the complex processes and views that could be interpreted to help the study understand the

forms of Africanisation that are taking place at this community radio station. The same chapter also showed that the best way in which this community radio station has been able to maintain a close relationship with its key constituency has been its manner of operation as a broadcasting platform as well as its extended role of being seen as an accessible centre for the support of community concerns – its perceived Ubuntu role. In that chapter the community's view of the station is juxtaposed against the internal views of what the station seeks to do as a "voice" of the community. The centrality of language in how the media institution connects and identifies with its constituencies was also noted. In addition to this, this chapter unpacked the concept of the African public sphere and how Vukani Community Radio (VCR) is aligned to the concept of decolonizing such a public sphere. This is contrary to the normative and elitist forms of European public sphere's (Habermas, 1989). Therefore, overall the chapter has illustrated how Africanisation as a decolonial project is being instituted at Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

10.2.3 RETHINKING THE AIRWAVES: ON VUKANI COMMUNITY RADIO (VCR)

Lastly, this final subsection focuses on the summary of the analysed content/ data of this study (chapter 9) which had the objective of understanding the functions of the broadcast content and whether it shows characteristics of Africanisation as an approach of decoloniality. A total of three community radio categories were used for the purpose of this chapter: 1) *Amasiko Nezithethe* [Traditions, Cultures and Customs], 2) *Imbadu* [General talk/discussions] and 3) *Siyangcamla*/ Current Affairs [News] programme. These three categories of community radio programming consisted of a total of ninety (90) (30 per programme genre x 3 = 90) programmes that were broadcast during a thirty (30) day period. These were analysed for the purpose of examining the extent to which the airwaves of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) have been Africanised. The data from the programmes and the emergent themes of this chapter indicate that the content of that community radio station is strategized in such a way that traces of Africanisation could be identified in the on-air content. The following key thematic areas emerged from that data:

- African cultural focus based programming: in this instance, the programming that captured the historical as well as contemporary key areas of African culture and traditions as practiced in the area of broadcasting was the *Amasiko Nezithethe*

programme. From the data that was made available, the programme is instrumental in centering “African cultural based programming”, “decolonizing poetry” and in highlighting the “significance of indigenous music” [umngqungqo] in African culture and in being an “area of discussion” of issues that pertain to cultural concerns. This section of that chapter therefore underscored the value of the media platform in centering African culture and tradition in the activities of broadcasting for its constituency.

- Reflecting on the preoccupations of the African community: the second identified thematic area of the broadcast media content was the talk/discussion programme - *Imbadu*. In this instance, the data suggested that the programme was conceived and applied as an African public sphere discursive platform where community and various other areas of interest could be discussed. The thematic area illustrates that community radio can be instrumental in the identification of African community concerns with the purpose of generating a dialogue around these concerns. After 30 programmes were analysed, the logic of data saturation point was applied in recognising illuminating areas of discussion among the programmes (also see chapter 6 on the discussion on saturation point). The pattern of discussion in that programme therefore touched on the following issues: “the progress of democracy”, “postcolonial challenges for youth” and “love and Africans”. As argued in chapter 9 around these thematic areas, the study concludes that their nature and emergence on the airwaves provide a glimpse of how particularised Africans are providing an urgency to highlight issues that affect them in the contemporary era on their airwaves. More importantly, the framing of such discussions is contextualized to assert the local situation on the airwaves.
- How we hear about ourselves: in the last and final discussion that captures the last main thematic area of chapter 9, and the focus moved to news broadcasting and its reflection of the local African cultural experience as discerned from the airwaves. Again, driven by the logic of data saturation point as identified in the analysed data, the following key themes were identified in the on-air programming: “political headlines”, “crime, industry and economic headlines”, “youth affairs, language and governance” as well as “education, culture and housing headlines”. In this sense,

the themes provide an interesting preoccupation of the news section of the community radio station. As with thematic area two from chapter 9, the angle of the headlines from this broadcast content was framed to advance a highly-localized context. Therefore, in chapter 9, the study concludes that we have traces of Africanisation by Vukani Community Radio (VCR) and this Africanisation illustrates a trajectory towards the assertion of plurality and therefore a possible emergence of a decolonial project within the airwaves of the community radio station.

The following section aims to consolidate the concluding arguments of the study. Data analysis and the meaning derived from this analysis were conducted in chapters 8, 9 and 10 of this study. The following section further reinforces the meaning of the analyzed data within the broader objectives of this study: investigating and understanding how the community radio sector of South Africa has been Africanised by its internal and external stakeholders. As explained throughout this thesis, this was done using Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a case study. The concluding section presents an argument which illustrates the Africanisation of the case study as demonstrated by the data emergent in the results sections of this study.

10.3 CONCLUDING ARGUMENTS

The quest for a decolonial society is also heavily dependent on the cultural and other forms of power dynamics as they manifest themselves in the Euro-North American axis and its relationship to the Global South and other areas that are recovering from the project of administrative and settler based colonialism (cf. Tuck and Yang, 2012; Smith, 1999). More importantly, the question of a media institutions role in the project of coloniality versus decoloniality continues to be the agenda of scholarly discourses in South Africa and other areas of the world that have recently been classified as 'post-colonies' (Chiumbu, 2015; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Kasoma, 1996 and Wa Thiong'o, 1986). In this study, the idea of Africanisation as a decolonial project has been assessed using a community media platform – Vukani Community Radio (VCR). As illustrated by the themes summarized in the preceding sections, this thesis presents key areas of discussion that illustrate the working approach of Africanisation as a decolonial project at Vukani Community Radio (VCR). All of these themes emerged as a result of suggestions and interpretations of the data of this study. The study

has illustrated that Africanisation as a decolonial project mainly manifests itself as a result of the critical focus on cultural and other realities that are highlighted by the media content of the case study. The idea of decoloniality aims to assert a plural world that is comfortable with asserting and living with its differences.

In the context of the argument advanced by this study, Africanisation of this media institution is taking place at the level of content planning and strategizing, as well as at the level of the airwaves. Concerning the policy directives (micro and macro), this study has illustrated that their ambiguous nature in the area of diversifying media content has provided a strategic opportunity for the structuring and re-structuring of the airwaves to suit particularised focus and agendas. This is to be contextualized for the purpose of making hyper visible the identified community based on their urgency in implementing Africanisation as a decolonial agenda in their airwaves.

While this is the case, the study acknowledges that the idea of coloniality, including the coloniality of the airwaves is an on-going project even within the 'postcolonial' state of the 'former' colonies. Such coloniality is especially marked by reversals and progress in the quest for just and decolonized lived realities (cf. Mbembe, 2001). It is therefore the conclusion of this study that its findings are only applicable at the time and in the context of the data collection stage of the study (see chapter 6). This indicates that the findings of this study do not aim to pre-empt any future ideological direction which may/will be taken by the community radio station subsequent to the data collection and research period of this study.

This study does not forestall any future changes or ideological shifts and their impact on broadcasting practices of the case study. This is as a result of the fluid nature of media institutions and the rapid changes that often underpin the operation of these media institutions. This factor is also compounded by the continuous project of westernizing global societies and how these can reverse gains that have been made by decolonial projects revealed by the Africanising of Vukani Community Radio (VCR).

In conclusion, this study was initiated with a purpose of exploring the Africanising processes of the above-mentioned case study. Ultimately, the study has been preoccupied with Africanising as a decolonial project of the media as a result of the apparent lasting legacy of

colonialism and how it has aimed to destroy the cultures and identities of those it 'had' oppressed. As Said (1989, 207) concludes that "poverty, dependency, underdevelopment, various pathologies of power and corruption, plus of course notable achievements in war, literacy, economic development: this mix of characteristics designated the colonised people who had freed themselves on one level but who remained victims of their past on another". While colonialism's lasting legacy is apparent in these post-colonies, the results of this study illustrate that the struggle to decolonize these legacies is an on-going process. As illustrated by the 'reading' of the airwaves and the internal processes of Vukani Community Radio (VCR), Africanising media practice is therefore another form of instituting the decolonial project at an African community level.

AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Whilst this study has been comprehensive and fulfilled the objectives it had set for itself, observations from the research agenda suggest that the following areas that can be focused on for future research:

- The role of Africanisation and decolonisation as practiced by national media broadcasters. This area of future focus could possibly unearth the role of national media institutions that are playing a role within a modern nation state.
- Ethnic dynamics in national broadcasting institutions: whilst the focus of this study analysed how ethnic dynamics are played out in a community radio platform, future research could be used to understand the discourse of Africanisation as decolonisation within the context of a national broadcaster. This should help in understanding the coloniality that is experienced at the level of a nation state when it comes to ethnic politics.
- The agenda role of the media in decolonial discourse: whilst this study has understood the role of a community broadcaster within the ongoing decolonial discourse, future research could be used to understand the active agenda role of the media in the sustainable maintenance of the decolonial discourse.

Ultimately, as evidenced in this study, the pursuit of Africanisation as a decolonial discourse can unlock humanistic and liberatory cultural relationships that exists between media

institutions and the societies that they represent. Hence the pursuit of Africanisation needs to be undertaken from micro community context to macro modern nation states contexts in Africa.

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Appendix 1: Approval of Study

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Faculty of Humanities – Postgraduate Office

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa • **Tel:** +27 11 717 4002• **Fax:** +27 11 717 4037• **Email:** Sarah.Mfupa@wits.ac.za

Student Number: 1083166

Mr Siyasanga Mhlangabezi Tyali
Eden Village (unit 105)
Pretoria North
742 Cilliars Street
Pretoria 0182
Gauteng South Africa

07 April 2015

Dear Mr Tyali

APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN MEDIA STUDIES

I am pleased to be able to advise you that the readers of the Graduate Studies Committee have approved your proposal entitled "*Africanising community radio broadcasting in South Africa: An exploration of Vukani FM as a case study*". I confirm that Dr Ufuoma Akpojivi has been appointed as your supervisor in the School of Literature Language and Media Studies.

The research report is normally submitted to the Faculty Office by 15 February, if you have started the beginning of the year, and for mid-year the deadline is 31 July. All students are required to RE-REGISTER at the beginning of each year.

You are required to submit 3 bound copies and one unbound copy plus 1 CD in pdf (Adobe) format of your research report to the Faculty Office. The 3 bound copies go to the examiners and are retained by them and the unbound copy is retained by the Faculty Office as back up.

Please note that should you miss the deadline of 15 February or 31 July you will be required to submit an application for extension of time and register for the research report extension. Any candidate who misses the deadline of 15 February will be charged fees for the research report extension.

Kindly keep us informed of any changes of address during the year.

Note: All MA and PhD candidates who intend graduating shortly must meet your ETD requirements at least 6 weeks after your supervisor has received the examiners reports. **A student must remain registered at the Faculty Office until graduation.**

Yours Sincerely

SD Mfupa

Sarah Mfupa
Postgraduate Division
Faculty of Humanities
Private Bag X 3
Wits, 2050

Appendix 2: Approval of Ethics certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Tyali

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H16/05/28**
PROJECT TITLE	Africanising community radio broadcasting in South Africa: An exploration of Vukani FM as a case study
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr S Tyali
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	SLLM/
DATE CONSIDERED	20 May 2016
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	17 July 2019

DATE 18 July 2016 **CHAIRPERSON** J. Knight
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Dr U Akpojivi

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10005, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix 3: Informed Consent Form

MEDIA STUDIES
School of Literature, Language & Media, University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa • Tel: +26 11 717 4140 • Fax: + 27 11 717 4149

INFORMED CONSENT FORM:

I, ……hereby declare that I am fully aware of the content of this document and the nature of the research project, and I fully agree to participate in this research project. I also hereby confirm that my age range falls within the following age limits:

18 - 35	35 - 45	45 - 55	55 - 65	65-older

In this regard, I also agree / do not agree to be audio recorded for this research project. Please tick your preference below:

Yes:	No:

However, I am taking part in this research project as a volunteer, and therefore I have full rights to refuse to answer question(s) that I may not wish to answer. I also have full rights to withdraw at any point in this research project should I wish to do so, and my action will not disadvantage me in any way.

Signature of Participant Date

Open Rubric

Appendix 4: Internal stakeholders information letter

MEDIA STUDIES
School of Literature, Language & Media, University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa • Tel: +26 11 717 4140 • Fax: + 27 11 717 4149

ATT: INTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS/COMMUNITY RADIO BROADCASTERS

INFORMATION LETTER

Dear Prospective Participant

Thank you for taking part in this research study and your input will add significant value in this research project. This letter is an introductory guide to my Doctor of Philosophy (media studies) research study that has been titled: "Africanising community radio broadcasting in South Africa: an exploration of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a case study" at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. The study explores the issue of community radio (Vukani Community Radio) in relation to the Black-African community that this radio station targets.

Please be advised that that you may choose not to participate in this research study and should you wish to withdraw at a later stage, you have full right to do so and your action will not disadvantage you in anyway.
Your participation in this research study will be through participating in an unstructured interview. The prospective interview will take from 30 – 45 minutes of your time. Such has been arranged with an idea of bringing the most minimal disruption in your daily schedule.

There is no material or financial benefits attached to participating in this research study and this is done on a volunteer basis. The information obtained will be treated as of confidential nature and will be safely stored at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Should you need further clarity on the matter explained above, or at any matter that directly or indirectly associated with this research study, please contact me or my supervisor:

Mr Siyasanga M Tyali (researcher)
073 9479391
smtyali@gmail.com

Dr. Ufuoma Akpojivi (supervisor)
011 717 4145
Ufuoma.Akpojivi@wits.ac.za

Your participation is much appreciated, thank you.

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Appendix 5: Internal stakeholders interview guide

MEDIA STUDIES
School of Literature, Language & Media, University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa • Tel: +26 11 717 4140 • Fax: + 27 11 717 4149

INTERNAL STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDE

1. As a way of introduction, can you kindly take me through the history of Vukani Community Radio? How did it start? Why did it start? And what have been its challenges throughout the years of its existence?

   1.1 As you have been here for quiet sometime, please elaborate further on the daily challenges that you encounter whilst managing this radio station (finance related, staff related, content related). In addition to this, the licensing conditions of community radio in this country requires you to use a certain amount of local music, certain amounts of local languages and certain focus into local stories, what are the challenges you have encountered in trying to achieve these requirements here at this radio station?

2. In terms of its broadcasting mandate, what would you say are the primary functions of this radio station (is it to educate, to develop, to entertain etc)? Also elaborate on how you think the content of this radio station achieves its mandate?

3. Are you licenced as 'community of interest' or 'geographical' community radio? Please do elaborate on the rationale for this licensing condition…furthermore please explain on whether this station exists for any other special purpose: such as upholding culture, promoting local languages. And also elaborate on the importance of executing the licensing mandate of the radio station for the benefit of this community.

4. As a community radio station, please explain how the station functions in relation to the community? Does this station see the community as a single entity or do you have a particular way of speaking to different sections of the community?

5. In the issue of using local language, could you explain the language policy of radio station? How have you faired in implementing this policy and what would you say are the advantage and disadvantages of the language policy as practiced in this radio station? How do you think such adds to the cultural role of the radio station? Furthermore, what language or languages do you use to broadcast and is it perhaps important to stick to these languages? Please explain.

   5.1.1 Do you have a criterion of selecting and using these languages? And how do you think this helps with how the radio station is perceived by those who listen to it?

6. What kind of music is played in the broadcasting of this radio station? Do you think particular types of music are important for this radio station and why do you think this is the case? Also please explain the selection of music policy (who selects the music, is there a criteria for selecting etc)? How do you think such adds to the cultural role, identity and values of the radio station?

7. Generally speaking, would you say that the radio station has contributed in the culture of the community of broadcast? If so, how do you think is the case? How does your broadcast philosophy, policy and practice assist in the following issues:

- The use (and relevance) of African languages by the radio station as a means of promoting local identity and cultural pride;
- the content and its relevance to the immediate needs of the local African community surrounding the radio station;
- The focus and presence of content relating to local cultural and traditional practices;

- Participation of the local community in the overall running of the station (including on-air personalities, program planners, and local music)
- Perspectives, contradictions and other local views on what is considered to be the role of the radio in contributing towards an African identity for the community radio station.

8. Based on what we have discussed, to which extent can you say this radio station has achieved (or is achieving) what you intended it to achieve over the years?

9. In your opinion, what would you say is the role of the media industry in general and specifically local community radio in the reflection of the African culture and identity in the community of broadcast by Vukani Community Radio (VCR)?

10. Also please elaborate on the differences between this radio and other radio stations such as the public broadcasting Umhlobo Wenene FM for instance?

11. In terms of content broadcasted by this radio station, how relevant is it to the community of Africans targeted by your local community radio station? Probe: And why or why not?

12. How is broadcast content planning influenced by other media platforms in South Africa? With regard to the differences between this community radio station and other media platforms that the community relies on for information, what are the main differences or similarities in terms of the focus on African related issues?

13. In your opinion, to what/which extent can Vukani Community Radio as a local community radio station be identified as an African community radio station? Please explain your view regarding this identity of this radio station?

14. With regard to the content being broadcast by Vukani Community Radio, which would you say resonates with the broadcast target community and why? Which shows are popular and can you explain the variables such as age, gender into the popularity of these radio shows? Please elaborate on your reasons.

15. How does the community respond to the broadcast content? Do you have measures of community input into your content and strategies and what would you say are the cultural preference of the community? E.g. Do they like American music as opposed to local music? Do they have a say in how the different shows are planned with regards to topics and which topics would you say are most preferred?

16. How does this radio station play a role in the concept of focusing on African related issues?

17. Lastly. To what extent does the community around this station influence the content it broadcast? In addition, would you say that the fact this radio station is positioned within a abaThembu mostly occupied area impacts on the content that you broadcast? In other words, does the radio station feel influenced by the identity of the community surrounding it?

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Appendix 6: External stakeholders information letter

MEDIA STUDIES
School of Literature, Language & Media, University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa • Tel: +26 11 717 4140 • Fax: + 27 11 717 4149

ATT: EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS/COMMUNITY MEMBERS

INFORMATION LETTER

Dear Prospective Participant

Thank you for taking part in this research study and your input will add significant value in this research project. This letter is an introductory guide to my Doctor of Philosophy (media studies) research study that has been titled: "Africanising community radio broadcasting in South Africa: an exploration of Vukani Community Radio (VCR) as a case study" at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. The study explores the issue of community radio (Vukani Community Radio) in relation to the Black-African community that this radio station targets.

Please be advised that that you may choose not to participate in this research study and should you wish to withdraw at a later stage, you have full right to do so and your action will not disadvantage you in anyway.
Your participation in this research study will be through participating in an unstructured interview. The prospective interview will take from 30 – 45 minutes of your time. Such has been arranged with an idea of bringing the most minimal disruption in your daily schedule.

There is no material or financial benefits attached to participating in this research study and this is done on a volunteer basis. The information obtained will be treated as of confidential nature and will be safely stored at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Should you need further clarity on the matter explained above, or at any matter that directly or indirectly associated with this research study, please contact me or my supervisor:

Mr Siyasanga M Tyali (researcher)
073 9479391
smtyali@gmail.com

Dr. Ufuoma Akpojivi (supervisor)
011 717 4145
Ufuoma.Akpojivi@wits.ac.za

Your participation is much appreciated, thank you.

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Appendix 7: External stakeholders interview guide

MEDIA STUDIES
School of Literature, Language & Media, University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa • Tel: +26 11 717 4140 • Fax: + 27 11 717 4149

EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDE

1. As a member of this community, how would you describe Vukani Community Radio's (VCR) role in the concept of focusing on African related issues?

2. As part of the community where this radio stations broadcast, how would you describe the community's response to the broadcast content? Do you think the radio station has measures of community input into their content and strategies and what would you say are your cultural preferences and that of your community? E.g. Would you say this community likes American music as opposed to local music? Do you have a say in how the different shows are planned with regards to topics and which topics would you say are most preferred by yourself and the community?

3. To what extent does the community around this station influence the content that is broadcast Vukani Community Radio (VCR)? In addition, would you say that the fact this radio station is positioned within an abaThembu mostly occupied area impacts on the content that is broadcast? In other words, would you say that station feels influenced by the identity of the community surrounding it?

4. Please elaborate on perspectives, contradictions and other local views on what is considered to be the role of this radio station in contributing towards an African identity for the community that it broadcast for.

5. In terms of content broadcasted by this radio station, how relevant is it to the community of Africans targeted by your local community radio station? Probe: And why or why not?

6. Also please elaborate on the differences between this radio and other radio stations such as the public broadcasting Umhlobo Wenene FM for instance?

7. As a local community broadcaster, would you say that Vukani Community Radio (VCR) adheres to the local cultural values and protocols that are observed by yourself as a member of this community?

8. Lastly, how important would you say is the role of language in creating a local identity for this radio station?

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