

DECLARATION

Student number- 5081-635-7

I, **Phillip Mpofu**, declare that **MULTILINGUALISM, LOCALISM AND THE NATION: IDENTITY POLITICS IN THE ZIMBABWE BROADCASTING CORPORATION** is my work and that the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



Signature.....

25 November 2013

Date.....

ABSTRACT

This study examines the mediation of multilingualism, localism and the nation in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, henceforth, ZBC as the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies subsumed in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) respectively translated into radio and television programming. This purpose is pursued by analysing the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and programming. This study is informed by an eclectic approach within the critical theory tradition and therefore it disapproves the domination, marginalisation and exclusion of the indigenous African languages in the ZBC as a public sphere. Against this backdrop, the study envisages the promotion of linguistic diversity and indigenous African languages in the ZBC broadcasting. Data for this study was gathered from the ZBC employees, academics and the ZBC audience using questionnaires, interviews, and focus group discussions. As the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies translated into ZBC programming, this study detected a hierarchical organisation of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the radio and television stations where English is the most dominant language, while Shona and Ndebele dominate the minority languages, Shona dominates Ndebele and the supremacy of the Zezuru dialect in the Shona language is easily felt. This is a confirmation of the fragility of Zimbabwean linguistic nationalism in the ZBC which is convoluted by the ideological and political nature of the media, electronic colonisation, the political economy of broadcasting, the transformation of the ZBC public sphere by the market and state interests, the influence of the global media firms, and the relentless hegemony of the western countries in the world system. This study established that broadcasting in indigenous African languages is obligatory if the informative, communicative and symbolic functions of the public service broadcasting are to be achieved. However, this study contends that it is remarkably insufficient for linguists to minimally identify, lament and deplore the marginalisation and exclusion of the indigenous African languages in the ZBC without taking into account the economic, political and technological factors which contribute to the marginalisation and exclusion of these languages in the ZBC broadcasting in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies. Therefore, this study implores scholars in the discipline of language studies to ameliorate their sophistication by espousing a multidisciplinary approach to the study of language if they are to make meaningful arguments which can influence meaningful language policy outcomes instead of parroting.

KEY WORDS

Indigenous African languages, local content broadcasting policy, multilingual broadcasting policy, multilingualism, localism, local content, nation, national identity, critical theory, hegemony, public sphere, electronic colonisation, ideology, nationalism, media economics, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), political economy, Africana critical theory, glocalisation, globalisation.

DEDICATION

To

My son Ethan Phillip Munenyasha

and

Daughter, Brooklyn Theresa Tadiwanashe

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This piece of work is evidence of years of research in the areas of language, the media and nationalism. Whereas the ultimate compilation of this thesis was a solitary undertaking, its content and organisation are products of my interaction with people from different backgrounds, including academic and professional gurus who assisted me shape my ideas. Some provided me with the information I needed and some reviewed and edited this work at different stages, while others identified the salient gaps and weak points in my research, and suggested the possible ways of improving my arguments.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

This study is in the area of language planning and policy. It specifically focuses on the language policy of the media in Zimbabwe. The study examines the language choices and practices in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) radio and television in the context of the local content broadcasting policy subsumed in the *Broadcasting Services Act (BSA)* of 2001 and the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act (BSAA)* of 2007. The study explores the mediation of the localism principle which entails protectionism, preservation and reflection of the languages and other cultural creations that are unique and distinct within particular nationalities (Mda, 2010), with the idea of broadcasting in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe in public service broadcasting towards building the nation of Zimbabwe. The study, therefore, critically examines the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of multilingualism, the English language hegemony over the indigenous African languages (Charamba, 2012), and Shona and Ndebele hegemony over the minority languages in Zimbabwe (Ndhlovu, 2009).

There is concurrence in extant scholarship on the indication that Zimbabwe lacks a clear-cut national language policy document or a piece of legislation with the sole purpose to define the status and usage of the many languages which are spoken within the borders of Zimbabwe (Magwa, 2008; Makanda, 2011). This non-committal approach to language planning is not apparent to Zimbabwe alone, rather, for most African countries:

the approach to language policy is characterised by several undesirable features such as avoidance of policymaking, vagueness of formulation, arbitrariness, inconsistency and fluctuation, and declaration of policy without any serious intention of implementation (Bamgbose, 1991:111).

This study aptly observes that, the Zimbabwean language situation is epitomised by this kind of approach to language planning as reflected by the ad hoc policy statements denoting the status and utilisation of the Zimbabwean languages in the various public domains. Apparently, these ad hoc language policy statements subsist in assorted pieces of legislation and other documents which are meant for other purposes and not primarily for regulating

language use in the country. Such pieces of legislation include the *Education Act (1987)* which outlines language practice in the education sector, and *the Broadcasting Services Act, 2001 (Amendment Act of 2007)* which delineates the status of languages in the Zimbabwean broadcasting sector, *Nziramasanga Commission Report on Education and Training in Zimbabwe (1999)* among others. According to Ndhlovu (2009: 130), “all these documents are presented in glowing and rosy terms that see the promotion and protection of language diversity as the cornerstone of any progressive language policy framework.” This study therefore interrogates the implementation of the commitment to the promotion and protection of language diversity as outlined in the *BSAA (2007)* as the policy translated into programming in the ZBC.

In recent times, the language issue received constitutional backing as reflected in the new *Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe* which was adopted in the year 2013, something which was absent in the Lancaster House *Constitution of Zimbabwe (1980)*. Satisfactorily, Chapter 1, Section 6 of this constitution outlines the sixteen officially recognised languages, and implores the state to take into account the language preferences of the people and advance the use of all the languages used in Zimbabwe. However, the commitment to the promotion of the linguistic rights as demonstrated in the new *Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe (2013)* is again characterised with imprecision when it says ‘officially recognised languages’ instead of precisely saying ‘official languages’. More so, as demonstrated in the foregoing discussion, the commitment towards raising the indigenous languages has always been demonstrated in Zimbabwean language policy-related documents, but without meaningful implementation. Therefore, this study analyses the implementation of the multilingual policy in the *BSAA (2007)* and the local content broadcasting policy in the *BSA (2001)*. This purpose is pursued by analysing the language choices in the ZBC broadcasting in the context of the English language hegemony, Shona and Ndebele hegemony, and the technological advancements among other issues.

Despite the fact that there is considerable literature on the language planning and policy issues in Zimbabwe, it was observed in this study that much of the attention of the Zimbabwean scholars has been given to the *Education Act (1987)* which predominantly turns out to be the de facto language policy of Zimbabwe. This is based on the observation that, much of the debates on the status and usage of languages spoken in the country are based on the pronouncements in this Act. Ultimately, the ensuing debates are situated in the field of

education. However, this study is premised on the observation that scanty consideration has been given to the language policy and practice in the media particularly the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007). This researcher observes that Part 1 of the Seventh Schedule of the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) contains proclamations which specify the expected language practices in the public service broadcasting in Zimbabwe. The act outlines that,

The broadcasting service operated by a public broadcaster shall:-

(a) make programmes available to Zimbabweans in *all the languages* commonly used in Zimbabwe, and (b) reflect both the unity and diverse cultural and *multilingual nature of Zimbabwe*, and (c) strive to be of high quality in *all the languages* served... [emphasis mine]

The highlight of this excerpt is the reality of a multilingual approach to language use in public service broadcasting which is aimed at promoting all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe, an avowal which is apparent in all the three statements in the preceding extract, as well as the admission that Zimbabwe is characterised with multilingualism. However, this study noted that, this account was inserted within a context of existing contentious issues in the principal act, the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001). These issues concern the local content conditions in broadcasting, which Mda (2010) refers to as the localism principle, and the ensuing argument of the construction of the Zimbabwean national identity. On this issue, Moyo (2006: 265) argues that “no other aspect of the *Broadcasting Services Act* has attracted much attention and heated debate as the subject of local content”. This is demonstrated by the growing scholarship on the subject of local content conditions in Zimbabwean broadcasting which include Moyo (2004), Melber (2004), Chiumbu (2004), and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) among others. This is a demonstration that the subject of local content in broadcasting is a highly contested terrain owing to the context in which the policy was crafted which includes the contentious land issue (Moyo, 2006; Chiumbu, 2004).

According to Chiumbu (2004), the background to the local content broadcasting policy is marked by the fast-track land reform programme which received a lot of condemnation locally, regionally and globally, and the mounting international pressure and persistent attacks on the then ZANU (PF) government in the international media following the adoption of the litigious land reform programme famously dubbed the *Third Chimurenga*. This made the government of the day to be defensive and to fight for its survival through the tightening of the flow of information on the pretext of protection of national sovereignty and territorial

integrity and hence the promulgation of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001). Against this background, which is characterised by the heated discussion epitomising the context in which the policy was crafted, it is imperative for scholars from different disciplines including language studies to make their own contribution. This is because the language issue is evidently a prominent feature in nation building and localism debates. Therefore, the impetus of this study is premised on the observation that, the subject of local content broadcasting and national identity construction in Zimbabwe has not been critiqued from the discipline of language studies, an observation which marks this study's point of departure.

Based on this exposé, this study is therefore concerned with the harmonisation of the subjects of multilingualism, localism and national identity construction. The study examines the multilingual approach to language usage in public service broadcasting as observed in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) with particular reference to the (ZBC) radio and television in the context of local content broadcasting conditions and the idea of nation building ensuing in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001). Precisely, this study evaluates the implementation of the multilingual broadcasting policy in the public broadcaster in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions and the argument for the construction of a national identity of Zimbabwe. This purpose is pursued by analysing the spatial distribution of languages in the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective programming in view of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe as the policies translated into programming. Therefore, this study is framed by the overlap between the interdisciplinary concerns of language and media studies. The central argument in this study is that though the multilingual approach to public service broadcasting appears to be an excellent idea in principle considering the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe the implementation is characterised by complicity due to English, Shona, Ndebele and Zezuru hegemony, electronic colonisation, global capitalism, and the excesses of the post-independence nationalism in Zimbabwe and the political economy of public service broadcasting which is dominated by the state and market interests. This argument was fashioned by the theoretical framework which was employed in this study as explicated in Chapter 3 of this study. Ultimately, it is a difficult endeavour to construct an inclusive Zimbabwean national identity using multilingual and localism approaches in the ZBC broadcasting due to the national and world political, economical and technological factors which determine language choices and practices in the broadcasting sector.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) of Zimbabwe indicates that the broadcasting service operated by the public broadcaster, in this case the ZBC must adopt a multilingual paradigm, where high quality programmes must be made available to the Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe, thereby reflecting both the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe. However, this declaration is made in the context of the localism principle which is denoted by the excessively high local content requirements for the construction of a distinctively Zimbabwean national identity as outlined in the principal act, the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001). While the idea of representing all the languages in broadcasting is a noble one, the central question is on the equity of distribution of these languages on the available ZBC television and radio stations and their respective programmes in the context of the English language hegemony in Zimbabwe (Charamba, 2012), Shona and Ndebele over the minority languages (Ndhlovu, 2009). This is further complicated by the fact that just like any other African country, Zimbabwe is part and parcel of the world political and economic systems which are epitomised by speedy technological advancements, global capitalism, state and market influences in public service broadcasting, and the politics of repression among other factors. Therefore, the central question is on the possibility of projecting an inclusive nation in the ZBC based on the localism principle and multilingual approach in the context of the pervasive English, Shona and Ndebele linguistic hegemony, globalisation, media economics and electronic colonisation.

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

This study critiques the multilingual paradigm to language usage on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programmes which is evident in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) in the context of the local content requirements and the argument of constructing a distinctive national identity of Zimbabwe which is apparent in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001). The study pursues this purpose by analysing the fairness of the language distribution in the available broadcasting space in view of projecting a multilingual nation in localised broadcasting content in the context of competing languages, globalisation, global capitalism, electronic colonisation, state and market influence in broadcasting and politics of repression in Zimbabwe. In a nutshell, this study is aimed at the

harmonisation of the subjects of multilingualism, localism and the nation in the ZBC, a public service broadcaster.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study aimed at achieving the following objectives-:

(a)	To question and analyse the equity of the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the localism principle indicated by the seventy-five percent local content requirements in the <i>Broadcasting Services Act</i> (2001).
(b)	To establish the significance of a multilingual approach to broadcasting in the representation of the multilingual and multicultural character of Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting following the promulgation of the <i>Broadcasting Services Amendment Act</i> (2007).
(c)	To evaluate the representation of the Zimbabwean nation in the ZBC by the language choices and practices on the radio and television stations and their respective programming.
(d)	To critique and recommend the language choices and practices in public service broadcasting in the context of multilingualism and the localism principle so as to embody an inclusive multilingual Zimbabwean nation.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study specifically aimed to answer the following questions-:

(a)	What are the major contributions of the local content broadcasting policy in the <i>Broadcasting Services Act</i> (2001) towards the raising and development of the indigenous African languages in Zimbabwe as the policy translated into ZBC radio and television programming?
(b)	What is the position and place of language in the localisation of broadcasting content?
(c)	What is the nature of the spatial distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming?
(d)	How 'local' is the ZBC local content programming basing on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations?

(e)	How do the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and programmes impact on the national identity of Zimbabwe?
(f)	Why is it difficult to grant more broadcasting space to the indigenous African languages and ward-off English hegemony in the context of the seventy-five percent local content and the multilingual broadcasting policies?
(g)	What language choices and practices can be recommended to the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation towards constructing a distinguishable Zimbabwean national identity through broadcasting in the context of the local content and the multilingual broadcasting policies?

1.6 RATIONALE

The theme of local content broadcasting in Zimbabwe has been topical in the Zimbabwean political and media discourse in the post-2000 period. In this context, Moyo (2006: 265) observes that “no other aspect of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) has attracted much attention and heated debate as the subject of local content”. To substantiate this claim, a substantial number of scholars who include Moyo (2004), Melber (2004), Chiumbu (2004) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) pay particular attention to the subject of local content in the ZBC within the frameworks informed by their own respective disciplines. This study is a contribution to the emerging body of literature in the areas of local content broadcasting and nation building in Zimbabwe. This study is also novel for its focus on multilingual approach to language use in radio and television broadcasting thus adding up to the seemingly endless debate on language policy making process in Zimbabwe. This study innovatively examines the mediation of multilingualism, localisation and the nation of Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting as the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies translated into programming.

The study essentially defines new dimensions to the contents of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) by its focus on the language issue as the local content broadcasting policy translated into ZBC programming and how that impact on the Zimbabwean national identity, as well as multilingual broadcasting policy subsumed in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007), issues which, to date have not received special attention. This study evaluates the ‘content’ which resulted from the policy with regards to the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC stations and programming, and its

implications to the national identity of Zimbabwe. This study specifically builds on the arguments by Chiumbu (2004) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) who hint on the shortfalls of the *BSA* (2001), but only concern themselves with the controversial and political context in which the *BSA* was introduced as well as the politicisation of the media through broadcasting legislation respectively. This study brings new insights on the interplay among the localism, multilingualism and the national identity of Zimbabwe.

It has been argued in a wide scholarship that language is an aspect which has been identified as a critical marker of national identity over and above other markers such as race, ethnicity, religion, and culture, history, region, and values (Woodward, 2002; Vanderwerf, 2009). This implies that language can be the basis upon which a nation can be constructed and imagined. In this regard, Simpson (2007:4) argues that:

...language is among the basic attributes of national identity. As its spoken form is an inevitable basis of communication among people...its literary form is a determining supposition for a national culture and development and for the establishing of ethnic identity...

Zimbabwe, like other modern states, resulted from the “colonial rivalries, partition conferences and conquest...such that several ethnic groups found themselves in one and the same country” (Chazen, et al, 1992: 11). This study significantly contributes to the debate on the position and place of indigenous African languages in nation building. This study analyses the place and position of the indigenous African languages and the handling of multilingualism on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions and the nation building commitment in the *BSA* (2001) and *BSAA* (2007).

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

Making a case for linguistic hegemony, Suarez (2002) writes that linguistic hegemony is achieved when dominant groups create a consensus by convincing others to accept their language norms and usage as standard or pragmatic. This definition explains how power is exerted upon linguistic minorities. This is a key conceptual framework to this study since it demonstrates how such social influences as the media particularly radio and television can legitimize certain language choices and practices on radio and television stations and programmes to the extent of defining the locality and national identity of Zimbabwe in a particular way.

It is demonstrated in scholarship that linguistic hegemony is apparent in Zimbabwe. Ndhlovu (2009) examines the omission of minority languages from the mainstream domains of everyday social life in postcolonial Zimbabwe in his investigation on the politics of language and nation-building in Zimbabwe. He argues that, English is not the only hegemonic language in Zimbabwe; rather Shona and Ndebele are hegemonic as well. Ndhlovu's argument demonstrates that linguistic imperialism has very little to do with whether the dominating language is foreign or indigenous. This study profits from Ndhlovu's research since this study is informed by the same concept of linguistic hegemony. However, this study evaluates the conscious effort to include all the languages in a particular public domain which is broadcasting. Focusing on the ZBC radio and television local content programming, this study analyses the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe in a bid to define national identity of Zimbabwe. Unlike Ndhlovu who primarily discusses the problems in a local context, this study goes beyond Zimbabwe to consider the external factors such as globalisation, global media, world politics and economics which affect language choices and practices in a way which impact the representation of the Zimbabwean nation.

Muzondidya (2009) argues that there are feelings about marginalisation among other minority groups such as Shangani, Kalanga, Tonga and Venda of Zimbabwe who are located in the border lands where there is little economic development and physical infrastructure. He documents that these groups complain of political and cultural domination by both 'Shona' and 'Ndebele' people, which is enforced through such state practices as national language and educational policies which emphasise the use of Ndebele and Shona at the expense of other national languages. This observation was quite pertinent at the formative stages in this study since it resonates with the notions of linguistic hegemony which is central in this study. However, this study extends the understanding of linguistic hegemony in Zimbabwe by demonstrating it in the media, something which is not mentioned by Muzondidya yet it is a critical public domain for democratisation (Moyo, 2006). Unlike Muzondidya's analysis, this study goes on to analyse the Zimbabwe linguistic situation displayed in the ZBC radio and television broadcasting within the context of the global and digital world.

Mazrui (2004) and Simpson (2007) discuss linguistic hegemony at the world level. These scholars demonstrate the effects of globalization on the patterns of language use, traditional culture, and national identity. The argument is that one major consequence of the rapid increase in international business, communication, and travel in recent years has been an accelerated spread of English in many parts of the world. This observation is quite pertinent

in this research since it explains linguistic hegemony in the ZBC broadcasting in the context of globalisation and global capitalism. This study therefore does not limit itself to linguistic hegemonies within languages spoken in Zimbabwe but also considers the external factors contributing to the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations.

Wa Thiongo (1986) interrogates the politics of language and literature where he observes that language was the means of the spiritual subjugation during colonisation. English was propagated as the language of education as a result it became the language of literature. He laments the loss of culture by Africans in their adoption of English since language is a carrier of culture as well as the difficulties which Africans face in expressing African experiences in a foreign language. This study does not argue for the use of particular languages in broadcasting but the question is on the fairness of language distribution on the ZBC radio and television stations and its implications to the national identity of Zimbabwe since language does not only define a people, but it is a marker of ethnic and national identity. Wa Thiongo's views on language are discussed in detail in section 2.2 in Chapter 2.

The subject of local content in ZBC programming has received considerable attention in Zimbabwean scholarship. This growing body of literature includes Chiumbu (2004), Moyo (2006) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009). However, the arguments in the existing literature are situated in the disciplines of media and communication studies as well as the studies in history and political science. Therefore, this researcher observes that no comprehensive research has been done on the local content programming in relation to the language, locality and national identity of Zimbabwe. This is in line with Suleiman's (2003) observation on the exclusion of linguists on national issues. Furthermore, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) laments the incorporation of ZBC into a cultural nationalism project which was meant to achieve exclusively political ends. He says "the ZBC was increasingly incorporated into the mugabeism project of 'cultural nationalism' particularly after the introduction of 'Vision 30' in November 2001... and the imposition of 100% local content," (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 286). In his critique of this national project, he mentions the issue of language which is the major concern of this study; however, he tends to concentrate on the marginalisation of Ndebele language in the national identity construction project and the political contestations in post-independent Zimbabwe. Contextualising these debates, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (*ibid*) argues that rivalry has existed between the Shona group and the Ndebele ethnic group, a factor which can also explain why it has been difficult to arrive at a homogeneous Zimbabwean

national identity in the country's historical phases. This researcher observes that Ndlovu-Gatsheni's analysis presupposes that Zimbabwe is comprised of two languages. This study therefore, broadens the analysis by considering Zimbabwe as a multilingual and not bilingual nation which is part and parcel of a world system.

Chiumbu (2004) and Moyo (2006) are not very much different from Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) in the extent to which they make assertions on the ZBC local content policy. Just like Ndlovu-Gatsheni, a historian who views reality from the historical and political perspectives, Moyo and Chiumbu are preoccupied with media operations and political contestations in Zimbabwe as demonstrated in the media. This is demonstrated by the argument that:

...broadcasting policymaking in Zimbabwe has been, since the colonial era, largely executive driven, with little or citizen participation... this has created a situation where broadcasting institution has been subject to political patronage (Moyo, 2006: 294).

Similarly, Chiumbu (2004: 31) observes that, with regards to local content and politics in Zimbabwe, the ZANU (PF) government has been accused of abusing the seventy-five percent local content quota on national radio by broadcasting messages aimed at strengthening the government's political muscle. Because of her inclination to media studies and communication, apparently she does not consider the problem of multilingualism in relation to Zimbabwean national identity formation as the local content broadcasting policy was implemented. This study is set to add up to this growing body of literature thereby filling the lacuna on the representation of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on ZBC television and radio stations in the context of local content and multilingual broadcasting policies.

Moyo (2006) is preoccupied with the responses of the government of Zimbabwe and the non-state actors to the new challenges, the reasons behind those responses and whether the resultant media reforms by the government of Zimbabwe contributed to democratisation. He argues that broadcasting reform in Zimbabwe, as with other countries in southern Africa is linked to global pressures to open markets and that the reform process did not contribute to democratization. This study benefits from Moyo in a significant way since it sprouts out from one of the media reforms which constitute part of what he calls national responses to global pressures. This study is based on the pronouncements in the *Broadcasting Services Act*, in this context, it is imperative to understand the context in which the policy was crafted which happens to justify critiques on the local content conditions in broadcasting. He also pays particular attention to the *BSA* (2001) citing the high local content requirement therefore

provides a useful context upon which the local content broadcasting policy was introduced. This study evaluates the usefulness of the multilingual approach in the *BSAA* (2007) achieving the goals of delineating the locality and national identity of Zimbabwe. In any case, Moyo (2006: 6) admits that his “study is not about content but policy; though I am aware that policy affects content”. This marks the point of departure of this study, where it makes a critical exegesis of the ZBC local ‘content’ defined by the policy in the context of multilingualism and the nation building project.

In another study, Moyo (2004) explores how the governments of both Rhodesia and Zimbabwe have sought to limit the democratic space and ownership by restrictive broadcasting laws. His concern, just like in the previously discussed work is on how the colonial government and the post-independence government have undemocratically used broadcasting as a tool for political control and manipulation of the ordinary people. He does not comment on the language(s) used in broadcasting which has got a bearing on national identity formation, since that ‘democratic space’ is negotiated in a language as argued in this study. He also views the local content prescribed in the *BSA* of 2001 as a positive development when he says “its emphasis on the promotion of national culture, national languages, local ownership and local production are remarkable improvements from the colonial legislation”, however, he falls short on making statements which seem to praise a policy as it appears on paper and not in implementation. The proclamations are not based on how the local content policy translated into programming with regards to the representation of all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe in a bid to indicate the locality and national identity of Zimbabwe.

Manhando-Makore (2001) has got a different view on the issue of local content which she regards as government propaganda intended to benefit the maker which implies that there is no relationship between local content and identity formation. If ever there is an identity, it will be elitist and exclusive. On the basis of the aspect of language use in the ZBC radio and television local content programming, this study investigates the elitism on the basis of language use and not political contestations considering the fact that Zimbabwe is a multilingual and multicultural nation.

Anderson (2006) argues that a nation is simply an “imagined community”. Important to this study is the argument that the existence of the community or nation is often imagined through the symbol of language. This implies that language plays a role in imagining and creating

nationhood. However, the language referred to here is the printed languages when he argues that the “print language is what invents nationalism, not a particular language in itself” (Anderson, 2006: 122). In this study it is observed that the printed language is no-longer pervasive as it was, but also the language of broadcasting is pervasive. Therefore, it is imperative to explore the language use in broadcasting in Zimbabwe so as to find out the space and prominence given to particular languages and the subsequent implications to the national identity of Zimbabwe.

On language and national identity, Simpson (2007) observes that the studies of nationalism and the emergence and maintenance of nations regularly concur on the view that language, and in particular the existence of broadly shared language, is very often a primary and critical component in the successful moulding of a population as a nation. That is language as an emblematic marker of a group identity has the potential to function as an important boundary device separating distinctive populations. That is a common language can lead into the creation of what Anderson (2006) regards as an imagined community. This observation is quite important and informative for this study. However Simpson’s argument is essentialist and therefore his argument does not consider the scenario in countries such as Zimbabwe which resulted from “colonial rivalries, partition conferences and conquest... such that several ethnic groups found themselves in one and the same country,” (Chazen, et al, 1992: 11). This study therefore, explores how the endeavour to represent the national identity of Zimbabwe is represented on the ZBC radio and television stations where there are many languages spoken in the country, in the context of globalisation and global political economy. An extended and detailed literature review is presented in Chapter 2 of this study.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.8.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The researcher adopted a qualitative research paradigm since it captures reality as seen and experienced by the respondents rather than relying on preconceived judgments. This is based on the epistemological grounding upon which this study is rooted in line with the view that epistemology is the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology (Crotty, 1998). Therefore, in search for reality, this research was informed by constructivism which entails that there are varied meanings thus, the researcher looks at the complexity of views and for that reason the participant views are important in this research. Hence, this study adopted a qualitative approach which “involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials, personal experience, introspection and interview among others that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ lives,” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 5). A detailed discussion on the research design that was employed in this study is presented in Section 4.2 in Chapter 4 of this study.

1.8.2 TARGET POPULATION AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

The researcher selected a sample representing the target population by way of amalgamating part samples in the mould of the cross-sectional design which is a plan which was used in a similar study by Ndhlovu (2009). The cross-section of this population comprised of language and media academics, broadcasting experts (those practising in the broadcasting industry) as well as the listeners and viewers of the Zimbabwean radio and television broadcasting respectively. These part samples represent the structure of the cross-sectional survey that was employed in this study.

The researcher targeted the language academics at various universities who provided the valuable theoretical and pragmatic data on the language issue in general and in Zimbabwe in particular. This was augmented by the data which was collected from the academics in media studies and the broadcasters at the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation. These were the key informants who are “the individuals whose role and experiences result in them having relevant information of knowledge they are willing to share with a researcher” (O’Leary, 2010: 171). This target population was selected using a probability sampling method which is referred to as purposive sampling. The researcher targeted the language experts, media academics and the broadcasting practitioners since they provided what can be referred to as

expert data for this research. The last constituent of the sample comprised of randomly selected listeners and viewers of the ZBC radio and television respectively. This group of people represented the consumers of the local content broadcasts on radio and television in Zimbabwe. The population from which the research participants were drawn in this research as well as the sampling techniques that were adopted in this research are discussed in detail in Section 4.3 of Chapter 4 of this study.

1.8.3 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

In order to get a deeper understanding of the judgments and experiences of the viewers and listeners of ZBC television and radio on the treatment of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television stations, in the context of the local content broadcasting policy and the efficacy of the multilingual broadcasting policy, the researcher used the questionnaire method which according to Somekh and Lewin (2005: 258) is believed to be, "... a common place instrument for observing data beyond the physical reach of the observer." The tool was preferred in this instance because it was cheaper and easier to administer in selected places in the country in a limited time. This was the most appropriate method to reach the listeners and viewers of the ZBC radio and television since they constitute a larger sample. More so, the questionnaire method ensured respondent anonymity something which raised the response rate. The questionnaires were distributed to the listeners and viewers and collected by the researcher with the help of five research assistants who were stationed in five different provinces.

To complement the questionnaire method, the interview method was used which is viewed by O'Leary (2010) as a data-collection method, which uses personal contact and interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee (respondent). The interview method was used to solicit data from the language and media academics as well as broadcasting practitioners. This method allowed the researcher to have in-depth discussions with this target population constituted a smaller sample and as a result rich data was provided. The interviewees were recorded using an audio voice recorder and later transcribed into the written form. The researcher also considerably made use of the secondary sources as part of desk review which can be referred to as document analysis. A detailed discussion on the data gathering techniques that were employed in this study is given in detail in Section 4.4 of Chapter 4 in this study.

1.8.4 DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION PLAN

In this study, the researcher triangulated various methods of data analysis and interpretation as a way of validating the findings. The study employed both the quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis in analysing the ZBC content and the responses from the research participants. Semiotics was used in unbundling the meaning of the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television programmes. Hermeneutics of interpretation was used in understanding the historical, political, social and contexts which shape the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations. The discourse analysis method was used for unpacking hidden meanings of issues reflected in the collected data. The SPSS for windows was also helpful in the analysis of data in this study. The findings of this research were presented largely in qualitative form; that is in words (analysing and clarifying findings). However, the qualitative presentation of data was augmented by the quantitative methods of presenting data which include graphs, tables and pie charts where applicable as demonstrated in Chapter 5 of this study. The data analysis and presentation plan implemented in this study is explicated in detail in Section 4.5 of this study.

1.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In view of the observation that, language is used as an ideological tool of oppression and domination (Sarabia, 2003); the theoretical framework for this study arises from and is organized around the concept of hegemony. Precisely, this study is entrenched within the neo-Marxist tradition. However, owing to the expansion of the Marxist thought, this study employed an eclectic approach within the critical theory in order to comprehensively understand the handling of multilingualism in the local and national question in the ZBC radio and television broadcasting. Hence, this study is distinguished by its attention to seven neo-Marxist themes which are prime examples of the grand critical theory as reflected by distinguishable critique of the dominant class of people in the society for its authoritarian influence on the ordinary members. Thus, this study is informed by Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, Louis Althusser's theory of ideology, Thomas McPhail's theory of electronic colonialism, Jürgen Habermas' public sphere concept, Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory, the concept of political economy of communication, and the Africana critical theory. These neo-Marxist presumptions inform this study in the examination of the language choices on ZBC television and radio in the construction of the Zimbabwean national identity in the context of competing languages, unrelenting dominant ideas in the Zimbabwean nation, rapid technological advancement and the digital divide, the

transformation of the public sphere, the entrenched subjugation of African languages and English supremacy, globalisation and the politics of ownership and control of broadcasting in Zimbabwe and the world at large. A detailed discussion of the theoretical underpinnings of this study is given in Chapter 3 of this study.

1. 10: SCOPE AND ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

This study critiques the multilingual paradigm to language usage on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programmes which is evident in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act (2007)* in the context of the local content requirements and the argument of constructing a distinctive national identity of Zimbabwe which is apparent in the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)*. The study pursues this purpose by analysing the fairness of the language distribution in the available broadcasting space in view of projecting a multilingual nation in the ZBC content broadcasting in the context of competing languages, globalisation, global capitalism, electronic colonisation, state and market influence in broadcasting and politics of repression in Zimbabwe. The unit of analysis was the ZBC's radio and television stations and the respective programming during the period 2007- 2013.

This study is comprised of seven chapters. Chapter one is the introductory chapter in this study which explains the problem of the study and its context. The research objectives, the research questions, the rationale, and the aims of the study are explicated in this chapter. The chapter outlines that the grand aim of the study is to investigate the mediation of multilingualism, localism and the nation in ZBC broadcasting in the context of the seventy-five percent local content and multilingual broadcasting policies. Chapter two of the study reviews related literature. Chapter two of this study demonstrated that national identities are constructed and contested, language is a determinant feature in nation-building; language is critical to the functioning of the media, and the media are sites in which national identities are constructed and contested. Chapter three of this study presented the theoretical point of departure that guides this enquiry. Chapter four explains the research methodology that was employed in this study. In Chapter five of this study, the collected data was presented and analysed. The findings of the study are discussed in Chapter six. Chapter seven is the final chapter of this study which summarises and concludes the study.

1.11. DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1.11.1 BSA (2001)

The *Broadcasting Services Act* of Zimbabwe which was enacted in 2001 which is conspicuous for its excessively high local content requirements in broadcasting.

1.11.2 BSAA (2007)

Broadcasting Services Amendment Act, of 2007 Act No. 19 of 2007 which is conspicuous for multilingual broadcasting where it outlines that, the broadcasting service operated by a public broadcaster shall make programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe, reflect both the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe, and strive to be of high quality in all the languages served.

1.11.3 Glocalisation

Glocalisation is a combination of the words globalisation and localisation which denotes the striking of a balance between local and global processes. Glocalisation denotes a set-up which calls for the need for cultural accommodation where there is a balance between local cultural interests or needs and global culture (Bastardas-Boada, 2012). In this study, glocalisation denotes the localisation of broadcasting content in ZBC broadcasting which must be sensitive to both the global needs by accommodating the English language, and the local needs by accommodating the indigenous African languages on the radio and television stations.

1.11.4 Linguistic hegemony

Linguistic hegemony is the process by which dominant groups create a consensus by convincing others to accept their language norms and usage as standard or pragmatic (Suarez, 2002).

1.11.5 Local content broadcasting policy

This refers to the local content broadcasting conditions set in the sixth schedule of the *Broadcasting Services Act* of 2001 which stipulates the local content quota in radio and television programming.

1.11.6 Local content

In this study local content refers to the expression of the locally owned and adapted knowledge of a community. The focus is on language since the community is defined by its location, culture, language, or area of interest (Ballantyne, 2002).

1.11.7 Localism principle

It refers to the responsiveness of broadcasters to geographically local needs, politics, news, entertainment, culture, among others (Mda, 2010).

1.11.8 Media economics

Media economics refers to the application of economics to the understanding of the operations of media organisations. In media economics, the decisions which are taken by those who run the media organisations are to a greater or lesser extent influenced by the resource and financial issues. Thus, it is concerned with the changing economic forces that direct and constrain the choices of managers, practitioners and other decision-makers across the media (Albarran, 2002).

1.11.9 Multilingual broadcasting policy

In this study multilingual broadcasting policy refers to policy declarations in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act (2007)* which seek to promote linguistic diversity in public service broadcasting in order to reflect the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe.

1.11.10 Nation

A nation refers to a society/community occupying a particular geographical territory and is held together by a sense of a common language, identity and culture.

1.11.11 National identity

This is the collective identity of a nation which makes it distinctive and is premised on some typical features which include behaviour patterns, values, common religion, history and language.

1.11.12 Political economy

Political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, which

mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources (Mosco, 1996). It is concerned with how patterns of ownership, control and financing influence the production, distribution and consumption goods or services.

1.11.13 ZBC

Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation. This is the sole public service broadcaster in Zimbabwe.

1. 12. CONCLUSION

This chapter is the introductory section of this study which explained the problem of the study and its context. In this chapter, the research objectives, the research questions, the rationale, and the aims of the study were explicated. The chapter outlined that the major aim of the study is to investigate the mediation of multilingualism, localism and the nation in the ZBC broadcasting in the context of the seventy-five percent local content and multilingual broadcasting policies. This is done by analysing the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations. The next chapter reviews the related literature.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter revealed that this study is concerned with the mediation of multilingualism, the localisation exercise and nation building in the ZBC broadcasting in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies subsumed in the *BSA* (2001) and the *BSAA* (2007) respectively. Therefore, this study is concerned with the harmonisation of the subjects of multilingualism, localism and the Zimbabwean national identity in the ZBC. The study pursues this intent by analysing the language use patterns, language choices and prominence in the public service broadcasting space with the purpose of defining the locality and the national identity of Zimbabwe. This is done with the considerations on language competition amongst the hegemonic languages, that is, the English language, Shona and Ndebele and the rest of the minority languages, globalisation, rapid technological advances and digitalisation. Against this background, this chapter is devoted to the review of the extant literature which is concerned with the concepts of nation-building in Zimbabwe, language and nation-building, language use and the media, the media and nation-building, as well as linguistic hegemony, marginalisation and exclusion. This endeavour situates the study in the rightful conceptual and practical context. The discussion in this chapter is conducted within the context of the argument that, it is convoluted to define the locality and national identity of Zimbabwe through language use and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations due to the layered linguistic hegemonies in multilingual Zimbabwe displayed in the ZBC. More so, the speedy advances in technology, globalisation and electronic colonisation further complicate the drive to define the locality and national identity of Zimbabwe through language in the public broadcasting space.

2.2 THE SEARCH FOR NATIONAL IDENTITY: A HARD ROAD!

In a review of Ndhlovu's book, *The Politics of Language and Nation Building in Zimbabwe* (2009), Mpofu (2012: 221) observes that there is a growing body of literature on the politics of nation-building in Zimbabwe which include captivating titles like, *Do Zimbabweans Exist? Nation Building, Identity and Violence* by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009), *From Buoyancy to Crisis, 1980-1997* by Muzondidya (2009), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial*

Period to 2008 by Raftopoulos and Mlambo (2009) among others. Central to the arguments raised in this burgeoning body of literature is the challenge of constructing a unified Zimbabwean national identity in a society which is intensely divided along racial, ethnic, gender, geographical, political and linguistic lines which is confronting the post-independence leadership of Zimbabwe (Muzondidya, 2009: 167). This demonstrates the point that there is nothing novel in saying that identities are complex, variable, elastic and subject to manipulation (Maalouf, 2000). However, as demonstrated in this chapter, the Zimbabwean national project has not been explored evocatively on the basis of language use patterns, particularly multilingualism in broadcasting which is one of the critical sites in which national identities are constructed and contested.

In this chapter, it is observed that Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2004, 2009) is obsessively preoccupied with the arduous character of the Zimbabwean nation and nationalism. For the purposes of this study, three works by this scholar are reviewed in this section. To start with Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2004) explores the representation, hegemony and the culture of commemoration which is evident in the re-imagination of the Zimbabwean nation predicated on the use of the father figure of Joshua Nkomo after his death. He argues that, this re-imagination of the Zimbabwean nation takes the structure of a family epic headed by President Robert Mugabe who is “the practical creator of what Nkomo founded and is the leading ideologist and articulator of Zimbabweanism” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni: 2004: 74). As the title of this section suggests, Ndlovu-Gatsheni’s avowal demonstrates that the forging of the Zimbabwean nation is a contested terrain, a revelation which is appropriate information to this study which ventures into the construction of the Zimbabwean nation through language in broadcasting. However, unlike the work under review this study does not focus on particular individuals like Nkomo, but the focus is on the language question, that is on the language choices and practices in the re-imagining of the multilingual Zimbabwean nation on ZBC radio and television in particular and the media in general in line with the argument that “the current conception of the Zimbabwean nation is a system of representation articulated in and through...the media” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2004: 86).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) examines the nature of the Zimbabwean national project, providing a radical and critical analysis of the problems of Zimbabwean nationalism in the post-independence period. Ndlovu-Gatsheni is preoccupied with recounting the faultlines of the Zimbabwean national project, critically engaging with the partisan nature of Zimbabwean

nationalism, and its failure to create a unified nation which is violence free, democratic and where human rights are respected. He grapples with the question of the making of 'Zimbabweans' in the context of the contested politics of nation reconstruction and citizenship and concludes that this national project is a terrain of struggles (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 147). This is a demonstration that this study is concerned with a contested terrain since the agenda of constructing one nation and common identity is not an easy one.

However, in relation to this study, Ndlovu-Gatsheni is preoccupied by the centralisation of the Zimbabwean national project on Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF and for that reason he did not give particular attention to the language question in the Zimbabwean national question. Though he makes an attempt to explore the role of the media in Zimbabwean nation-building project, his concentration is not on language use patterns in the media, but on how the media were used as an ideological state apparatuses through such programmes like *National Ethos* which were anchored by what he terms 'regime scholars' to interpellate the subjects (the Zimbabweans) via the use of culture based debates which essentialised African identity.

In his critique of the Zimbabwean national project, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) superficially mentions the language issue which is the major concern of this study. However, he expressively concentrated on the marginalisation of the Ndebele language in the national identity construction project, and the political contestations in the post-independent Zimbabwe. Contextualising these debates, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (ibid) argues that rivalry has existed between the Shona and the Ndebele ethnic groups, a factor which can also explain why it has been difficult to arrive at a homogeneous and distinctive Zimbabwean national identity in the country's historical phases. Therefore, he presents Zimbabwe as a 'bifurcated' Ndebele-Shona state. This study contends that Ndlovu-Gatsheni's analysis presupposes that Zimbabwe is comprised of only two languages. Hence, this study broadens the scope to focus on Zimbabwe as a multilingual and multicultural country as it is represented in the public service broadcasting in the global and digital age.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems (2009) examine the cultural events and activities that were promoted in the Zimbabwe national project in the 2000s which they consider to be part of cultural nationalism. They argue that the fetishised nation which is marked by contestations was forged and legitimised through musical galas like the *Mzee Bira* and the *Umdhala Wethu*, as well as the commemoration of national days such as the Independence, Heroes and the Unity days. They also note that this project of cultural nationalism in Zimbabwe was

elaborately covered by the media, particularly the state broadcaster, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). This implies that the broadcaster was incorporated into the state-led project of cultural nationalism as shown by the introduction of the ZBC's 'Vision 30' in November 2001. Through this strategy, the ZBC vowed "to provide world-class quality programmes and services that reflect, develop, foster and respect the Zimbabwean national identity, character, cultural diversity, national aspirations and Zimbabwean and Pan-African values" (Moyo, 2006: 282). This Zimbabwean cultural nationalism project is also premised on the *Broadcasting Services Act* which was enacted in April 2001 and it stipulates the local content conditions of seventy-five percent in radio and television broadcasting.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems (2009) conclude that the national imagery that was promoted through cultural events and activities was by no means inclusive but resulted in a mediated 'party-nation'. This is a very important context in which this study is located. It is in this context in which the springboard of this study is also positioned, a springboard which is characterised by the setting out of the local content conditions for broadcasting and the aspiration to create a distinct national identity. Therefore, this study evaluates the status of the indigenous African languages in the ZBC programming as the local content broadcasting policy translated into programming and the re-imagining of the nation through language of broadcasting. However, this study was not about events and activities but it was concerned with the language choices and practices in ZBC programming considering that Zimbabwe is a multilingual nation and language operates as a representational system, representing the people's concepts, ideas and feelings (Hall, 2007).

Mpondi (2004) departs from a generalised critique of the Zimbabwean national project. Rather he investigated how the institution of education has been used by the post-independent government of Zimbabwe as a focal point for nation-building and social transformation. In this regard, he argues that the Zimbabwean education system is situated in the context of culture, knowledge and power. Therefore, he concludes that, though the Zimbabwean official discourse on national culture in education includes claims of homogeneity, it is an elite driven exercise which is a replica of the colonial state. This is demonstrated by the dominance of English as the medium of instruction in schools and as the official language in Zimbabwe. This is a demonstration that the project of nation-building is a contested one, in this case contested in the education sector. However, in this study it is observed that education is not the only site in which national identities are constructed. The media are also

critical sites in which national identities are constructed and contested through language since they carry language, they operate through language and they develop language (Tom, 2007).

Raftopoulos and Mlambo (2009), consider the road for Zimbabwe becoming national as a 'hard one' which has always been characterised by repression, oppression, hegemony, violence, politics of exclusion, co-option among others culminating into a real crisis. However, in this work, the verdict on the Zimbabwe's quest of being a nation is not given. Rather, a chronology of events that mark the hard road of Zimbabwe to becoming national is given. This shows that this piece of literature is situated in the discipline of history, and for that reason the aspect of language and the nation is not explored at all. Just like Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009), Raftopoulos and Mlambo simply demonstrate the faultlines of Zimbabwe nationalism on the political front, but do not specifically look at national identity construction through a particular public domain to demonstrate the nature of the 'hard road to becoming Zimbabwe' which include repression, oppression, hegemony and politics of exclusion without making any reference to language use patterns in the media. This is because repression, oppression and the politics of exclusion can be demonstrated through the symbolic form of language usage. This validates the argument that most African states have experienced serious problems of national integration or nation-building (Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2000). In this regard, Archie Mafeje in Shivji (2003) observes that all the struggles in Africa and most of the Third World centre on the national question. Therefore, this study brings in the language question into the Zimbabwean national question, using broadcasting as a case study.

In this section it is demonstrated that the problem of nation-building is not confined to the African experience. Tjaden (2012) argues that one of the core problems of development in Latin America is the search for, and construction of, social, ethnic, cultural, and national identities. He examines the Chilean example where the national image was forged through the process of selective memory and mass ritual discourse in *Zig-Zag* newspaper. Tjaden (ibid) observes that the narrative of the Chilean nation follows certain recurring themes of national representation which include inclusion/exclusion, legitimisation, and integration which are part of what he calls the manual for 'national identity formation' of the Chilean oligarchy in 1910. This study profits from these remarks in the sense that it also focuses on the national identity construction of Zimbabwe through the media. However, unlike Tjaden's study which focuses on the print media, this study focuses on radio and television

broadcasting. Furthermore, this study focuses on the language question in the Zimbabwean national question basing on the inclusion or exclusion, legitimation and integration of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe in the national identity construction project and the delineating of the Zimbabwean locality.

The complexity of the nation-building exercise can be further explained by the seminal works on the origins of nations and reasons for their emergence. This is because much of the scholarship surrounding nations and national identity has been explained by the theories of the origins of nations and reasons for their emergence. In this regard, the ideology of nationalism which is behind the creation of nations is widely acknowledged as being an ‘invented’ (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992), ‘imagined’ (Anderson, 2006), and ‘narrated’ (Bhabha, 1990). Therefore, the study questions how the Zimbabwean nation is invented, imagined or narrated through language choices and language use patterns on the ZBC radio and television stations and programmes. These seminal works demonstrate that nation-building is first and foremost an emblematic representation and awareness by the people, and not necessarily a factual feature of a grouping or a natural state, but imagination which has made Anderson (2006) to refer to a nation as an “imagined community” which implies that it exist in the minds of those who think that it should be present. This classical reasoning is imperative in this study since it justifies the convoluted nature of the nation-building exercise. This section has demonstrated that the road of states becoming nations is characterised with contestations and therefore is a hard one.

2.3 LANGUAGE AND THE NATION

This section analyses the existent literature on the theoretically oriented arguments on the role of language in nation-building. Nevertheless, this theoretical grounding broadly inspires this study. To start with, Gellner (2006) argues that the function of language as a medium of communication is central to the comprehension of the importance of language in nationalism. This is because in an industrial economy, literacy in a single language is the key feature of a modern society. This implies that the creation and teaching of a standard written language is mandatory for modernization. Therefore, non-dominant language groups typically suffer economic and social disadvantage during this process, such that their reaction leads to language-based nationalist movements. This realisation of the importance of language in nation-building as a means of communication is relevant to this study. However, it expands the scope and application by looking at the language use in broadcasting focusing on the

language use patterns in the available broadcasting space, thus the representation of the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe.

Unlike Gellner (2006) who views the relationship between language and nationalism as developing from impersonal forces, Hobsbawm (1996) stresses the agency of political elites in the construction of a nation. He argues that national identities in general and linguistic identity in particular are elite projects designed to mobilize populations and gain political support. The argument basically is that “nations are constructed essentially from above, but cannot be understood unless also analysed from below” (Hobsbawm, 1996: 10). Put succinctly, Hobsbawm’s position implies that language’s role as symbol of the nation is a result of a political movement. Therefore in this study, it will be imperative to interrogate the influence of the political movements on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their representation of the Zimbabwean nation.

Anderson (2006) focuses on how the model of the printed language leads the individuals to “imagine” the nation; he sees the “nation” and national identity as a more subjective phenomenon that emerges from the population of a territory coming to imagine themselves as part of a single community. Anderson proposes a variety of mechanisms which create this vision of national community. He argues that language plays a key role, though that role is a side effect of the rise of print media. This implies that language plays a role in imagining and creating nationhood. In the same view, Cormack (2007) argues that such imagining of the political community is produced and reproduced in the media. However, the language referred to in this case exist in print when he argues that the “print language is what invents nationalism, not a particular language in itself” (Anderson, 2006: 122). In this study it is observed that the printed language is no-longer pervasive as it was, but rather the language of broadcasting has become more pervasive instead. Therefore, this study explores how the Zimbabwean nation is imagined in the ZBC broadcasting through the languages used in the radio and television stations.

Another scholar in the mould of Anderson, Hobsbawm and Gellner is Smith (1991). He argues that language is an important but not critical marker of deeply rooted ethnic ties. For Smith, a nation’s having a distinct language is less important than the resonance the language has as a symbol of ethnicity and/or nationhood. This implies that the language’s role in nationalism is characterized by “revivals” of national literature, “rediscoveries” of national

epics, the collection of national folk songs, and other such cultural activities. For Smith, language operates in conjunction with other aspects of cultural revival that lead to nationalism. It is interesting to note that these national literatures and cultural activities which operate in conjunction with language are legitimised through broadcasting, therefore it is important to explore the spatial distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe, and the prominence given to the different languages and how that impacts on the representation of the Zimbabwean national identity on the ZBC radio and television stations.

Wa Thiongo (1986) interrogates the politics of language in the writing of literature when he observes that language was the means of the spiritual subjugation during colonisation. English was propagated as the language of education as a result it became the language of literature. He laments the loss of culture since language is a carrier of culture and the difficulties in expressing African experiences in a foreign language. In essence, Ngugi argues that writing in African languages is a necessary step toward cultural identity and independence from centuries of European exploitation. Though Ngugi's argument is biased towards literature, his observations are worthwhile in this research. The argument 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," (wa Thiongo, 1986 :4) was applicable to this research. However, this study was not concerned with language use in literature but rather language use in the media in general and broadcasting in particular. Though, Ngugi's arguments are valid, his arguments are based on the dichotomy of foreign versus indigenous languages, thereby making an oversight on the contestations for space amongst local language groups in a given field. This study does not argue for the use of particular languages in broadcasting but questions the fairness of the language distribution on the ZBC radio and television stations and its implications on the national identity of Zimbabwe since language does not only define a people, but is also a marker of ethnic and national identity.

According to Young (2011), language is the main element in the creation of symbolic boundaries for the nation. To buttress this point, he defines nationalism as any movement that seeks cultural autonomy especially in the areas of language, education, and the establishment of cultural institutions. Furthermore, this scholar uses the term linguistic nationalism to mean any attempt to use language to reinforce a political movement. In linguistic nationalism, effort and resources will be devoted to strengthen what will be seen as the national language.

While Hobsbawm (1996) argues that linguistic nationalists do not necessarily seek to eliminate other languages or dialects within the national territory, in this case Young (2011) does not interrogate the effects of one language supported by a linguistic movement in a multilingual nature on the identity of a nation and delineating the locality of a given country. This study hinges on the pre-eminence of language in nation-building; however it goes further to look at how the struggle for national language becomes part of the national story in broadcasting in the media in the context of multilingualism, the local content broadcasting policy, the English language hegemony, and globalisation.

According to Simpson (2007), studies of nationalism and the emergence and maintenance of nations regularly agree that language, and in particular, the existence of broadly shared language, is very often a primary and critical component in the successful moulding of a population as a nation. These studies include Schopflin (2000), Anderson (1991), Smith (1991), and May (2008). The point is that language is an emblematic marker of a group identity which functions as an important boundary device separating distinctive populations. In this case, Fenet (2004) gives an example of how the use of French was used in nation-building, as an essential factor of unity, and representation of France as a nation. That is, a common language can lead to the creation of what Anderson (2006) regards as an imagined community. Though, this observation was quite important and informative for this study, it is argued in this study that Simpson's argument is essentialist and does not consider the scenario in countries such as Zimbabwe which resulted from "colonial rivalries, partition conferences and conquest... such that several ethnic groups found themselves in one and the same country" (Chazen, et al, 1992: 11). In the same light, Mazrui and Mazrui (1998) argue that the national boundaries of most African states lack the underpinning of any national linguistic identity. This study therefore, explores how the endeavour to represent the national identity of Zimbabwe is represented on radio and television broadcasting where there are multiple languages which compete for space.

On the relationship between language and national identity, Orman (2008) observes that while there is an extremely high incidence suggesting a close relationship between language and national identity, there are also exceptions to this pattern. He argues that it is possible for nationality to transcend language as illustrated by the Switzerland example, an epitome of strong nationalism, that is, it is an imagined national community in ways that do not require linguistic uniformity. However, he acknowledges that this situation is a rare one. He also

contends that many post-colonial countries in Africa and elsewhere whose population display great linguistic diversity and who do not share any common language can provide additional examples of nationhood transcending language. Nevertheless, he acknowledges that, this is a generalised assumption since in some contexts the nation is basically synonymous with the social echelon which is comprised of the ruling elite while the great majority of many post-colonial populations remain outside the national system and as a result they may not identify with the nation. With this background information, this study examines the nature of linguistic nationalism in Zimbabwe as demonstrated by the language choices and prominence on ZBC radio and television which just like language is a site in which national identities are constructed and contested. This study concurs that, the aspect of language and nation building in the media cannot be ignored since language policy is a tool to facilitate nation building, which is an ideological process and political tool which may reflect the interests of those who formulate and implement them (Orman, 2008).

Contrary to Orman (2008)'s non-committal stance on the relationship between language and national identity, Vambe (2006) argues that language has got power to mark, name, demarcate and represent people. Therefore, language is important in the creation of group identities. On that basis, he argues that the question of the language of instruction in African schools is an ideological and linguistic battleground for the control of human minds and imaginations. His concern is on the willingness and commitment of governments and academic planners on investing in the African indigenous languages in education since "language is the repository and the memory bank of a nation" (Vambe, 2006: 10). This is an important declaration which is aimed at raising the status of indigenous African languages through using them as media of instruction in African schools given that they are critical in shaping group identities. However, this study makes a colossal shift from focusing on indigenous African languages in education which has become a chorus of most language academics in Africa; instead this study focused on the status and utilisation of indigenous African languages in the media specifically the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and how that impact on the representation of Zimbabwean nation in the face of English, Shona and Ndebele hegemony in different circumstances and the global political economy.

Against the background of the argument that English is fast becoming the global language (Crystal, 1997), Mutasa (2006) argues that English has become a force to reckon with, with

ever-present and necessary existence in the lives of a people at the expense of African languages. He advocates Africa's need to liberate itself from what he calls the vestiges of the colonial legacy and therefore lobbies for the recognition of African languages in education and other professions, the call for increased political will in supporting the raising of African languages as well as the changing of peoples' mind-sets on the use of African languages. On the dominance of English, Mutasa departs from the usual blame game which is targeted at the former colonial masters. He does so by focusing on the role of African governments and the African people themselves in the recognition of African languages in education and other professions. However, in as much as he mentions the need to use African languages in other professions such as the media. He tends to foreground the education sector which is part of the other professions in his expression. Instead, this study is also concerned with the language choices involving African languages in the ZBC broadcasting and in relation to the representation of the Zimbabwean national identity in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies.

In their account on the role of African languages in social economic and political development in Sub-Saharan Africa, Magwa and Mutasa (2007) observe that language can contribute to nation-building in two ways. Firstly, language works as a symbol of a particular national political identity and language assists in establishing and promoting a national consciousness. Secondly, a national language contributes to nation-building through horizontal and vertical communication between groups of people and between the dominant and the ordinary people. Basically their argument is that, indigenous languages are an essential component in nation-building. Thus the use of indigenous languages facilitates communication and the subsequent formation of a common identity. This is a plausible argument since it valorises the position of indigenous languages in nation-building. However, their discussion on the concept of nation-building is not well problematised in the discourses of nationalism. Their argument is purely linguistic deterministic, since it presupposes that the use of indigenous languages results in national integration, disregarding the competition that exists amongst indigenous languages in any given space and the political and economic conditions which determine language choices at any given time and place. Therefore, the present study situates the debate of language and nation-building in conventional nationalism discourse, in a particular space (broadcasting) in which national identities are constructed and contested. This study evaluates the language use patterns in the

ZBC radio and television local content programming in view of constructing a distinctive Zimbabwean national identity in the context of multilingualism.

Magwa (2008) explores the possibilities of using indigenous African languages of Zimbabwe as official media of instruction in the education system. His study is aimed at the possibility of using indigenous African languages as languages of instruction in primary, secondary and tertiary levels of the education system. He established that the Zimbabwean education system is a colonial creation which resembles colonial Rhodesia since it adopts the language policy which marginalizes indigenous African languages in the education system. The study concludes that Zimbabwe can never regain its cultural identity in this warped education system. Though Magwa's study is based on language competition in post-colonial Africa, something which obtains in the present study, as typical of Zimbabwean scholars in the language studies the focus is on the education sector. Furthermore, his proclamation of a distinctive cultural identity is too simplistic and generalised. This study instead, is on multilingualism and national identity construction on the ZBC radio and television stations.

2.4 LANGUAGE AND THE MEDIA: PURPOSE AND POLICY ISSUES

The previous section analysed literature on language and the nation interface and it was demonstrated that language is a critical component in nation-building. This study departs from the traditional debate on language issues marking the Zimbabwean academia which has always been situated in the education sector. The impetus of this effort is motivated by the observation that the media carry language. That is to say they operate through language, and develop language (Tom, 2007). The link between language and the media is also on policy and implementation since the media are considered to be one of the three primary language policy agents in a polity (Pavlou, 2004, Du Plessis, 2006). This implies that the media are agents of legitimating a polity's language policy. They are also agents of language change and maintenance (Crystal, 2000). With the link between language and the media ascertained, this study is motivated by the requirements stipulated in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act, 2007 Act No. 19 of 2007* of making programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the study analyses language use patterns on the ZBC broadcasting stations produced in a multilingual and therefore multicultural nation with the desire to construct a distinctive Zimbabwean national identity.

Lubida (2008) investigates the language choices and use patterns in the print and broadcasting media in three African countries which are Zambia, Botswana and Lesotho. He argues that in a multilingual society the choice of language to be used in the media is of crucial importance but problematic in language planning particularly status planning where language choices are made. He established that English is the most favoured language, in both the print and electronic media in all three cases. In a multilingual situation as the case in Zambia, Botswana and Lesotho, the indigenous African languages are marginalised in the media. To counter this problem, Lubida recommends the setting up of community radio stations and the formulation of policies that promote multilingualism and accompanied by concrete measures to stop the marginalisation of certain languages. In this study, the focus is also on language choices and use patterns in the media, but now in the Zimbabwean context relating them to the representation of the nation after the crafting and implementation of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies on the ZBC radio and television stations.

The theme of local content in the ZBC broadcasting received considerable attention in Zimbabwean scholarship. This growing body of literature includes Chiumbu (2004), Moyo (2006), and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009). However, in this study it is observed that the arguments in the extant literature are situated in the disciplines of media and communication studies as well as studies in history and political science. Therefore, this researcher observed that no comprehensive research has been made on the local content programming in relation to the national identity of Zimbabwe in the discipline of language studies. It is worth noting that the language academics have been silent on the debates on local content broadcasting and nation building in multilingual Zimbabwe, yet language is a marker of locality, national identity and is part and parcel of what is called local content. Therefore, this study examines the contribution of the local content broadcasting policy to the raising of the status of the indigenous African languages.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) laments the incorporation of the ZBC into a cultural nationalism project which was meant to achieve exclusively political ends. He says “the ZBC was increasingly incorporated into the ‘mugabeism’ project of ‘cultural nationalism’ particularly after the introduction of ‘Vision 30’ in November 2001... and the imposition of 100% local content”, (ibid, 2009: 286). In his critique of this particular Zimbabwean national project, he mentions the issue of language in passing which is the major concern of this study. However, he demonstrates an obsession of the marginalisation of the Ndebele language in the national

identity construction project and the political contestations in post-independent Zimbabwe. Contextualising these debates, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (ibid) argues that rivalry has existed between the Shona group and the Ndebele ethnic group, a factor which can also explain why it has been difficult to arrive at a homogeneous Zimbabwean national identity in the country's historical phases. In his analysis, Zimbabwe is denoted as a 'bifurcated' Ndebele-Shona state. This study argues that Ndlovu-Gatsheni's analysis presupposes that Zimbabwe is comprised of two languages, yet there are approximately nineteen languages spoken in this country (Ndlovu, 2009). This study therefore, broadens the analysis by considering Zimbabwe as a multilingual and not bilingual nation which is part and parcel of a world system. More so, the contestation between languages in Zimbabwe is not confined to Shona and Ndebele but also the English language which is not an indigenous African language yet it occupies more space in the public domains. Therefore, in this study the examination of the Zimbabwean national identity in the ZBC is focused on the language use patterns on the available television and radio stations as the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies translated into programming.

Chiumbu (2004) and Moyo (2006) are not very much different from Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) in their analysis of the ZBC local content broadcasting policy. Just like Ndlovu-Gatsheni who is a historian and therefore views reality from the historical and political perspectives, Moyo and Chiumbu are preoccupied with media operations and political contestations in Zimbabwe as demonstrated in the media expectedly so, they are media academics. This can be demonstrated by the argument that "broadcasting policymaking in Zimbabwe has been, since the colonial era, been largely executive driven; with little or no citizen participation... this has created a situation where broadcasting institution has been subject to political patronage." (Moyo, 2006: 294). Similarly, Chiumbu (2004) observes that with regards to local content and politics in Zimbabwe, the ZANU (PF) government has been accused of abusing the seventy-five percent local content quota on national radio by broadcasting messages aimed at strengthening the government's political muscle. Because of her inclination to media studies and communication, apparently she does not consider the language question in the Zimbabwean national identity formation as the local content broadcasting policy was implemented in ZBC broadcasting. This study contributes to this growing body of literature by filling the lacuna on the representation of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC television and radio stations in the context of local content and multilingual broadcasting policy.

Moyo (2006) is preoccupied with the responses of the government of Zimbabwe and the non-state actors to the new challenges, the reasons behind those responses and whether the resultant media reforms by the government of Zimbabwe contributed to democratisation. He argues that broadcasting reform in Zimbabwe, as with other countries in Southern Africa is linked to global pressure to open markets and that the reform process did not contribute to democratisation. This study benefits from Moyo's study in a significant way since it provides the context in which the *BSA* (2001) and other media reforms were formulated. He also gives particular attention to the *BSA* (2001) citing the high local content requirement thereby providing a useful context upon which the local content broadcasting policy was introduced. This study also evaluates the usefulness of the multilingual broadcasting in achieving the goals of delineating the identity of Zimbabwe in the context of the local content programming. In any case, Moyo (2006: 6) himself admits that his study is not about content but policy. This defines the point of departure of this study, where it makes a critical exegesis of the 'content' defined by the policy, with multilingualism and localism as the rallying points on the critique of the Zimbabwe national identity construction project by the ZBC.

In another study, Moyo (2004) explores how the governments of both Rhodesia and Zimbabwe have sought to limit the democratic space and ownership by the use of restrictive broadcasting laws. His concern, just like in the previously discussed work is on how the colonial government and the post-independence government have undemocratically used broadcasting as a tool for political control and manipulation of the ordinary people. Conspicuously, he does not comment on the language(s) used in broadcasting, something which has got a bearing on national identity formation, since that 'democratic space' is negotiated in a language as argued in this study. He also views the local content prescribed in the *BSA* (2001) as a positive development which promotes national culture, national languages, local ownership and local production as a remarkable improvement from the colonial legislation. However, his limitations are on the statements he made which seem to praise a policy on paper without making reference to the outcomes of the implementation of the policy. The proclamations are not based on how the local content policy translated into programming with regards to the representation of all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe in a bid to define the national identity of Zimbabwe. On the other hand, Manhando-Makore (2001) regards local content as government propaganda which is intended to benefit the maker which implies that there is a political and strategic connection between local content programming and national identity formation. This results in the development of an elitist and

exclusive national identity. On this point this study investigates the existence of elitism in the constructed national identity on the basis of language use patterns on the ZBC radio and television stations.

There is concurrence in Zimbabwean scholarship on the continuity of broadcasting policies from colonial to the post-independence era (Moyo, 2003, Zaffiro, 2002), the use of extreme restrictive media laws (Saunders, 1999) and the appropriation of the broadcasting space with elitist views and political propaganda (Windrich, 2010). This growing body of literature informs this study on the political and ideological nature of the media and representation. As a result the contestations in the construction and representation of Zimbabwean national identity and through language are critiqued in this study. However, these scholars do not consider the handling of the language question in broadcasting in the policy documents as well as in the implementation of broadcasting these broadcasting policies. It is argued in this study that, the choice of a language in broadcasting stations and programmes makes people identify with the nation and enhance the understanding of the narrated or imagined nation. Therefore, this study critiques the language use patterns in ZBC radio and television broadcasting in relation to the goals of constructing a distinguishable national identity of Zimbabwe.

Piulats (2007) examines the media policy and language policy in Catalonia. He observes that language plays a significant role in communication systems, but the space of individual languages in specific systems becomes increasingly important and controversial in contexts where these languages are competing languages and linguistic minorities. This discovery indicates that there are often substantive inequalities in terms of the prominence of different languages in media contexts. The argument here is that in modern societies, where the media are essential tools of communication, the language chosen for use by media practitioners and the contexts in which these languages are used are of critical importance. This exposé proved to be indispensable knowledge in this study since it deals with the representation of many languages in Zimbabwe with different status and influence competing in the 'small' space of the ZBC radio and television broadcasting. This is confirmed in this study where it demonstrates that the national identity construction project in the ZBC, is marked by varied constructions and contestations as demonstrated by the language choices and practices on the radio and television stations.

Stepanenko (2003) scrutinises the language issues and language policy in Ukraine and observes that the issue of language policy in mass media is particularly subtle and complex. This is attributable to the fact that the commercial character of media productions often demands from editors and publishers an adherence to the established language attitudes and affiliations of consumers, that is, of potential viewers and listeners. This argument brings a dimension to the influences of language usage in the media which concerns media economics. Consequently apart from being political entities, media organisations are also business entities. Therefore, Chapter 6 of this study demonstrates that the analysis of the equitability of the spatial distribution of languages spoken in the country in ZBC local content programming in view of the desire of defining Zimbabwean national identity and locality need to consider the influence of media economics in defining language use patterns.

In his report resulting from a consultation exercise to examine and illustrate how local content in developing countries is created, adapted, and exchanged, Ballantyne (2002) reveals that the definition of local content is an elusive one as demonstrated by the lack of academic definition of this term. He concludes that in relation to the media sector, local content is the expression of the locally owned and adapted knowledge of a community, where the community is defined by its location, culture, language, or area of interest. In other words, local content is content that is intended for a specific local audience, as defined by its geographic location, culture or its language. This study profits from this definition on the identification of language and location as key elements of the local content of any given context. On that basis, this study examines the handling of the indigenous African languages (which are the local languages) and the English language (which is the foreign language) in the ZBC radio and television local content broadcasting towards building the nation of Zimbabwe.

2.5: MAPPING LINGUISTIC HEGEMONY, MARGINALISATION AND EXCLUSION

Guyot (2007) argues that many countries are still reluctant to accommodate linguistic minorities. This is reflected by the maintenance of a strongly hierarchical organisation of languages in their audio-visual systems. This revelation is relevant to this study since this study is concerned with language utilisation in broadcasting which make use of the audio-visual systems. Since this study is concerned with the fairness and equity of language usage

in the ZBC, in a way it assesses the marginalisation or exclusion of minority languages in radio and television broadcasting. This study distinctively focuses on the impact of language exclusion, inclusion or marginalisation in defining the Zimbabwean national identity in the ZBC local content programming. This study argues that, since Zimbabwe is a multilingual country, the ZBC broadcasting as a public sphere must reflect a national identity of Zimbabwe which reflects linguistic diversity in an equitable manner. However, against the argument of Habermas' public sphere concept of 1962 and 1991, in which he argues that the public sphere has been re-feudalised meaning that it is now dominated by political and economic interests. This study examines the inclusivity of all the Zimbabwean languages in the ZBC which is supposed to be a public sphere representing an inclusive national identity (Moyo, 2006).

Muzondidya (2009) gives a historical account of the marginalisation of minority groups in Zimbabwe which include the Shangani, Kalanga, Tonga, and Venda as shown by little economic and less physical and social infrastructure in the geographical areas where these ethnic groups reside. He establishes that these groups complain of political and cultural domination by both 'Shona' and 'Ndebele', enforced through such state practices as national language and educational policies which emphasise the use of Ndebele and Shona at the expense of other national languages. This observation is quite pertinent in this inquiry since it echoes the concept of linguistic hegemony which is central to this study. However, this research extends the understanding of linguistic hegemony in Zimbabwe by demonstrating it in the media something Muzondidya does not mention yet it is a critical public domain necessary for democratisation and nation-building. The study unravels linguistic hegemony in the efforts of defining the locality of Zimbabwe and national identity in a multilingual country through broadcasting. Unlike Muzondidya's analysis, this study goes on to analyse the Zimbabwe language use patterns and choices displayed in ZBC radio and television local content broadcasting within the context of the global and digital world.

Ndhlovu (2009) examines the exclusion of minority languages from the mainstream domains of everyday social life in post-colonial Zimbabwe. He points at linguistic imperialism by the Shona and Ndebele, and the marginalisation of minority languages in the Zimbabwean public domains. He argues that linguistic imperialism has very little to do with whether the dominating language is foreign or indigenous. He is against the view that English is the killer language in Zimbabwe. Ndhlovu examines the issues relating to the exclusion of Zimbabwe's

minority languages from the domains of media, education, business, law and administration. He considers postcolonial nationalist ideology, exclusive nation building, subtle cultural oppression and the push for linguistic uniformity as major factors contributing to the denial of functional space for Zimbabwean languages other than Shona and Ndebele. While, he manages to demonstrate the diverse linguistic map of Zimbabwe, by identifying nineteen indigenous languages which are Kalanga, Nambya, Venda, Shangani, Shona, Tonga, Xhosa, Sotho, Tshwawo, Tswana, Barwe, Doma, Ndebele, and Chikunda, Tonga of Mudzi, Hwesa, Chewa and Sena, Ndhlovu's study is too generalised and inadequate in as far as language use in the media is concerned.

Consequently, he gives scanty information on the language use patterns of exclusion as demonstrated in the Zimbabwean media. This is reflected by the limited scope of the language usage in the media which is a reflection of the meagreness of his research on this area. As a result, he bases his research and arguments on the inadequacies of the *Education Act* of 1987, overlooking the *Broadcasting Services Act* of 2001 and other media policies in Zimbabwe which directly govern the functioning of the media and eventually the language choices and practices Zimbabwean media. Furthermore, his short discussion on language and the media in Zimbabwe lacks thorough grounding of the media theory and historical developments of the media in Zimbabwe and the operations of the media industry in general.

The present researcher observes Ndhlovu (2009) did not commit himself to meaningful content analysis of the media in Zimbabwe owing to his bias towards the exclusion of languages in the media without analysing what is included and the factors which determine the inclusion and exclusion of languages. Besides discussing the political dynamics in Zimbabwe outside the media in Zimbabwe, the conclusion on the language politics and identity formation is not categorical. This study benefits from Ndhlovu's research since the present study is also informed by the hegemonic theories. However, this study evaluates the conscious effort to include all the languages in a particular public domain which is broadcasting. Focusing on the ZBC radio and television local content programming, this study analyses the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe in a bid to define the locality and identity of Zimbabwe. Unlike Ndhlovu who primarily discusses the problems in a local context, using the world-systems theory, this study goes beyond Zimbabwe to consider the external factors such as globalisation and technology which affect language use patterns which impacts on representation of the locality and identity of Zimbabwe.

According to Suarez (2002: 514) linguistic hegemony is achieved when dominant groups create a consensus by convincing others to accept their language norms and usage as standard or pragmatic. He maintains that hegemony is achieved when they can convince those who fail to meet those standards to view their failure as being a result of the inadequacy of their own languages. This definition explains how power is exerted upon linguistic minorities. This is what Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) call linguistic expansionism meaning the expansion of the scope of language at the expense of another. This is a key conceptual framework to this study since it seeks to demonstrate how such social influences as the media particularly radio and television can legitimize certain languages on radio and television stations and programmes to the extent of defining the locality and identity of nations. This study is premised on the local content and multilingual approaches to language usage in ZBC radio and television broadcasting.

Mazrui (2004) and Simpson (2007) discuss linguistic hegemony at the world level. These scholars demonstrate the effects of globalization on the patterns of language use, traditional culture, and national identity. The argument is that one major consequence of the rapid increase in international business, communication, and travel in recent years has been an accelerated spread of English in many parts of the world. The observation that English has spread in most parts of the world informs this study about the influence of English, and therefore this study will be carried out knowing that English is hegemonic. If English is dominant in Zimbabwean broadcasting, the concern in this study is on the impact it has on national identity and locality. However, these scholars do not focus on patterns of language use in broadcasting per se and how they impact on national identity of any specific nation. This study looked at the pattern of language use in ZBC local content programming and representation of the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe, national identity and locality of Zimbabwe.

Mazrui and Mazrui (1998) also observe that English has been the most successful in terms of geographical spread in Africa. This is reflected by the linguistic balance sheet which is in favour of European languages that came to the continent as part of the colonial cultural package. They argue that this is accredited to poor linguistic nationalism which can be simply described as failure of African people to be nationalistic enough in linguistic terms. Linguistic nationalism is that version of nationalism which is concerned about the value of its own language, seeks to defend it against other languages and encourages its use and enrichment (ibid, 1998:5). The argument denotes that Africa south of the Sahara is

nationalistic about race and land but nationalism about African languages is comparatively weak as compared to India and the Middle East. This observation is imperative to this study, since the analysis of the patterns of language use in the ZBC radio and television broadcasting in relation to the construction of the national identity and defining the Zimbabwean locality inadvertently evaluates the form and nature of the linguistic nationalism in multilingual Zimbabwe.

Phillipson (1992, 2003 and 2010) in his famous thesis linguistic imperialism observes the contemporary phenomenon of English as an international language and analyses how and why the language has become so dominant. He looks at the spread of English historically, the role it plays in the third world countries and at how English language teaching contributes to the dominance of English worldwide. He demonstrates that English has a dominant position in the public domain replacing other languages. He argues that Britain and the United States of America support the spread of English as a global language, meaning that English is the key medium of Americanisation and Westernisation. Phillipson concludes that the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstruction of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages. On the other hand, Crystal (1997) views English as a global language, which represents global interests. Crystal fails to recognise that the victory of English affects other languages and is connected to political and economic dominance.

However, for Phillipson much of his attention is given to the contribution of English language teaching and its spread. In as much as he observes the presence of media imperialism where English linguistic imperialism is advanced by such cultural activities such as film, videos and television in the Nordic countries, he does not grapple with the effects of English linguistic imperialism on African national identities. That is, much of his focus is on the European countries and therefore he overlooked the influence of English in African countries since in these countries there are significant efforts to raise the status of the indigenous African languages. For that reason, this study focuses on the language use patterns and prominence in the ZBC radio and television programming within the context of the local content broadcasting policy in a bid to construct a national identity and defining the Zimbabwean locality. This is done in view of the antagonistic conditions which include multilingualism, linguistic hegemony, globalisation, and electronic colonisation.

Wright (2004) acknowledges that English is a hegemonic language in a globalising world. The concept of hegemony which is used to explain language shift within nationalism, where certain groups join with prestigious groups who speak the national standard language, works in the same way in globalisation where English is increasingly becoming a prime medium in all transnational political domains without coercion. Hence, Wright argues that the acceptance of English in its lingua franca role is consensual and not a result of actual compulsion except for the dominant groups' refusal to communicate in any other medium which is not their own. The role of English in the globalisation process is associated with some benefits which include the fact that it enables the flows, networks and structures of a postnational system. Against this background, Wright argues that the choice of language is dictated by forces outside the control of policy makers and cannot be countered by any anti-globalisation bloc. Therefore, in this context the globalisation force is considered to be pervasive when it comes to language shift. However, the impact of this language shift on national identity and delineating locality of African countries is not accounted for. This is very important since language can be the basis upon which a national identity can be created and languages are used in sites of national identity formation such as the media. Therefore, this study investigates the language usage and prominence in multilingual Zimbabwe, focusing on radio and television broadcasting and its impact on the Zimbabwean national identity and locality in the face of English hegemony.

Charamba (2012) discusses what he calls an evolutionist approach for challenging the hegemony of English in university education and in the teaching and writing of literature in post-independence Africa. He focussed on Zimbabwe's university education and literary practice. He established that the approaches which include multilingualism which have so far been used to challenge the domination of English in post-independence Africa are not effective. In his view, these strategies are ineffective because of neo-colonialism and world politics which play a role in the spread of the English hegemony in post-independence Africa. He concludes that it is futile to challenge the predominance of English in Zimbabwean university education and in the writing of Zimbabwean literature which is a language of the powerful nations. Indicative in his arguments is that he is informed by the hegemonic theories. However, he does not particularly focus on the language choices and practices in the Zimbabwean media. The present study takes a cue from this research on using the hegemonic theories and the focus at the language problems in Zimbabwe and Africa with a world outlook. However, this study does not challenge the status quo, but it explains and evaluates the language use patterns in ZBC radio and television local content programming in a bid to

reflect the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe, construct a national identity and delineate the Zimbabwean locality. The argument pursued in this study is that it is difficult to reflect these three structures in the context of national and global political economy.

2.6 MEDIA, LOCALISM PRINCIPLE AND NATION-BUILDING

Billing (1995) contends that the media has got a role to play in reproducing and maintaining nationalism. This concurs with Curran and Gurevitch's (2000: 70) observation that everyone agrees from politicians to academics that public communications systems are part of the cultural industries such that the manufactured products which include television and radio programmes are pivotal in organizing the images and discourses through which people make sense of the world. The radio and television products are social frames, vehicles of culture and definers of social identities, simply put they are culture shaping medium (Kellner, 1995; Franklin, 1997; Sorice, 2006). All these scholars concur on the observation that radio and television provides the materials out of which people construct their identities and a sense of nationality. Thus radio and television are cultural institutions which are instrumental in the creation of national identity. Basing on the reasoning that the media carry language, they operate through language and they develop language (Tom, 2007) which is a critical determinant of national identity as observed earlier in this chapter, this researcher observes that media research in Zimbabwe has excluded the question of language in the nation building processes. This study interrogates the coverage and prominence of languages in Zimbabwean radio and television broadcasting in the context of local content broadcasting policy in a bid to ascertain its impact on the Zimbabwean national identity and locality.

This study's concern on the fairness and equitability of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe in view of constructing a distinctive national identity is supported by the realisation that the overall effect of media (radio and television in this context) tends to undermine than support minority identity in the sense that mainstream media accelerate language shift and assimilation of minority communities (Tom, 2007). In his analysis of minority language media, he advocates the minority language media which can serve as a defensive tool on the effect of the language(s) that dominate the media landscape. This argument concurs with Guyot (2007) who argues that the presence of a linguistic minority in the media is a legitimate claim for the media as integral parts of everyday life in a democracy. He goes on to say that the minority's access to the media is a compliment to educational policies in

reflecting that the minority languages are no longer discriminated against, marginalised or invisible in the public domain. In the same thinking, Jones (2007) contends that the quest for media in one's own language has been and continues to be an ambition shared by many minority language communities. Therefore, this study is concerned with the treatment of the language question on the ZBC radio and television considering that Zimbabwe is a multilingual country with hegemonic languages which include English (Charamba, 2012), Shona and Ndebele (Ndhlovu, 2009) which contest for space with the rest of the minority languages. This study analyses the language usage and prominence in ZBC radio and television programming in relation to the goal of constructing a national identity and defining the Zimbabwean locality.

As an illustration of an analysis of language, public service broadcasting and nationality, Creeber (2004) argues that despite gaining praise from around the world for its particular form of "public service broadcasting," the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has proved to be unexpectedly poor at reflecting the local, linguistic, cultural, and religious differences throughout the United Kingdom. Tracing the historical development of BBC, Creeber (ibid) argues that in the past century the BBC was responsible for simply producing a form of cultural hegemony that attempted to conceive "Britishness" within an extremely narrow set of conventions, excluding all manner of people and communities in its attempt at making the nation as one man. In the same view, this study grapples with the pursuit for Zimbabwean citizenship through linguistic representation and language prominence in the ZBC radio and television local content programming in the context of globalisation, digitalisation and English, Shona and Ndebele linguistic hegemonies.

Wheeler (2000) contends that communication is the cement of identity. He argues that it is through communication that cultures define themselves. In modern societies, much of this sense of shared identity is communicated through media technologies. As a case in point, radio and television which are part of the new technologies help to transmit shared symbolic forms, a sense of group culture, to foster what Alexis de Tocqueville calls 'fellow feeling' Bottum (2008). Basically, this scholar argues that the modern societies are defined by the degree to which the transmission of the fellow feeling through symbolic forms is extensively and increasingly mediated by the institutions and mechanisms of mass communication which include radio and television. This does not explicitly refer to national identity which is a form of group culture, in which this fellow feeling is supposed to be felt. In this study, it is

observed that language is one of the symbolic forms through which the sense of fellow feeling is transmitted and mediated through radio and television. Therefore, this study grapples with inclusivity of the symbolic forms of languages used in the ZBC radio and television local content broadcasting and its impact on the framing of a Zimbabwean national identity and defining Zimbabwean locality in the context of globalisation and rapid technological advances.

Against the background of the argument of Anderson (2006) of nations as imagined communities, Mihelj (2011) claims that the understanding of nations as cultural constructs lead to a rethinking of established ideas about imagining and reimagining the nation through different cultural forms like radio and television. These are the institutional aspects of mass communication which are important for the formation and spreading of national imagination. In the same view, Douglas (2004) observes that the study of United States of America radio confirms that broadcasting indeed plays a crucial role in helping the people around the world imagine themselves as nations. Eriksen (2007) also argues that communication technologies serve as platforms for the performance of national identities and the circulation of national myths. On the other hand, Njogu et al (2009) argue that those national institutions like the media permanently remind people of their commonality and cultural allegiance. Against this backdrop, this study investigates how language choices and usages on the Zimbabwean radio and television stations are used in re-imagining the nation of Zimbabwe, since it has been established that language is a critical ingredient in nation building. Mihelj (2011) also argues that communication technologies are prone to social and cultural appropriation, where they are appropriated by the state and corporate to further their own interests resulting in the promotion of particular forms of collective imagination.

As discussed in the preceding section, language can be a cultural form through which a nation can be imagined. Therefore, this study investigates how the nation of Zimbabwe is imagined through language choices on the ZBC radio and television. Mihelj (2011) also observes that the modern technologies which include radio and television are often singled out as a key ingredient in the globalisation process. Media involvement in the globalisation process is argued to be part of the imminent demise of national media organisations and cultures, thus the global is replacing the nation-state. This researcher observes that the media have a double-edged involvement in both globalisation and nationalism. On that basis, this study investigates the handling of the language question, that is, multilingualism in particular as the

media's double-edged involvement in nationalism and globalisation is negotiated in re-imagining the Zimbabwean nation on the basis of language choices in the media.

Commenting on the principle of local content or localism in the media, Mda (2010) observes that the empirical literature on localism is scant and the topic needs further research. This study contributes to the scholarship on the principle of localism in the media with special focus on the language question and the nation. He observes that developing nations in the recent years introduced strict content rules for radio and television. Just like Zimbabwe with the seventy-five per cent local content requirement evident in the *BSA* (2001), South Africa is cited as one of the African countries with local content provisions structured in line with the Australian and Canadian models. Mda (ibid) argues that the cultural rationales for localism include protectionism where localism is seen as essential for the preservation and reflection of the cultural values, languages, life experiences, and artistic creations that are unique and distinct within particular nationalities. Furthermore, localism in the media industry emphasises the preservation and promotion of local cultures as well as catering for minorities. This is substantiated by Napoli (2001) who argues that localism has long been one of the guiding principles in communication policy making which is aimed at encouraging the creation of communication services oriented around local communities and exhibiting the cultural character of the specific nations. Among other things localism must translate into radio and television programming in local languages and local cultures. Therefore, this study examines the handling of the aspect of multilingualism in the local content programming in the ZBC radio and television broadcasting and how that impact on the locality and national identity of Zimbabwe.

Moyo (2003) gives an analysis of the media reforms. Of interest is the *Broadcasting Services Act*(2001). He comments that its provision for the establishment of a three tier broadcasting system and its emphasis on the promotion of national culture, national languages, and local ownership/content are all remarkable improvements over the previous colonial legislation. However, the focus is on how the law impinges on the communicative rights of the Zimbabwean citizens, and not the language choices and practices in the ZBC radio and television broadcasting after the crafting and implementation of the local content and the multilingual broadcasting policies.

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed the five categories of literature related to this study which covers (a) the issues on forging nationhood (b) language and the nation (c) language and the media (d) localism principle and nation-building and (e) language competition resulting in linguistic hegemony, marginalisation and exclusion. In this chapter, it was demonstrated that national identities are constructed and contested; language is a determinant feature in nation-building, language is critical to the functioning of the media, and the media are sites in which national identities are constructed and contested. In mapping this study, this exposé demonstrated that there is an elaborate connection between language, national identity and the media. Therefore, in this chapter it is observed that the language question (multilingualism in particular) in the national question of Zimbabwe has not been explored in the media, a site in which national identities are constructed and contested. Therefore, this study explores the language question in the national question of Zimbabwe focusing on the exclusion/inclusion, legitimation and integration of the many languages spoken in Zimbabwe in the national identity construction project and the delineating of the Zimbabwean locality after the crafting and implementation of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies in the *BSA* (2001) and the *BSAA* (2007). It is evident in this chapter that the construction of the national identity of a nation is hinged on language competition in postcolonial Africa and the digital world which can result in hegemony, exclusion, inclusion or marginalisation of languages. Therefore, the next chapter explains the theoretical underpinnings of this study which are basically Marxist in orientation.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented a review of literature concerning the forging of the Zimbabwean nationhood, the role of language in nation building, the language and the media interface, the media, localism and nation-building matrix and the subject of language competition in the public domains. This is a confirmation of the declaration raised in the introductory chapter that, this study is framed by the overlap flanked by the interdisciplinary concerns of language and media studies. The review of literature established that national identities are epitomised by construction and contestation. The chapter also exposed that language is a key determinant in nation-building, language is critical to the functioning of the media and the media are sites in which these national identities are constructed and contested. This exposé shows that there is an elaborate interface among language, national identity and the media. This validates the concerns of this study since it examines the language use patterns and the forging of the Zimbabwean nation through the Zimbabwean Broadcasting Corporation in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies. On this basis, this chapter presents the theoretical point of departure that guides the researcher's enquiry on the language and national identity politics in the ZBC broadcasting as the local content broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001), and the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) translated into programming and how that impacted on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation.

Furthermore, the reviewed literature revealed that the process of nation-building revolves around the processes of contestation, legitimation, hegemony, exclusion and marginalisation. Against this backdrop, this study is entrenched within the neo-Marxist tradition. However, owing to the various factors which shape the operations of the media in general and broadcasting in particular which eventually have an impact on the language choices and the expansion of the Marxist thought and philosophy, eclecticism within the neo-Marxist tradition consistently referred to as critical theory is preferred in this study. This study adopted an eclectic approach within the critical theory for the reason that it assists the study to comprehensively understand the handling of the indigenous African languages on the ZBC

radio and television stations in the national question as the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies translated into programming.

Hence, this study is distinguished by its application of the seven neo-Marxist themes which are the archetype of the critical theory as reflected by their distinguishable critique of the dominant classes of people in the society for their totalitarian influence on the ordinary members. These are Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, Louis Althusser's theory of ideology, Thomas McPhail's theory of electronic colonialism, Jürgen Habermas' public sphere concept, Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory, the concept of political economy, and the Africana critical theory. As demonstrated in this chapter, these neo-Marxist presumptions informed this study in examining the language choices on the ZBC television and radio stations and how that impact on the construction and representation of the Zimbabwean nation in the context of competing languages, the unrelenting dominant ideas about language choices in the African societies, the rapid technological advancement and the digital divide which epitomises the modern world, the transformation of the public sphere by the political, economic and technological forces, the entrenched subjugation of the African languages and the English language supremacy, globalisation and the politics of ownership and control of broadcasting in Zimbabwe and the world at large. This chapter expresses that, the exclusion and marginalisation of the indigenous African languages and the English language hegemony in the Zimbabwean media must be understood within the broader economic, political and technological spheres which shape the language choices and practices in the public sphere.

3.2 BACKGROUND: THE MARXIAN CRITIQUE

As affirmed in the preceding section, this study is rooted in the grand theory of Marxism. Therefore it is imperative to give a précis of the principles of classical Marxism, that is, the Marxian legacy as the background which shapes the thought and philosophy apparent in the critical theory which informs the arguments proffered in this study. To start with, Marxism is a theory which is credited to two critical thinkers which are Karl Heinrich Marx, a German philosopher and economist, and Friedrich Engels, a political economist (Dobie, 2012). Thereafter, the theory has gone through profound evolution over a long period of time, with other critical thinkers emerging within this tradition including Georg Lukaés, Louis Althusser, Antonio Gramsci, Fredric Jameson, Terry Eagleton just to mention but a few. With the growing list of Marxist scholars and the burgeoning Marxist literature, this resulted in the

diversification, expansion, and modification of the Marxist school of thought and jargon. Therefore, this section discusses the selected principles of the Marxist school of thought as they relate to critical theory, a framework which informed this inquiry on multilingualism, localism and the nation in the ZBC broadcasting.

3.2.1 THE ECONOMY, HUMAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

The centrepiece of Marxism is on the analysis of the dynamics of capitalism which is characterised by the private ownership of the means of production. As noted by Dobie (2012), one of the key principles of Marxism concerns the significance of economic power in the functioning and structuring of societies. In Marxian terms, the economic systems are the moving force behind human history. This implies that the conditions in a people's lives are determined by the economic circumstances they are subjected to. This demonstrates that a society is shaped by the forces of production. These economic conditions underlying the society are referred to as the material circumstances, and the ideological impression they make is known as the historical situation (Dobie, *ibid*). This argument indicates that it is imperative to consider the historical and material circumstances in explaining any socio-political situation, any event or product. Therefore, in this study, as expounded in the critical theory, it is argued that the handling of the language issue and multilingualism in nation building in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies should be done in view of the material and historical circumstances in which the local content on radio and television is produced. As explained in Section 6.3 of Chapter 6 of this study, the hegemony of the English language and the marginalisation of the indigenous African languages in the ZBC is a reflection of the working of the media economics and the political economy of the media. Therefore, the exclusion and marginalisation of the indigenous African languages and the hegemony of the English language in the ZBC local content broadcasting cannot be understood and explained outside the national and global political economy of the media.

In the same view, Barker (2008) agrees that Marxism relates the production and reproduction of culture to the organisation of the material conditions of life. Taking it from the principles of classical Marxism, since the economic system natures the society, the methods of production are the base, while the social, political, and ideological systems and the institutions it generates which include the values, art, and the legal processes are the superstructure (Bell and Cleaver, 2002). This is substantiated by Barker (2008) who argues

that the idea of culture is determined by the production and the organisation of material existence as articulated in classical Marxism's base and superstructure metaphor hence this study demonstrates that the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations are shaped by economic conditions which shape the media operations. Thus, the economic mode of production shapes the cultural superstructure implying that "the relationship between the economic base and the cultural superstructure is a mechanical and economically deterministic one" (Barker, 2008: 55). In this study, language, the nation and the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation are the significant elements of the cultural superstructure of Zimbabwe which are analysed against the economic base on which they are superimposed. Therefore, the language choices and distribution on the ZBC radio and television and their implication to the multilingual Zimbabwean nation requires a comprehensive analysis which considers the economic conditions obtaining in the country in particular and the world in general.

3.2.2 POLITICAL ECONOMY, IDEOLOGY AND CLASS CONFLICT

The other argument raised in the Marxist school of thought, is that the capitalist system is problematic in the sense that it divides members of a given society into those who own property, and thereby control the means of production, which are referred to as the bourgeoisie and those who are controlled by them, the proletariat. It is fateful to note that, those who control production have a powerbase and they have many ways to ensure that their position is maintained. Thus, Marxism is characterised by endless competition between antagonistic economic classes (Bell and Cleaver, 2002). This is because of the fact that the base and the superstructure are under the control of the dominant class, the worldview of the people is likely to be a false one since they can manipulate politics, government, education, the arts and entertainment, news media, basically all aspects of the culture (Dobie, 2012).

The foregoing brings to the fore the issues of ownership, financing and control which are critical in the analysis of the broadcasting industry. This is commonly referred to as the political economy of communication (Mosco, 1996). The preceding discussion also exposes the notion of the dominant ideology in the society. Therefore, it is critical in this study to examine the dynamics of ownership, financing and control of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, and the impact of the dominant groups' ideologies on language usage in local

content and multilingual programming on the available radio and television stations, and ultimately their implication to the Zimbabwean national identity considering the multiplicity of languages, the established English supremacy, the marginalisation and exclusion of the indigenous African languages in Zimbabwe.

Furthermore, Bell and Cleaver (2002) observe that one of the basic assumptions prominent in Marxist thinking is the existence of class conflicts, sometimes called class struggles. This is necessitated by the fact that in a capitalist society the forces of production will inevitably generate conflict between social classes, which are created by the way economic resources and profits are used and distributed. More specifically, the struggle will take place between the bourgeoisie, who control the means of production by owning the natural and human resources, and the proletariat, who supply the labour that allows the owners to make a profit. The conflict is sometimes realized as hostility between socio-economic classes (Dobie, 2012). The aspect of the class struggles in economic production is pertinent in this study since the inquiry is concerned with the equity of the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations and the representation of the Zimbabwean nation in the context of multilingualism, hegemonic and marginalised languages.

It must be emphasised that the class conflicts discussed in the preceding paragraph are not just realised physically, they are also ideological. In Marxist terms, this is referred to as dialectical materialism, where it is argued that, the means of production control a society's institutions and beliefs (Bell and Cleaver, 2002). This ushers in the concept of ideology which turns up frequently in a myriad of neo-Marxist discussions. On ideology, the argument is that those who own and control the means of production, which are the economic infrastructures, are the most powerful people in their societies since they exploit their wealth to enhance and expand their influence. This economically powerful class eventually translates the power into political power where they control the institutions in the country, including the media and ultimately, the ideological power, that is, the control over how people think about the nature of the social world.

Making reference to literature, Dobie (2012) contends that the ideology that a text carries can be found in either its content or its form. By implication, this means that the form and content of the radio and television as a case in point reproduce the ideas or ideology of the dominant people in the country. It is demonstrated in Section 6.6 of Chapter 6 of this study that the

dominance of the English language, Shona, Ndebele and the Zezuru dialect reflects the ideology of the dominant people in Zimbabwe and the world at large. What is envisaged in the foregoing is that Marxism is concerned with the role of ideas in the society where it is argued that individuals really do not make their own decisions; Rather, the great majority of people simply repeat the dominant ideas of their time with little to no initiative of their own. This is validated by the argument that, “the ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the dominant material force in society is at the same time its dominant intellectual force” (Marx, 1961: 93). Therefore, in this study, the researcher investigates the role of ideology in the shaping of the language choices on ZBC radio and television stations and how that impact in the representation of the Zimbabwean national identity in the face of a local content and multilingual paradigms to broadcasting which are expected to lift the status of the indigenous African languages and promote linguistic diversity in the ZBC broadcasting.

Furthermore, Barker (2008) maintains that for Marxism, culture is political because it is expressive of social relations of power, such that it naturalises the social order as an inevitable fact, and it obscures the deep-seated relations of exploitation. He goes on to say, culture is ideological, that is, it is a product of the “maps of meaning which, while they purport to be universal truths, are historically specific understanding that obscure and maintain power...the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class” (Barker, 2008: 56). This is a confirmation of the point that, for Marxism, ideas are not independent of the material and historical circumstances of their production. Thus, in this study which is concerned with the issue of identity, language and local content which are all elements of culture, it is imperative to examine the influence of the social relations of power or generally politics in determining language choices, and ultimately representing the Zimbabwean national identity and in the ZBC broadcasting in a particular manner. In other words, this inquiry is concerned with the political and ideological nature of Zimbabwean nation basing on the management of multilingualism in the ZBC local content programming.

It is also important to note that Marxism is not only concerned with describing the pervasiveness of the economic power in the society, the class struggles and the triumph of the ideas of the dominant people in the society among other concerns. Rather, Marx envisaged “the proletariat’s organisations of defence, trade unions, political parties, overthrowing and replacing it with a mode of production based on communal ownership, equitable distribution and ultimately the end of class division” (Barker, 2008: 14). This implies that Marx was not

only concerned with description of domination and dominated but longed for an egalitarian society, typical of critical theory. Therefore, this study is carried out with the same fortitude, where the researcher envisages a nation and national locality which does not favour or prejudice other languages on the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective local content programming as supported by the African scholars discussed in Sub-section 3.3.7 of this chapter.

This exposé has revealed the main concerns of Marxism applicable to this study, that is, the Marxist legacy extant in critical theory which informed this study on multilingualism, localism and the nation in the ZBC broadcasting. The major themes identified in this exposition include the pre-eminence of the economic power in determining the conditions in a people's lives, the excesses of the capitalist system dominated by those who own the means of production, thus the base and therefore control the superstructure which include politics, education, government and the media. More so, the hallmarks of classical Marxism include class conflict, class supremacy of the economically powerful class which ultimately control the ideology and culture of the societies.

Therefore, in this study which examines the question of localism and multilingualism in the national question as presented on ZBC radio and television in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies, there are Marxist questions that are raised. These questions include-:

- a) the influence of the economically and politically powerful people in Zimbabwe and the world at large in determining the language choices and utilisation on ZBC radio and television stations and programmes,
- b) the evidence of class conflicts and struggles as demonstrated by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television.
- c) the prominence of the language(s) of the politically and economically powerful people in Zimbabwe and the world at large as depicted by language choices in the ZBC radio and television, and
- d) the hegemony, exclusion or marginalisation of other languages in the ZBC broadcasting and ultimately the Zimbabwean nation.

However, in view of the developments which have taken place in the world since the conception of Marxism, and the evolution and expansion of the Marxist school of thought, this particular study largely draws from the neo-Marxist critics, thus critical theory.

Therefore, this study is distinguished by its attention to an eclectic approach to neo-Marxist themes of dominion evident in Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, Louis Althusser's theory of ideology, Thomas McPhail's theory of electronic colonialism, Jürgen Habermas' public sphere concept, Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory, the concept of political economy and the Africana critical theory as its analytical frameworks. This is validated by the argument that hegemony is a major turning point in Marxist cultural theory (Williams, 1977). Categorically, this inquiry on multilingualism, localism and national identity politics in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation was informed by the Marxian legacy in the critical theory.

To validate the preference for this theoretical framework, it is imperative to mention that this study is not the first of its kind to adopt this approach. Rather there are other scholars in the fields of language and media studies whose work has a distinguishable Marxist tone. As an illustration, Gurevitch et al (1982: 1) argue that the media are seen as part of an ideological arena in which various classes' views are fought out, hence the media taken as a whole, relay interpretive frameworks consonant with the interests of the dominant classes. Curran et al (1982: 18) concur with the same view in the argument that "the contents of the media and the meanings carried by their messages are... primarily determined by the economic base of the organizations in which they are produced" (Curran et al. 1982: 18). Likewise, in the study of language and literature, Ngugi's commitment to Marxism is a recognised fact (Sharma, 1988). For instance, in *Decolonising the Mind*, there is discernible Marxist attitude. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) and Ndhlovu (2009) employed the Althusserian and Gramscian approaches in their recent studies on Zimbabwean identity politics.

3.3 CRITICAL THEORY: A MARXIAN LEGACY

As pointed out in the introductory section of this chapter, this study is largely informed by the critical theory tradition. It is acknowledged that, the discourse of critical theory has attracted interest from many scholars, and therefore it has been covered in a wide scholarship. This study expands the application of critical theory to the understanding of the choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting. For the purposes of this study, the researcher made use of Jansen's (1989) conception critical theory. In his own words, "critical theory is largely, but not exclusively a neo-Marxist approach" (Jansen, 1989: 64). That is, in this enquiry on

multilingualism, localism and national identity politics in the ZBC, by critical theory, the study is referring to the works of basically neo-Marxist thinkers.

Tracing the beginnings of critical theory, Rabaka (2009) suggests that critical theory represents a body of work associated with the Frankfurt School, specifically the intellectual lives and legacies of the first generation critical thinkers such as Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Erich Fromm, Jurgen Habermas, Max Horkheimer, Leo Lowenthal and Herbert Marcuse. As demonstrated in this chapter, these academics attempt to examine the notion of culture within a markedly Marxist tradition. Likewise, this study attempts to understand the treatment of indigenous African languages and linguistic diversity on the ZBC radio and television within a markedly Marxist tradition.

In this study, critical theory describes the approaches of selected scholars which disapprove of the capitalist form of society for its oppressive and enslaving influence on the average members of the society who do not have political and economic power. This implies that, it is a theory which is critical to domination and discrimination (Jansen, 1989; Fuchs, 2009). Therefore, this study is concerned with the equity of the language choices and practices in ZBC local content broadcasting and how that impact on the projection of the Zimbabwean nation. In view of the fact that critical theory addresses phenomena and problems in terms of resource distribution and social struggles, this study grapples with the language distribution and contestations on the ZBC radio and television stations. This means that, in critical theory reality is seen in terms of ownership of property, control and distribution of resources, struggles in the society, power, exploitation and dominion. Therefore in this study envisages that the language choices and practices in the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming must not be discriminatory or resemble the domination of other languages. In the same way, the language choices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective local content programming must not project an elitist and exclusive Zimbabwean national identity.

More so, in view of the aims of the critical theory, this study argues against discriminative, inequitable and selective language choices and practices in ZBC broadcasting which negate the linguistic rights of the ordinary people in their quest to be part of the nation of Zimbabwe as represented in public service broadcasting. This is because, critical theory emphasises the call for the liberation of the exploited ordinary members in the society so as to permit them to entirely realise their human potential. To substantiate this point, Jansen (1989: 64), contends

that the intention of the critical theory is to “debunk the existing order and to try to break it down in order to improve human condition.” Presently, Zimbabwean nationalism is in a crisis (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009, Raftopoulos, 2009) and Zimbabwean linguistic terrain is characterised by English supremacy (Charamba, 2012) as well as Shona and Ndebele hegemony (Ndlovu, 2009). Therefore, this study sought to expose the inequities in language distribution in ZBC broadcasting and the inclusivity of the Zimbabwean linguistic nationalism given that critical theory is considered to be an instrument of liberation which articulates the interests of the masses and struggles for human emancipation and social transformation (Rabaka, 2009; Horkheimer, 1982; Jansen, 1989).

Making use of critical theory in explaining the operations and functioning of the media, Murdock and Golding (2005) observe that critical theory investigates the condition of the media and of culture. In fact, it is aimed at the establishment of a cooperative and participatory society based on the basic moral principles of justice, equity and public good. Hence, this study examines the handling of language, a cultural aspect in the ZBC radio and television broadcasting in the context of multilingual and local content broadcasting policies and the ensuing desire of national identity construction evident in the *BSAA* (2007) and the *BSA* (2001). It must also be noted that, critical theory is sceptical to technological-capitalist society and its institutions which are repressive (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2005). Therefore this study explores the fairness in the handling of indigenous African languages and linguistic diversity on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007).

In this study, critical theory is used to theorise the mediation of multilingualism, localism and nationalism since critical theory in contemporary African society is not used to theorise not only capitalism, but also racism, sexism, and colonialism, and how each of these mentioned problems affect the life of the African people (Rabaka, 2009). Innovatively, this study uses critical theory to theorise language use and nationalism in the ZBC broadcasting. In theorising the assemblage of multilingualism, localism and nationalism in the ZBC, this study is concerned with the issues of the injustices in the Zimbabwean nation with special focus on the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television. Emblematic of critical theory, this study also attempts to understand the relationship between politico-economic societal structures and ideological patterns of thought that affect the language choices and

practices on ZBC radio and television and how that impact on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation.

With this background account of critical theory, this study is distinguished by its attention to seven neo-Marxist themes which are archetype of critical theory as reflected by distinguishable critique of the dominant class of people in the society for its authoritarian influence on the ordinary members. As demonstrated in the subsequent sections in this chapter, these neo-Marxist conjectures are Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, Louis Althusser's theory of ideology, Thomas McPhail's theory of electronic colonialism, Jürgen Habermas' public sphere concept, Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory, the concept of political economy of communication, and the Africana critical theory. This demonstrates an eclectic approach within the critical theory which broadens the researcher's horizon to critically interrogate the handling of the indigenous African languages and multilingualism in the local and national question in the ZBC radio and television local content programming.

3.3.1. GRAMSCIAN PARADIGM: HEGEMONY AND IDEOLOGY

In the previous chapter, it was revealed that this inquiry on the language question in the construction of Zimbabwean national identity against the backdrop of the local content on ZBC television and radio is hinged on the phenomenon of language competition in post-colonial Africa. This language rivalry results in descriptions such as linguistic hegemony, linguistic exclusion and inclusion or linguistic death and marginalisation in the public domain. This set-up is demonstrated by the dominance of English at the world level (Crystal, 1997; Phillipson, 1992, 2010) or the dominance of Shona and Ndebele at the expense of other indigenous languages in Zimbabwe (Ndhlovu, 2009). This is what Suarez (2002: 513) refers to as linguistic hegemony, referring to a position which "is achieved when dominant groups create a consensus by convincing others to accept their language norms and usage as standard or paradigmatic". The term linguistic hegemony is also applied by Eriksen (1992) who theorizes the concept of language oppression in a manner that is applicable to this study when he describes the resistance efforts of language minorities in the global context. On the other hand, Ives (2004: 47) observes that the competition between two linguistic forms would eventually result in one succeeding and the other falling out of use. Therefore, this study interrogates how language is used by the dominant groups as a manipulative tool to achieve

hegemonic control in nation building in the public domain of broadcasting. Thus, fittingly, this study was informed by the theory of hegemony so as to address the question of linguistic hegemony in nation building using the ZBC radio and television in the context of the localism principle in the *BSA* (2001).

3.3.1.1 The concept of hegemony

Hegemony is a Marxian concept which is largely accredited to the work of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), a significant Italian thinker within the Marxist tradition whose writings were in the form of notes and letters and are compiled in his seminal work, *Prison Notebooks* (Ives, 2004). According to Williams (1960), Gramsci certainly retained the structural base of classical Marxism; however, the variation is that he was preoccupied with the notable superstructure. In his focus of the superstructure, it suffices that Gramsci is concerned with three observable fundamental categories which are the notion of hegemony, the idea of ideology in national culture, and the notion of the organic intellectuals (Gorlier, 2002). Therefore, in this study ascertained how these Gramscian categories of hegemony, ideology and the organic intellectuals function in explaining the legitimation of certain language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies apparent in the *BSA* (2001) and the *BSAA* (2007) respectively.

Interpreting Gramsci's conception of hegemony, Williams (1960) observes that hegemony indicates a socio-political situation or an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, that is, it is a position in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society. In his own words, Gramsci (1968: 182) characterises hegemony as:

a continuous process of formation and superseding of unstable equilibria...between the interests of the fundamental group and those of the subordinate groups...equilibria in which the interests of the dominant group prevail, but only at a certain point.

This argument implies that hegemony is not a given situation but, it is always associated with the processes of equilibrium, persuasion, consent, and consolidation. Therefore, in the midst of contestations, hegemony can be understood in terms of “the strategies by which the world views and power of ascendant social groups are maintained” (Barker, 2008: 68). Thus, hegemony turns out to be the capacity of the dominant groups, (the ruling class in classical Marxist terms) to provide intellectual, moral and philosophical leadership and to pursue

policies which are not in the direct, narrow interest of capitalists but rather which can be reasonably projected as being in the interests of the whole people or of the nation (Bocock, 1986: 63). Thus, this study determines the extent to which the language preferences of the dominant groups in Zimbabwe are legitimised on the ZBC radio and television in Zimbabwe, at the same time legitimising certain conceptions and perceptions of the Zimbabwean nation.

According to Williams (1960), Gramsci uses the term hegemony to denote the predominance of one social class over others, that is, bourgeois hegemony in classical Marxism. The hegemonic conception is one that has become the “common sense” of the people (Fontana, 2005: 98). This represents not only political and economic control, but also the aptitude of the dominant class to project its world view so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as ‘common sense’ and ‘natural’. Furthermore, hegemony is defined by Jiang (2011) as the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant group. On the basis of this argument, this study examines how certain language choices and practices are naturalised in Zimbabwean television and radio broadcasting; while it is also common sense for other languages to occupy peripheral spaces in a multilingual Zimbabwean nation.

It is important to note that in explaining the nature of power, the concept of hegemony as Gramsci explains operates within the duality of force/consent and violence/persuasion (Fontana, 2005). Thus, Gramsci’s concept of hegemony describes a condition in which the supremacy of a social group is achieved not only by physical force which he calls “domination” or “command” but also through consensual compliance of the very people who are dominated; a phenomenon which Gramsci variedly calls “leadership,” “direction,” or “hegemony” (Gramsci, 1968: 238). This means that hegemony entails a situation where a ‘historical block’ of ruling-class factions exercises social authority and leadership over the subordinate classes (Barker, 2008: 66). Wittingly, without using any physical force, by universalism, the dominant group manages to represent its narrow-minded interests and fascinations as the common interests of the nation. This is achieved through a combination of force and, more importantly, consent (Gal, 1989). All what is required is the identification of a “proper” balance or proportion in this dyadic relation.

The foregoing illustrates that hegemony is the institutionalisation of consent and persuasion within both the civil society and the state. However, the element of force and domination, as the balancing and limiting pole of the dyad, cannot be eliminated (Gramsci 1975: 332). With

reference to language, Ives (2004: 7) observes that language is spread predominantly not by government or state coercion, military or police action, but by speakers accepting the prestige and utility of new languages, phrases or terms. He demonstrates that; the idea that we have totally free choice over the language we use or, the words we speak, is clearly misleading. Hence, this study explores how the dual variables of hegemony- force and consent are strategically employed in order to legitimise certain language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting and the representation of the Zimbabwean nation in the context of the multilingual and the local content broadcasting policies.

On the place of hegemony construction, Fontana (2005) observes that consent is manufactured and reproduced within modern capitalist societies through institutions such as the parliaments, education systems, and the media. Suitably, this study deals with radio and television broadcasting in Zimbabwe which are elements of electronic media which are identified in the preceding avowal as sites through which consent is manufactured and reproduced. In the same view, Gramsci redefined hegemony to mean the formation and organisation of consent (Ives, 2004). To augment this claim, Barker (2008) argues that elites reinforce their hegemony through social conditioning which is aided by leading social institutions which include the media. In this study, the researcher examines how consent is used to legitimise elitist language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting, thereby legitimising certain notions about language and the nation in multilingual Zimbabwe.

McPhail (2009) detects that in the concept of cultural hegemony, Gramsci put forth the notion that the dominating class mitigates class conflict by controlling the culture of the working class through such social institutions as education, religion, and the mass media. As an illustration, McPhail (ibid) maintains that the media are used to suppress dissent and promote the ruling elites. He gives an example of Rupert Murdoch's empire which includes the News Corporation (News Corp.) and Disney global media giants which he describes as models of capitalism and media conglomeration that drives cultural imperialism. For that reason, this study examines the direct and indirect influences of these global media giants on the languages used on ZBC radio and television and the subsequent impact on the Zimbabwean national identity in the face of language competition and the local content broadcasting policy. This is in line with the argument that popular culture and the mass media are subject to the production, reproduction and transformation of hegemony through the institutions of civil society, which cover the areas of cultural production and consumption (Gramsci, 1968).

3.3.1.2 The Gramscian organic intellectuals

As pointed out in the first paragraph of section 3.2, Gramsci's originality is also observed in his novel conception of the role of the intellect and the intellectuals in the dialectical processes of historical materialism (Williams, 1960). In the Gramscian approach of hegemony, the role of the intellectual is crucial. It is their historical function, by means of hegemony, to bridge the gap between them and the popular masses and to reintegrate the whole society in a new and superior cultural order. Gramsci points out that every ruling group gives rise to a class of intellectuals whose duty is to perpetuate the existing way of life at the level of theory. These intellectuals broadly mean professionals including lawyers, professors, politicians, scientists, and journalists who generate theory to support the hegemony of the dominant groups. It is precisely within civil society that intellectuals in particular operate (Williams, 1960). This implies that the ruling class exert its power over society using different methods, which include the intellectuals. What this mean is that the civil society becomes the marketplace of ideas, where intellectuals enter as 'salesmen' of contending cultures.

This study therefore, examined how the organic intellectuals in Zimbabwe influence and legitimise language choices of the dominant groups and eventually the Zimbabwean national identity in the ZBC radio and television local content programming. To validate the choice of theory, this researcher observed that Ndlovu-Gatsheni also used a similar framework in analysing of the Zimbabwean nation building process where he refers these organic intellectuals as "regime-intellectuals" and publicists who interpellated the subjects via the use of culture-based debates that essentialised African identity, such as the ZBC television programmes called *National Ethos and Nhaka Yedu* (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009:30). However, this study paid particular attention to the local and multilingual questions in the national question as represented on the Zimbabwean radio and television in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies.

3.3.1.3 Gramsci and ideology

Just like Louis Althusser, Gramsci's Marxist affiliation is buttressed by his focus on the concept of ideology. Typical of Gramscian approach, his focus on ideology is explained within the frameworks of the conundrums of the concept of hegemony. On Gramsci and hegemony, Bates (1975: 351) argues that the basic premise of the theory of hegemony is that man is not ruled by force alone, but also by ideas. Similarly Marx (1961: 93) argues that "the

ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the dominant material force in society is at the same time its dominant intellectual force". This implies that the ideas have an important function of preserving the ideological unity of a nation, at the same time making sure that the class struggles are muted.

According to Barker (2008), within the Gramscian analysis, ideology is understood in terms of ideas, meanings and practices which, while they support universal truths, are maps of meaning that sustain powerful social groups. Therefore the connection between ideology and hegemony is that ideology is a tool to supplant the hegemony of the dominant group. Therefore, in this study, the researcher examines the ideological descriptions of certain languages as national or occupying peripheral spaces in the representation of the Zimbabwean nation through radio and television local content broadcasting. More so, Gramsci's ideas have been useful for many attempting to analyse how power operates within these democratic societies (Ives, 2004).

This study on the handling of localism and multilingualism in the national question in the ZBC local content programming takes place within the existing debates concerning the marginalisation of other languages in the public domains of Zimbabwe. Therefore, using this theoretical background the researcher establishes how the ideas of the dominant groups on language penetrate in the language choices and practices in the ZBC radio and television local content broadcasting, so as to legitimise the position of the dominant languages in forging the nation. This is because ideology acts as social cement in the formation of the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic blocs and common sense and the media is the most significant site of ideological struggle (Barker, 2008).

3.2.1.4 Language, culture and hegemony

This section discusses the interplay between language, culture and hegemony. In this case, the researcher applies the concept of hegemony to the study of language and culture since language and identity are aspects of culture; as a case in point, language and national culture in the cultural institution of the media. Therefore, the Gramscian approach of hegemony is applicable to this study since unlike other Marxists who omitted the importance of culture and non-economic aspects of society, Gramsci provides a much broader social and cultural portrayal of modern society (Ives, 2006). For instance, Gramsci insists on the political importance of cultural matters as demonstrated by his concern on why Italian peasants more

often read French novels than Italian ones. This is a confirmation that Gramsci also pays great attention to language.

This study is not the first of its kind in using the Gramscian approach to language studies. Antonio Gramsci and his concept of hegemony are often invoked in current debates concerning cultural imperialism, globalisation and global English (Ives, 2009). As an illustration, there is a large body of literature which is critical of the spread of English across the globe including Pennycook (1994) who argues that English threatens other languages, acts as a gatekeeper to positions of wealth and prestige both within and between nations, and is the language through which much of the unequal distribution of wealth, resources, and knowledge operates. From a Gramscian perspective, the spread of English is a problem to the extent that its role within particular hegemonic blocs prevents subaltern social group consciousness from developing and creating critical and counter hegemonic responses. Similarly, May (2008) and Phillipson (1992) expressly discuss Gramsci's writings in the context of the global hegemony of English.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) makes use of the concepts of hegemony in his deconstruction of the Zimbabwean national project, where he demonstrates the hegemonic nature of the ZANU (PF) political party and the Shona language in the Zimbabwean nation. On demonstrating the Shona and Ndebele hegemony, Ndhlovu (2006, 2009) is also informed by Gramscian reasoning. In view of the observation that; language is used as an ideological tool for oppression and domination, (Sarabia, 2003), this study arises from and is organized around the concept of hegemony. A Gramscian approach helps this study to deconstruct what has become to be accepted as common sense or natural in the language choices on the ZBC radio and television stations. Similar studies like Ndhlovu (2009) and Jiang (2011) among others have used similar frameworks in studying the Shona-Ndebele hegemony in Zimbabwe and the English hegemony in China respectively.

Therefore, this study investigates the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations and analyses the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting space. The theory of linguistic hegemony was helpful in the exploration of the inequality of languages in language usage in the ZBC radio stations and television. It is the use of the theory of linguistic hegemony which exposed language prejudices in the ZBC broadcasting in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies. This theory therefore assisted this study to critique the fairness of the

spatial language distribution on the ZBC radio and television stations and the projected nation of Zimbabwe. In a nutshell, the notion of cultural hegemony has been useful in studies of language (Gal, 1989).

3.3.2 ALTHUSSERIAN PARADIGM: IDEOLOGICAL INTERPELLATION AND THE ISAs.

Another important figure in the evolution of the Marxist thought is the Algerian-born French philosopher Louis Althusser (Dobie, 2012: 81). While Gramsci is best known for his theory of hegemony and his conception of ideology as demonstrated in the preceding section, Althusser is best known for his monumental ideas of ideological interpellation and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) schema. This section expresses that this study was also informed by Althusser's theoretical notions of ideology. The theory was handy in establishing the extent to which the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television in the context of the localism principle and the imagined community of Zimbabwe are products of the process of ideological interpellation and the utilisation of the Ideological State Apparatus of the media by the political administration of Zimbabwe.

3.3.2.1 Ideology and ideological interpellation

Ideology is defined as a belief system (Dobie, 2012; Baker, 2008). This implies that an ideology is a framework of thinking about the world, thus a world view. These are simply ideas which are used by people to outline the functioning of the social world. Therefore in this study, the concept of ideology is crucial in the understanding of how the ideas of the dominant groups are projected in the language choices on the ZBC radio and television and the nation of Zimbabwe. This is done against the backdrop of the argument that ideology is double-edged in operation in the sense that on the one hand, it constitutes the real conditions of peoples' lives and is not forged, while on the other hand, ideology is largely conceived of as false consciousness which through ideological discourse misrepresent power and class relations in a manner which match the most powerful in the society's real conditions of existence (Dobie, 2012). Thus, this study examined the fairness of language distribution in the ZBC broadcasting and the representation of Zimbabwe as a multilingual nation in the context of the localism principle in the *BSA* (2001) and the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *BSAA* (2007)

Althusser (1971: 162) admits that ideologies are “largely imaginary”. This means that in any given situation, ideologies do not always “correspond to reality” rather they can “constitute an illusion”. This suggests that, for Althusser, ideology does not always represent reality. Rather, ideology is just one of the useful means of maintaining power which is used by the most powerful people in the society and not necessarily force. As a result, ideology trains people to unworriedly accept and submit to their own subordination. This is supported by Kellner (1997) who argues that ideology is part of a system of domination which serves in further oppression by legitimating forces and institutions that repress and oppress people. Thus regimes or states are able to maintain their control through the production and reproduction of ideologies which supports the status quo since “the ruling class as a whole has a mind of its own which is located in a particular ideology” (Hall, 1985: 99). Categorically, Althusser (1971) contends that ideology has got an all-purpose function of creating subjects, the reproduction of social formations and their relations of power. In this study therefore, the researcher applied Althusser’s postulation of ideology to examines the authenticity or inclusivity of the Zimbabwean national identity projected in the ZBC local content programming by evaluating the localism and the multilingual paradigms to language usage in the ZBC towards building the nation of Zimbabwe, all evident in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act*, Act No. 19 (2007) and the *BSA* (2001).

This exposé reflects that Althusser builds on Antonio Gramsci’s idea that the dominant class controls the views of the people; it does so by manipulating the subordinate class to accept the dominant ideology. This is necessitated by the process he famously calls *interpellation* (Althusser, 1971). Dobie (2012) explains that interpellation is a term which is used by Louis Althusser to refer to the process by which the working class is manipulated to accept the ideology of the dominant one. Interpellation is an account of how people develop into self-conscious subjects. This suggests that in a situation where people embrace the practices associated with particular institutions, it can be argued that the people have been effectively ‘interpellated’. By application, this study established the extent to which the people of Zimbabwe have been interpellated to accept or reject certain linguistic practices and notions of nationhood in the ZBC broadcasting in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions and the multilingual approach to language use in the public service broadcasting.

In a prominent contention, Althusser (1971:173) claims that “all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects.” This indicates that ideology operates in a way that it recruits subjects, that is transforming individuals into subjects who accept

certain practices and circumstances through the process he calls interpellation or hailing. As a result of interpellation, the individuals see themselves as reflected in the institutions and practices of a society (Žižek, 2003). In this study, the magnitude of interpellation was observed by the acceptance or rejection of the language choices and practices on ZBC broadcasting stations and their respective programming. This study argues that those consumers of the ZBC broadcasting products who accepted the prevailing language choices regardless of their failure to represent the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe have accepted, involuntarily, to the dominant ideology. In the Zimbabwean case, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) applies Althusser's notions of subjectivation and interpellation to describe how the nationalist leaders in Zimbabwe have tried to construct the individual subject called 'Zimbabwean' and how the subject responded to these processes. However, he does not pay particular attention to the language usage on the ZBC broadcasting stations in the context of the multilingual paradigm, the localism principle and the national project subsumed in the policies regulating broadcasting in Zimbabwe.

3.3.2.2 Althusser's ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) schema

Another established observation made by Althusser (1971) is that there are two kinds of state apparatuses, which are the Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). The RSAs refer to the institutions within the government which include administration, the army, the police, prisons and the courts. The RSAs make use of force and repression so as to make all members of the society to conform to the dominant ideology. On the other hand the ISAs according to Althusser (1971: 145) "function massively and predominately by ideology" to secure the same goal of the reproduction of the relations of production which favour the powerful people in a capitalist system.

This study is mainly concerned with the ISAs, which Althusser (1971: 143) identifies as the religious ISA which comprises a system of churches, the educational ISA which constitute a system of schools, the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA which is characterised by the different parties, the trade-union ISA, the cultural ISA which includes literature, the arts, sports, among other aspects, and of interest to this study the communications ISA which constitute the press, radio and television. As observed in this outline, what is referred to as Ideological State Apparatuses in this context, are a series of various institutions which help the ruling class in ensuring subjection to the ruling ideologies. This theorisation is critical in this study because it is concerned with radio and television, the communication ideological

institutions which primarily operate through language and are characterised “by cramming every ‘citizen’ with daily doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism, etc. by means of the press, the radio and television” (Althusser, 1971: 155). This theory was applicable to this study because it is “a scientific Marxism which is aimed at stripping away the ideologies that keep the structures of capitalism hid in the ISA institutions” (Ives, 2004: 24).

More so, Althusser’s work represents a move away from a preoccupation with economic determination. Seleti (1997) argues that the media plays a critical role in the construction of national identities. The scholar notes that the media serve as a conduit for the politicians’ discourses on national identity. He argues that:

the media whatever form, shape, size or colour, takes the nation for granted as their audience. They participate in identity politics that seek to create a particular national identity based obviously on what they imagine to be the ideal national identity (Seleti, 1997: 34).

This means that the media are the crucial sites of representation; precisely it is the area where national identities are created and contested. Therefore, using Althusser’s theorisation of the Ideological State Apparatus appropriately, this study examined the construction and contestations of the Zimbabwean national identity basing on the national and cultural aspect of language as it is used in the ZBC radio and television broadcasting in the context of multilingual and local content broadcasting policies, since the media also participate significantly in the struggle for the production and reproduction of a national identity (Fourie, 2009; Chiumbu, 2004).

3.3.3 WORLD-SYSTEMS THEORY: GLOBALISATION AND ENGLISH AS A GLOBAL LANGUAGE

In view of the argument that the pervasive power of globalization which has made most people today to perceive it as an unquestionable and inevitable reality (Koffman, 2003), this study is also informed by Immanuel Wallenstein’s world-systems theory since his analysis of the excesses of capitalism is done with a global outlook. Congruent to Marx’s legacy in the analyses of the workings and contradictions of capitalism, the world-systems theory which is classified as a Marxist theory is rooted in the analysis of global capitalism which is argued to be the vehicle of global inequality (Linklater 2005: 126). The world-systems analysis is a perspective which was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in the 1970s in an attempt to

bring Marx's ideas in explaining the global phenomenon. This is an acknowledgement to the fact that the main feature of world politics is that it takes place within the confines of world capitalism (Martínez-Vela, 2001).

The argument in the foregoing rationalises the fact that, in grappling with the triumph of the multilingual and local content broadcasting policies in the raising of indigenous African languages and promoting linguistic diversity in the ZBC public service broadcasting, this study researcher acknowledged that there has been a profound multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation-states which make up the modern world system (McGrew, 1992). This is what is referred to in a wide scholarship as globalisation where people's lives are connected to and influenced by distant people, places and events. It is a term which "refers to the emergence and spread of a supra-territorial, trans-world dimension of social relations (Scholte, 1998: 3). It is worth noting that; globalisation is creating a global village in the era of 'global interdependency' or 'a global neighbourhood' where:

national boundaries are breaking down as goods, services, finance, culture, ideologies and messages stream across boundaries invading every nook and cranny of the globe, flattening down diversity and idiosyncrasies in the process (Shivji, 2002:1).

Therefore, in examining the language question in the national question as represented in the ZBC local content programming, it is imperative to adopt an approach which considers how the local question; the desire to promote linguistic diversity and national identity in Zimbabwe respond to the process of globalisation which is associated with various terminologies which include, 'global', 'international', 'transnational', 'multi-national' and 'worldwide' which are used interchangeably. Thus, this study grapples with how the language question is handled in the forging of the nation through Zimbabwean broadcasting in the 'transnational public sphere' (Berger, 1998) in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies.

3.3.3.1 The world as a system

According to Wallerstein (2000), the modern nation state exists within a broad economic, political, and legal framework which he calls a "world system." The understanding is that, as in hermeneutics analysis, just as individuals cannot be fully understood without making reference to the socio-cultural system in which they are embedded, the nation states cannot be understood without making reference to the world-system in which they are entrenched. As

an illustration, Martínez-Vela (2001: 10) argues that “man’s ability to participate intelligently in the evolution of his own system is dependent on his ability to perceive the whole”. Therefore, the argument in the world system theory is that the modern nation states are all part of the world system of capitalism. This implies that Wallerstein’s theory is aimed at understanding the world system and not individual nation states. This world system is characterised by a world economy which is marked by the production and exchange of goods and the desire for endless accumulation of capital. Hence, Wallerstein describes the modern world-system as a capitalist economy.

Martínez-Vela (2001) argues that the world-system theory is a macro-sociological perspective that seeks to explain the dynamics of the “capitalist world economy” as a “total social system”. This indicates that the world system becomes the unit of analysis, and not nation-states. Wallerstein’s analysis of social change acknowledges that “we cannot make sense of localised practices and experiences without reference to wider social dynamics that cannot be apprehended empirically” (Goode, 1999:5). This buttresses the idea pursued in this study that in order to understand the treatment of multilingualism and the indigenous African languages in the construction and representation of the Zimbabwean nation in the ZBC local content programming, there is need to consider Wallerstein’s world system theory, in other words the impact of the forces of globalisation on the language choices on the ZBC radio and television stations.

According to Chirot and Hall (1982), the world-system theory is in many ways an adaptation of the dependency theory, a neo-Marxist explanation of the development processes which were popularised by Andre Gunder Frank and Walter Rodney. According to Blaney (1996) before Wallerstein, the dependency theory developed mainly as a reaction to the growth of global inequality. The dependency theorists explain that dependency is a lack of self-sustaining economic growth of the periphery nations which is caused by the global capitalist development which at the same time produces much for the core nations and less for the peripheral nations. The argument is that, the developed and the underdeveloped were not separate phenomena as such but are a result of the functioning of one world system. This is summed by Wolf (1997: 22) who observes that for Frank the ‘developed’ progressed because of the surplus it took from the ‘underdeveloped’ thereby widening the gap of world inequality and thwarting the progress of the ‘underdeveloped’.

In the same manner, Wallerstein (2004) explains the world-system as one in which there is noticeable division of labour. The partition is not simply on the functions of the nation states, but also on the geographical locations of the nation states. Thus, in the world economy, there is division of labour which encompasses several nation states where the interests of the capitalist nations are defended. In Wallerstein's schema of the division of labour amongst the nations in the world system, he divides the capitalist world-economy into core states, semi-peripheral, and peripheral nations. The nations in the periphery are the least developed; they suffer exploitation by the core nations for their cheap labour, raw materials, and agricultural production. The semi-peripheral nations to some extent are intermediate since they are in some cases exploited by the core nations and at times assume the role in exploiting the peripheral nations which are weak because of their colonial and post-colonial situation. The core nation states have the economic, political and military to back them in capital accumulation in the world-economy.

Building on Wallerstein, on an aspect related to this study, Eijaz and Ahmad (2011: 136) argues that world system theory as pointed out in the previous paragraph, depict three levels of technology involved in the global communications, the core nations are the nation states which are equipped with the modern technology, the semi- peripheral nations are the nation states that are in transitional age and are striving hard to get an access to modern technology, while the peripheral nations have poor information and communication technologies. The implication is that most developing countries rely on core countries for getting information. Since language is key to the communication process, this study profits from this theory on appraising the ZBC's effort to broadcast in all languages spoken in Zimbabwe, local content material and create a national identity for a nation which is peripheral and part and parcel of the world system, or simply put in the global village. This study explores the place and position of English in the ZBC broadcasting alongside the rest of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe, since it is arguably a global language (Crystal, 1997) and how that impact on the representation of Zimbabwean nation and locality.

3.3.3.2 Hegemony and Wallerstein's world system

In Section 3.3.1 of this chapter, the concept of hegemony was discussed as a concept popularised by Antonio Gramsci. In his world systems theory, Wallerstein also makes use of the term hegemony. This is a demonstration that the two are both neo-Marxist scholars. The difference is on the unit of analysis where in this instance Wallerstein focuses on the world as

a system. According to Wallerstein (2004), the strong states in the modern world-system can also be referred to as hegemonic powers. They are hegemonic states for the reason that:

for a certain period they were able to establish the rules of the game in the interstate system, to dominate the world-economy, to get their way politically with a minimal use of military force and to formulate the cultural language with which we discussed the world (Wallerstein, 2004: 57).

This is further explained by Ferguson (2003) who argues that a hegemonic power is a state which is able to impose its set of rules on the interstate system, and thereby creating temporarily a new political order. Different but related to the concept of hegemony, is the concept of hegemon which is referred to as the certain extra advantages for enterprises located within the hegemonic power or protected. These are simply advantages obtained through political power. In this instance, the United States of America is cited as a hegemony which rests on the economic, political, technological and military pillars.

Though the world-systems theory has attracted criticisms from its rivals, notably for being too focused on economy and not enough on culture, and for being too core-centric and state-centric (Ferguson, 2003), this neo-Marxist theory was critical to this study. This study focuses on the handling of multilingualism and indigenous African languages in the representation of the Zimbabwean national identity in the ZBC broadcasting in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies. Therefore, it is imperative to consider the impact of the global media enterprises since these global media giants are the communication conglomerates which dominate the global stage of mass communications. These global media giants include the American media giants, such as Time-Warner, Disney, Viacom, and News Corporation which tend to overshadow all other nation states. To substantiate this argument, McChesney (2001) argues that the emerging global media systems also have significant cultural impact on the peripheral nations. The argument is that global media organisations are the main transmitters of cultural imperialism. Therefore, Wallerstein's world systems theory is a critical framework in this study in establishing the influences of globalisation, in this case the global media and English as a global language on the interplay among the aspects of multilingualism, the nation and the localism principle in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting conditions.

3.3.4 ELECTRONIC COLONIALISM AND THE NEW MEDIA TECHNOLOGIES

The 21st Century is typified by profound technological developments, a development that has been dubbed ‘technological revolution’ (Ashurst, 2001; White, 2003). For that reason, “people often speak of a new world, a new society, and a new phase of history, being created, brought about, by this or that new technology” (Williams, 2006: 43). As a case in point, the media sector has not been spared of this pervasive technological movement; rather the media in the 21st century is defined by very rapid advances in communications technology (Eijaz and Ahmad, 2011). Therefore, over and above the neo-Marxist notions of hegemony, ideology and the world systems theory, there is also great need to consider impact of technology, particularly the modern forms of technologies which include the internet and satellite television on the language choices on ZBC radio and television and ultimately the Zimbabwean nation in the context of multilingual and the local content broadcasting conditions.

On that premise, this study was also informed by Tom McPhail’s electronic colonisation theory, also known as electronic colonialism, a presumption which can be categorised without doubt within the neo-Marxist tradition since it observes the subjugation of societies or nations which are assumed to be lagging behind on the technological front by those nations which are pacesetters in technological progression. Venkatesan and Nambiar (2003) note that throughout history, colonialism has assumed different forms and was imposed over a range of civilizations, of which some of them, eventually gained their independence. In a nutshell, the concept of colonialism entails the exploitation of a weaker country by a stronger one and dates back from the Greek period (Ferro, 1997). Furthermore, McPhail (1987) argues that the colonizers sought resources unavailable at home and, in return, sent colonial administrators, immigrants, their language, educational system, religion, culture, laws and lifestyle that were not traditional in the colonized country.

However, McPhail (2002) argues that there is a new form of colonialism and therefore he proposes the theory of electronic colonialism. In this theory, McPhail suggests that the importation of foreign-produced programming from the West will establish a set of foreign norms and values that will eventually affect the domestic cultures in the developing countries. This includes the phenomenon of imported radio and television programmes which are argued to have effects on the cultures in the developing world at practical and ideological levels. The developed world own technology and therefore export electronic products to the

developing world and inadvertently establish themselves as information providers. As a result, the developing countries become ‘electronic colonies’ that are provided with information generated by the developed world. Hence in this study, using the electronic colonisation theory, this study examined the impact of the imported new technologies to the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting and ultimately on the Zimbabwean nation in the context of competing languages, English hegemony and the localism principle in the *BSA* (2001), since the media is the message (McLuhan, 2001).

McPhail’s electronic colonialism can be read together with Marshal McLuhan’s technological determinism theory which emphasises that technology is an agent of social change; implying that technology shapes society (McQuail, 2005). Echoing the same argument, McPhail (2002: 5) argues that “foreign produced, created or manufactured cultural products have the ability to influence, or possibly displace indigenous cultural productions...” He argues that the heavy domination of media messages results in a new form of colonialism which is electronic and cultural. Therefore, on the commitment to localise the content in ZBC radio and television broadcasting in a bid to construct a distinctive national identity, an argument evident in the *BSA* (2001), using the electronic colonisation theory, this researcher examined the impact of imported computer-mediated communication, the imported media products, and satellite television on the harmonisation of multilingualism, localism and the national question.

The foregoing has demonstrates that while traditional colonialism has always assumed a physical presence of the colonial power in the territory of the colonised country, electronic colonisation, nevertheless, allows full-scale imperialism without the need for a physical presence in the colonised country. For instance, through the satellite from metropolitan country (the influential centres) to the people in the peripheral nations where there is enormous infiltration of dominant cultural and economic values. One such manifestation of colonialism is ‘electronic colonialism’ or ‘e-colonialism’ (McPhail, 1987). This is facilitated by disparity which exists between the producers/owners of technologies, and the consumers of these technologies. This is what is called the digital divide which happens to be the basic tenet of the concept of e-colonialism (McPhail, 2009). Therefore, in this situation, there is an imbalance in the global flow of communications which allows developed countries to manipulate and handle information for the fulfilment of their interests. In his theory, McPhail (2009: 28) emphasises the danger of Americanization when he says, “all of the US multimedia empires, along with their extensive advertising networks, project and encourage

US tastes, values, mores, history, culture and language around the world.” Therefore, this study examines how the problem of the onslaught of the English language is addressed in the ZBC local content and multilingual broadcasting in the context of the many indigenous African languages.

The other argument which explains electronic colonialism theory is that technology is not culturally neutral but is developed in a cultural context such that it carries that cultural context in its designs (Sunarn, 2001). However, the global information infrastructure mostly comes from the developed countries. This infrastructure signals imperialism of the developing countries. Thus the impact of e-colonialism can potentially be just as devastating as that of mercantile colonialism. Thus, although the technology offers a wide range of options for communication and exchange of information, there may be a need to consider the impact of these technological developments on society (Salpini, 1998). This is referred to as communication imperialism or media imperialism (Schiller, 1976). Therefore, it can be argued that we are in the age of information and wars are fought on the grounds of information technology. Thus, this study considered the effects of electronic imperialism to the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television and ultimately the representation of the Zimbabwean nation.

3.3.5 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE

This study also considered the influence of the financing, ownership and control patterns of ZBC as an organisation. As demonstrated in this section, this is a crucial element in critical theory which has an impact on the mediation of multilingualism, localism principle and the Zimbabwean nation in the ZBC broadcasting. For that reason, this study also considered the political economy of communication in general and broadcasting in particular. Appropriately, the concept of political economy of communication is largely attributed to neo-Marxist theorists. With reference to classical Marxism, Karl Marx cited in Hall (1997), asserts that those groups who own the means of production control the means of producing and circulating a society’s ideas. This is validated by the fact that, Marx argues that the superstructure, that is, the ideas, cultural institutions and cultural products is determined by the base which is the economic organization of a society which is famously known as the means of production. This study, therefore ascertained the handling of language in forging the Zimbabwean nation through the cultural institutions of ZBC radio and television by

looking at their financing, ownership and control patterns. This is because the political economy perspective is concerned with investigating how the capitalist classes promote and ensure their dominant or hegemonic position (McChesney, 1999). In other words, neo-Marxists scholars argue that he who pays the piper decides the tune. Therefore, this study grapples with the impact of patterns of ownership; control and financing of the ZBC on the ZBC language choices and practices.

There are different representations of the political economy approach to communication as shown by varied explanations given by neo-Marxists scholars concerned with the political economy approach. Interestingly, there is consistence in the arguments marking the political economy approach. Rather, the difference is only in emphasis, but not in implication. Some of the prominent scholars in the political economy paradigm of communication include among others, Edward Herman, Noam Chomsky and Robert McChesney. These scholars believe the media are instruments in the hands of their owners hence they castigate control of the media by the state and capitalists since this defeat the spirit of democratization in society. This validates the argument that the political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources (Mosco, 1996; Wasko; 2005).

Similarly, Golding and Murdock (2001: 15) observe that the critical political economy of communication “sets out to show how different methods of financing and organizing cultural production have traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations within the public domain and for the audiences’ access to them”. For instance, the political economists are especially interested in the consequences of such media concentration, synergies, integration, internationalisation (Wasko, 2005) which tend homogenise content of the media, eventually perpetuating the use of English language in the media. Thus, the different methods of organizing and financing the social resources employed in production or simply the factors of production and consumption will yield different forms of access to both production and consumption.

Similarly, the different methods of organizing production and consumption are bound to have an impact on the range and character of the products available. This demonstrates that the emphasis in the political economy approach is on power relations and how they impact on production and distribution of resources. In simple terms, the political economy perspective is mainly interested in how ownership, funding and control patterns have traceable

consequences on the range of discourses and images that appear in the mass media. Therefore, this study employed the critical political economy approach to ascertain the impact of the patterns of ownership, financing and control on the language use patterns in the ZBC broadcasting in the context of the local content and multilingual broadcasting conditions and the need to construct a distinctive national identity, observations ensuing in the *BSA* (2001) and the multilingual approach to public service broadcasting evident in the *BSAA* (2007).

3.3.6 THE PUBLIC SPHERE CONCEPT

Against the backdrop of the arguments generated in chapter two which concern the struggles in national identities construction which are marked by contestation, language as a determinant feature in nation-building, language as critical aspect in the functioning of the media, and the media as sites in which national identities are constructed and contested, this study is pursued with marked concern on the inclusivity of the Zimbabwean nation projected in the ZBC local content broadcasting looking at languages choices and practices against the backdrop of a multilingual approach to public service broadcasting. As it is acknowledged that English is a hegemonic language in a globalising world (Wright, 2004), and Shona and Ndebele are hegemonic languages in Zimbabwe (Ndhlovu (2009), any discussion on national identity construction and localism would be incomplete without questioning the inclusivity of such a national project since the access for minority voices and political outsiders is considered to be essential to a well-functioning public sphere (Ferree et al, 2002). This study therefore made use of Jürgen Habermas's public sphere concept to ascertain the exclusion or inclusion of the Zimbabwean ethnic or linguistic groups in the national project carried out through local content programming on ZBC television and radio stations and the respective programming, since all actions that affect other people are wrong if they do not hold up to public scrutiny (Kant, 1983).

3.3.6.1 The public sphere: A model

The public sphere concept was popularised through a neo-Marxist scholar, Jürgen Habermas' seminal work titled *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Investigation of a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1989). Habermas is also known as the leading light of the second generation of Frankfurt School theorists, and his work is best understood as the fruit of an ongoing response to the critical theory of the first generation of Frankfurt School

theorists. Habermas (1989) analyses the historical beginnings of what he calls the bourgeoisie public sphere. This is followed by an explanation of the structural change of the public sphere in the modern days which is characterised with the rise of state capitalism, and the progressively more powerful positions of economic corporations and big business in the public sphere, while citizens come to accept themselves primarily as consumers of the goods and services. Habermas chronicles the development of the public sphere in its idealised form to its transformation. .

According to Grbeša (2003) the public sphere as conceived by Jürgen Habermas is a neutral social space for critical debate among private persons who gather to discuss matters of common concern in a free, rational and in principle unbiased way. Another conception of the public sphere is that a well functioning democratic public sphere rests on the presence of constitutionally guaranteed civil liberties which include freedom of expression, opinion, and assembly, the availability of free, plural, and independent media, access to public information and participation in the public sphere (Odugbemi, 2008). In this study, it is argued that in such an ideal public sphere, the individual's linguistic rights must be respected if the members of the public are to fully enjoy these civil liberties. However, though the public sphere has been praised as a normative ideal by those who advocate for participatory democracy, it is criticised as a running model, which does not exist in the real world.

As a case in point, the space in which national identities are constructed, the ZBC radio and television are public spheres which should be neutral on the basis of languages used. All the ethnic groups with their languages should be fairly represented in the programmes on the radio and television stations. Thus, the ZBC radio and television as public spheres should without bias embrace all the languages spoken in the Zimbabwean locality. However, as proffered by the corresponding argument, this is a tall order. Therefore, using the public sphere concept, this study examines the extent to which the ZBC radio and television function as public spheres in Zimbabwe by including all the languages, thereby creating an inclusive imagined community which fairly accommodate all the linguistic groups in the country.

In Habermasian terms, a democratic society depends on an informed populace to make decisions. The public sphere is a historically conditioned social space where information, ideas and debates circulate without restraint in a society. According to Habermas (1992), ideally, in the public sphere, there are no restrictions on the range of political viewpoints; and

the equitable representation regardless of income. Access to the public sphere is guaranteed to all citizens (Habermas et al (1974: 49). Thus the Habermasian public sphere denotes the formation of public opinion where access is guaranteed to all citizens (Eley, 1994: 289). This study argues that this can only happen when people are allowed to use their own languages, that is, using their own languages as media of communication. That way, the general populace will be informed and would competently participate in public debate. Ultimately, they will come to identify with the undertakings in the public sphere. Habermas (1992) demonstrates that the media and elites control the public sphere, demonstrating that this is not the ideal situation for a well functioning public sphere. This is opposed to the idea that the public sphere is the arena where citizens come together, exchange opinions regarding public affairs, discuss, deliberate, and eventually form public opinion (Odugbemi, 2008).

According to Odugbemi (2008) the public sphere is contrasted with the private sphere, where the private sphere consists of intimate space of relationships while the public sphere refers to public communication. The public sphere allows for individual communication to enter into the public discourse so that it can affect the political system (ibid). In this study it is observed that, language is the principal means of communication, and therefore the ZBC, which is a public broadcaster, should fairly broadcast in all local languages spoken in Zimbabwe in a bid to forge an inclusive Zimbabwean nation, thereby including all the people in public opinion formation since “the importance of the public sphere lies in its potential as a mode of societal integration” (Calhoun, 1992: 6). Therefore, this study argues that, the multilingual and local content broadcasting policies must raise the status of the indigenous African languages and promote linguistic diversity on the ZBC radio and television stations in view of the argument that in a public sphere, access to all citizens is guaranteed (Habermas, 1992).

3.3.6.2 The structural transformation of the public sphere

Susen (2011) observes that in his works of 1989, 1992 and 1995, Habermas is preoccupied with the structural transformation or change of the public sphere in the modern society. In his own terms he argues that the public sphere has become ‘refeudalised’ in the sense that a caste system determining who participates in the public sphere seems to have developed (Habermas, 1989). This implies that contrary to the ideal public sphere discussed in the previous section, the public sphere in the modern society is now privatized in the sense that only a few corporate citizens seem to enjoy freedom in participating, while the rest of the public are left with no access to the public sphere. This refeudalisation of the public sphere is

necessitated by the tension between universal and particular interests. The contestation between the universal and particular interests eventually degenerate into what Habermas calls the 'bourgeois public sphere' (Susen, 2011). According to Habermas (1989: 27) "the bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people [who] come together as a public". In other words he says "the fully developed bourgeois public sphere was based on the fictitious identity of the two roles assumed by the privatized individuals who came together to form a public" (Habermas, 1989: 56).

The argument pursued in the foregoing is that in the bourgeoisie public sphere, private interests prevail at the expense of the public interests, albeit, they masquerade as the public interests. This study therefore, ascertains the extent to which the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television public spheres have been refeudalised or transformed by the private interests. As demonstrated in chapter 5 of this study this is indicated by the dominance of English, Shona and Ndebele as well as the Zezuru dialect over other languages and the exclusion of the minority languages on the ZBC radio and television stations. This is because by nature and the character of the bourgeois public sphere is 'exclusionary' reflecting the specific interests of the privileged sectors of society (Calhoun, 1992).

3.3.6.2.1 The media as public spheres or public by appearance only

Habermas (1992) also observes another way in which the public sphere has been transformed. He argues that the development of mass communication has changed the nature of the public sphere from a physical space to a communication structure. This implies that the mass media have become the chief institutions of the public sphere (Bentivegna, 2002). In other words, with the development of media and communication technology, the character of the public sphere changed from a location to a communication network (Splichal, 1999). In these channels of communication, the citizens can send and receive information. Obviously, this bidirectional flow of communication is essential. However, such a public sphere does not exist if, for instance, a government ignores the interests of the people. Thus the media as a public sphere has been 'refeudalised', rather it is a public sphere 'by appearance only' (Odugbemi, 2008). However, Grbeša (2003) argues that although Habermas himself saw the media as contributing to the decline of the public sphere, numerous revisions of the concept have recognized the capacity of the media to initiate public discussion and give it a constructive spin. Therefore, using the public sphere concept, the study examines the

handling of multilingualism and localism in the ZBC broadcasting which can be a chief institution of the public sphere (Bentivegna, 2002) while at the same time it can be 'refeudalised' to be a public sphere 'by appearance only' (Odugbemi, 2008). As an illustration, Örnebring (2003) describes the Swedish broadcasting as refeudalised by political and elitist interests such that the so called 'courteous public debate' is characterised by the programmes hosted mainly by politicians, media experts and academics, with no involvement of lay participants.

The idea of the structural transformation of public sphere is an appropriate framework to this study because the media, particularly broadcasting is discussed as an exclusive public sphere; therefore it is critical in this study to examine the representation of the languages of Zimbabwe, the nation and the locality of Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective local content programming. The public sphere concept was of significance to this study in examining the inclusivity of the ZBC public sphere looking at the language question and the national question since hopes are high regarding the public service broadcasting and its principle of universal access (Grbeša, 2003; Scannell, 1989). However, arguments relating to the role of public service media in nation building or the promotion of coherence should not only address the issue of inclusion in the mediated nation but also the equally crucial question of exclusion. The question of exclusion from public spheres is a central one as "public discursive arenas are among the most important and under recognized sites in which social identities are constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed" (Fraser 1994: 140). Therefore, this study also grapples with the exclusion of different languages on the ZBC radio and television stations, thereby excluding the speakers of those languages in the national project.

3.3.6.2.2 The state, media economics and the transformation of the public sphere

Susen (2011) argues that the public sphere has been decisively transformed by the state and the market. In this case, the role of the state turns the public sphere into a social realm that is partly regulated by the functionalist logic of bureaucratic administration while the market converts the public sphere into a social realm that is partly driven by the functionalist logic of capitalist commodification. Therefore, the public sphere concept aided this study in determining the influence of the state in the local content broadcasting policy which was pivotal in the crafting of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001). Therefore, an analysis of the handling of the language issues in the construction of the Zimbabwean national identity is an

indirect scrutiny on the state and government interests in the local content broadcasting policy. On the other hand this study demonstrates the transformation of the public sphere by the market concerns in its deliberations on the influence of media economics in determining language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations. Thus, the impact of advertising, profit maximisation and market competition on the language choices on ZBC radio and television.

3.3.6.2.3 The alternative public spheres vs. the public sphere

It is worth noting that Habermas' concept of public sphere has been criticised for its focus on one social class (thus the bourgeois) without considering the other classes with competing interests which are "fragmented into a mass of competing interest groups" Fraser (1994). These are referred to as the 'competing public spheres' Susen (2011), 'alternative public spheres' or 'subaltern counter publics' (Fraser, 1994), and 'oppositional public sphere' (Livingstone and Lunt, 1994). These alternative public spheres, emanate from the need and their capacity to challenge the legitimacy of dominant practices and dominant discourses. These subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter discourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities (Susen, 2011). The concept of competing public spheres remains a useful explanation of the transformation of the public sphere in the modern days. Though the idea of the competing or alternative public spheres is a reaction to Habermas' understanding of the transformation of the public sphere, it is an important concept in this study since it represents the individuals or groups with dissent views on the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television stations, that is the individuals who consider some languages to be marginalised or excluded in the ZBC local content programming and ultimately in the Zimbabwean nation.

3.3.7 AFRICANA CRITICAL THEORY

Considering the fact that, this study is concerned with the issues and realities on language policy, media policy and nationalism in Zimbabwe, apparently an African state, this study could not evade referring to the views of African thinkers. Pertinently, Rabaka (2009) observes that most people including scholars and students in the African studies have been exposed to the Frankfurt School critical theory, yet there are many forms and traditions of critical theory. Therefore, he extends the term critical theory to African scholarly tradition which bears a resemblance to the archetypal critical theory. In any case, Steinvorth (2008)

observes that Habermas rightly presumed that neither the Frankfurt School nor any other group or individual has a monopoly on using the term critical theory for its own approach to social science. Hence he suggests the term Africana critical theory to refer to African theory which is also critical of domination and discrimination in classical and contemporary, continental and Diasporan African life-worlds and lived-experiences (Rabaka, 2009: 16). Africana critical theory include the works of black radical figures, like Marcus Garvey, Ella Baker, Malcolm X, Bayard Rustin, W. E. B. Du Bois, Aime Cesaire, Leopold Senghor, Frantz Fanon, and Amilcar Cabral among others.

This quality of scholarship provides the means through which the Africans can begin to critically rethink the possibilities of resistance to the transformation of the new global imperialism. This extension of critical theory is recognition that though the Frankfurt School critical theory may appear to be Eurocentric, critical theory, in a general sense, is not Eurocentric. This is because critical thinking which involves deep theorising and philosophising is not limited to European scholarship. According to Rabaka (2009: 9) Africana critical theory is not afraid to intellectually interrogate, critically dialogue with, and/or astutely appropriate theoretic breakthroughs contributed by the Frankfurt School and other traditions of critical theory if it can Africanise them and put them to critical use in the efforts to continue and further develop the dialectical process of revolutionary decolonization and revolutionary re-Africanisation.

3.3.7.1 The hallmarks of the Africana critical theory

According to Rabaka (2009: 16) Africana critical theory advances and applies two major dialectical presuppositions: which are the dialectics of deconstruction and reconstruction as well as the dialectics of domination and liberation. This implies that African critical theory involves the deconstruction of colonial institutions and thought, and reconstructs these institutions and thoughts on the basis of African culture and philosophy. At the same time, Africana critical theory critiques domination and discrimination which is characterised with European supremacy, elitist constructions and representations, and also it demonstrates a deep commitment to human liberation and revolutionary social change. That is, similar to other traditions of critical theory, Africana critical theory is concerned with thoroughly analyzing contemporary society “in light of its used and unused or abused capabilities for improving the human condition” (Marcuse, 1964: xiii). Accordingly, in this study, this researcher investigates how the local content and multilingual approaches to languages use in

the ZBC, a public broadcaster construct a national identity without permitting the dominion of English and other languages. That is, the Zimbabwean nation on the linguistics front projected in the ZBC should not be elitist and discriminative; rather it should demonstrate human liberation on the languages used in the respective radio/television stations and programmes.

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated that Africana critical theory is concerned with domination, particularly foreign domination. One such thinker in this category of literature is Amilcar Cabral who has lastingly influenced Africana critical theory's emphasis on appropriation and Africanisation. He specifically warns that:

a people who free themselves from foreign domination will not be culturally free unless, without underestimating the importance of positive contributions from the oppressor's culture and other cultures, they return to the upwards paths of their own culture (Cabral, 1974: 143).

Cabral is vocal about what he calls cultural oppression (Cabral, 1974) and therefore advocates the rehabilitation of African culture since culture is the critical element of a people's history (Cabral: 1974). Echoing the same sentiments, Fanon (1967: 38) bemoans the stripping of the Africans of their languages since "a man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language." Precisely, Fanon (1963) is simply against the colonisation of African thought over and above the colonisation of African people and the African continent. And therefore he calls for what he terms "racialisation of thought" (Fanon, 1963: 212). This is synonymous to what wa Thiongo (1986) terms decolonisation implying the official renunciation of the coloniser's language in favour the indigenous languages in African literature writing, a process he calls "a quest for relevance" (wa Thiongo, 1986: 87) noting that the use of indigenous languages in fictional writing is a liberating venture. Echoing the sentiments, Nkrumah (1965) argues for the restoration of African cultural heritage and integrating them into the new Africa necessitating the formulation of a new paradigm in all intellectual and creative resources such as language (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005). By extension, this study examines foreign domination on the language practices in the ZBC, and the extent to which the ZBC managed to decolonise itself by using the indigenous languages in its broadcasting stations and the respective programming, a condition which resemble a decolonised nation, particularly against the backdrop of the local content broadcasting policy.

However, contrary to Ngugi's stance on the language of African literature, Achebe (1975) observes that for him there is no choice; he has to write in English when he says "but for me there is no other choice. I have been given the language and I intend to use it". Therefore, this study ascertains how the English language versus the indigenous languages question is handled in the ZBC radio and television. Using the two contradictory views on the languages choices, this study explored the factors that determine the language choices in the ZBC; that is the need for a wider audience and the domestication of English (Achebe, 1975) or decolonisation (wa Thiongo, 1986) and how that impact on the version of the Zimbabwean nation.

While the foregoing discussion demonstrates the African scholars' preoccupation with foreign domination emanate from the colonialism, there is also another school of thought on post-independent Africa which is characterised disillusionment. Fanon (1963), particularly in *The Pitfalls of National Consciousness*, condemns the politics in underdeveloped countries which is epitomised with lack of democracy, greedy, militarism, dictatorship and western domination which Nkrumah (1965) refers to as neo-colonialism. Instead the nationalism as argued by Fanon falls short on achieving liberation across class boundaries since it is driven by the aspirations of the colonised bourgeoisie. As a result, the understanding of the nation or national identity of national culture becomes essentialist, totalizing, fetishised, often middle-class specific. Therefore, this study evaluated the inclusivity of the Zimbabwean national culture projected on the ZBC radio and television in the context of the localism principle in the *BSA* (2001) and multilingual broadcasting in the *BSAA* (2007). This is a reality check on the dominance of other indigenous languages and not necessarily English language.

3.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the theoretical point of departure that guided the researcher's enquiry and analysis of the identity politics on the ZBC radio and television which revolves around multilingualism, localism and the nation evident in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) and *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) respectively. Basing on the key themes generated in the reviewed literature in chapter two which spin around the concepts of contestation, legitimation, hegemony, exclusion and marginalisation of languages. This chapter demonstrated that this study is entrenched in the neo-Marxist tradition, that is, the critical theory. However, owing to the various factors which impact on the operations of the media in general and broadcasting in particular; and the expansion of Marxism; in this study,

the researcher opted for eclecticism within the critical theory. An eclectic approach in the critical theory allowed the researcher to comprehensively understand the language question in the national question on the ZBC radio and stations. Hence, this study is distinguished by its application of seven neo-Marxist themes which revolve around the concepts of domination and liberation, which are Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, Louis Althusser's theory of ideology, Thomas McPhail's theory of electronic colonialism, Jürgen Habermas' public sphere concept, Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory, the concept of political economy perspective and Africana critical theory. This eclectic approach assisted the researcher in the examination of the handling of multilingualism and localism on the ZBC television and radio stations in the context of local content broadcasting and multilingual broadcasting conditions and the commitment to construct a distinguishable Zimbabwe national identity, the unrelenting dominant ideas in societies, the digital divide, the transformation of the public sphere, globalisation, colonialism and Western domination in Africa and the politics of ownership and control broadcasting in Zimbabwe. Having explained the theoretical underpinnings of this study, the next chapter presents the methodology and the research methods of this study.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter presented the theoretical underpinnings of this enquiry. Chapter 3 of this study demonstrated that this study utilised an eclectic approach based on the Marxist tradition which include Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, Louis Althusser's theory of ideology, Thomas McPhail's theory of electronic colonialism, Jürgen Habermas' public sphere concept, Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory and the concept of political economy. In a bid to meaningfully address the study objectives outlined in Section 1.4, and the research questions in Section 1.5 of the introductory chapter, this chapter presents the methodological approaches that were utilised in collecting and analysing data. In particular, this chapter discusses the research paradigm that was adopted in this study; the research design of the study; the target population and sampling techniques of the study; and the data collection methods that were used in this study; the data presentation and analysis which were employed in this study; the considerations on the trustworthiness of the research findings as well as the ethical concerns which guided the researcher during the collection and analysis of data. Succinctly, this chapter discusses the research philosophy of this study; and explicate the research strategies that were utilised in pursuit of the goals of this study.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

This section explains the design of the study. According to Creswell (2008), a research design refers to the plan of the research, which involves the intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry, and the specific methods. Creswell's argument is that in planning a study, researchers need to consider the philosophical worldview that they apply to the study, the strategy of inquiry that is related to this worldview, and the specific methods or procedures of research that transform the approach into research practice. This implies that the actual research practice is influenced by particular philosophical ideas. Therefore, in this chapter prior to explicating the strategies of inquiry and the specific methods of research, the philosophical ideas which guided this study are identified and discussed. These philosophical ideas are referred to as paradigms (Lincoln and Guba, 2000) or epistemologies and ontologies, (Crotty, 1998). Hence, the next section explains the research paradigm assumed in

this study.

4.2.1 RESEARCH PARADIGM

As a starting point, this section explains the research paradigm which informed this study. It is this paradigm which ultimately informed the choice of the research design of the study, the target population and the sampling techniques, the methods of gathering data, the data presentation and analysis styles that were used in this study, as well as the ethical considerations that were observed during data collection. According to Byman (2008: 14), a paradigm represents “a cluster of proper conduct of science”. In other words, a paradigm in research is an overarching perspective concerning the appropriate research practice based on ontological and epistemological assumptions (Banister et al, 1994). Therefore, the argument in this section is that it is imperative to state from the beginning the research philosophy which determines the sources of data and the ways in which data was gathered and analysed. What this simply means is that, before deciding on the research methods, the researcher took note of the ontological and epistemological considerations which are the basic assumptions about the nature of reality and what can be known about that reality (Banister et al, *ibid*).

In a wide scholarship, a distinction is made between the positivist and interpretivist research paradigms. For positivists, reality is believed to be stable and can be observed and described from an objective viewpoint (Creswell, 2008), that is, without interfering with the phenomena being studied. On the other hand, for interpretivists meaning exists in our interpretations of the world, which means that knowledge is interpretation (Banister et al, 1994). The study of phenomena in their natural environment is the hallmark to the interpretivist philosophy. That is, they admit that there are many interpretations of reality, which are part of the scientific knowledge to be pursued.

Based on the nature of this study, the interpretive research paradigm is appropriate to this study since it is a “major intellectual tradition underpinning contemporary research on communications and media” (Deacon et al, 1999:6). Simply put, this study is humanistic in nature since it is an enquiry on the national identity and locality politics on the ZBC radio and television stations based on the multilingual approach and the localism principle apparent in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act (2007)* and the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)* of Zimbabwe respectively, which is absolutely a social phenomenon. Therefore, this study could not be observed and described from an objective viewpoint; rather it required an

approach which considers the importance of the researcher's perspective and the interpretative character of social reality. As a case in point, the social reality is on the interface among the multilingualism approach, the nation and locality of Zimbabwe as presented on ZBC radio and television stations. Ultimately, the knowledge generated in this study provides the suggestive interpretations by particular Zimbabweans on the impact of the multilingual approach in the ZBC local content programming on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation.

The philosophical ideas of interpretivism are also referred to as the social constructions of reality (Creswell, 2008) or naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This implies that the basic idea in interpretivism is that researchers should understand and consider the participants' view points within their settings or contexts. These participants develop subjective meanings of their own experiences. As a result these meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of the views rather than narrowing meanings into a few ideas. This means that, the goal of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the subject being studied. This is augmented by Deacon et al's (1999: 7) argument that the "interpretive researchers insist that all social knowledge is co-produced out of the multiple encounters, conversations and arguments they have with the people they are studying". Such a paradigm suggested to this study that the methods of data collection that were adopted allowed for the construction of reality based on discussions and interactions with other people. This is called social constructivism (Crotty, 1998).

Therefore, in this study, the researcher generated arguments on the national identity politics in the ZBC radio and television local content programming based on the multilingual approach and the localism principle apparent in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) of Zimbabwe through discussions and interactions with the ZBC employees, the university lecturers, the radio listeners and the television viewers. However, though this study is interpretive in nature as demonstrated in this section, some aspects deriving from the positivist paradigm which include the use of numbers and tables are used in this study but to a lesser extent as explained in section 4.5 of this chapter.

4.2.2 STRATEGIES OF INQUIRY

Strategies of inquiry are the models that provide the exact direction for procedures in a research design, which entail whether the study employs qualitative, quantitative or mixed

methods. In other words, they are approaches to inquiry (Creswell, 2008) or research methodologies. As explained in the previous section, this study is humanistic in nature since it seeks to understand the mediation of social phenomena. It has been explained that, this study is situated within the interpretive research paradigm in view of the fact that it captured reality as seen and experienced by the respondents. For that reason, this study adopted the qualitative approach which:

involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials, personal experience, introspection and interview among others that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives (Denzin and Lincoln (eds), 2000: 5).

To substantiate this claim, Creswell (2008) and Silverman (2005) argue that qualitative research is an approach which is useful for exploring and understanding social phenomenon. To learn about a given phenomenon, as case in point multilingualism, the nation and the localism principle in the ZBC broadcasting, the research participants were asked general questions. This implies that the researcher collected the detailed views from research participants in the form of words and analysed the information to produce descriptions and themes on the concerns of this study.

Silverman (2005: 1) explains that qualitative research is appropriate for exploring the meaning of “everyday behaviour” as this type of research provides “a ‘deeper’ understanding of social phenomena”. This understanding of phenomena is achieved because qualitative methodology allows the researcher to gain insights into the issues under discussion from the perspective of the research participants. Qualitative researchers are narrative inquirers which ‘live the story’ with their participants, record personal and social interaction through detailed field notes, available documents, and interviews (Butler-Kisber, 2010). Therefore, in this study, the researcher developed and generated arguments based on the responses that were gathered from the broadcasters, the university lecturers, the ZBC radio listeners and the television viewers. Thus, Flick et al (2004: 3) assert that qualitative research claims to describe life worlds ‘from inside out’, that is, from the point of view of the people who participate.

This exposé has revealed that in this study, the researcher did not impose his own assumptions on the emerging data from the data collection process. The research was people centred, thus it sought to develop and understand the people’s opinions on the handling of multilingualism and indigenous African languages in the national identity politics on the ZBC

radio and television local content programming guided by the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001). In this study, the arguments generated existed in the perspectives of the selected research participants. Therefore, the choice of qualitative research is “the desire to step beyond the known and enter into the world of participants, to see the world from their perspective and in doing so make discoveries that will contribute to the development of empirical knowledge” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The qualitative approach was selected because it is more open and thereby more involved than any other research strategies (Flick, et al 2004: 3). Be that as it may, it is worth noting that, to a lesser extent the use of numbers which is quantitative in orientation is acceptable in this study since numbers can be used to add precision to words, pictures, and narrative in qualitative research (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Thus, this study is basically qualitative, however, the qualitative research tradition is a broad one, and therefore it is imperative to note that this study adopts three forms of strategies of qualitative inquiry which are the case study, phenomenology and the historical research design.

4.2.2.1 The case study

One of the qualitative research methods that were employed in this study is a single case study. According to Creswell (1994: 12), “in a case study, a single person, program, event, process, institution, organization, social group or phenomenon is investigated within a specified time frame, using a combination of appropriate data collection devices.” In other words, a case study is constructed to richly describe, explain, or assess and evaluate a phenomenon which may be an event, person, program (Gall et al, 1996: 549). This implies that, it is a strategy of inquiry, which develops an in-depth analysis of a single case. This study was a case study of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, as directed by one particular case of a policy governing broadcasting in Zimbabwe which is the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001). Furthermore, amongst a myriad of provisions in this act, the impetus of this study is on a particular provision (the Seventh Schedule of the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act, 2007 Act No. 19 of 2007*) which denotes the reality of a multilingual approach to language usage in broadcasting, thus promoting and protecting language diversity on the radio and television stations and programmes. The case of a multilingual approach to broadcasting is evaluated against the commitments of the localism principle and national identity construction evident in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001).

4.2.2.2 Phenomenology

In this study, the researcher also employed phenomenological methodology. Phenomenology is a research design which is rooted in philosophy where the researcher develops an understanding of a subject's or subjects' "reality" as they so perceive (Leedy, 1997: 161). Phenomenologists believe that meaning making and understanding takes place in the everyday world of the individual and reality consists of objects and events as they are perceived in human consciousness (Butler-Kisber, 2010). In essence, phenomenological approach investigates an individual's or group's perception of reality as he or she constructs it. To augment this claim, Creswell (2008), asserts that phenomenological research is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher identifies the essence of human experiences about a phenomenon as described by participants. This implies that the concern of phenomenological design is with the experiences of the world as they are perceived and experienced by the research participants. Therefore, as explained in Section 4.2.2, in understanding and generating arguments in this study, the views of the radio listeners and television viewers were equally important as those of the ZBC employees and university academics. As a demonstration of the importance of the views of the research participants in phenomenological research, this study employed in-depth interviews to gather 'deep' information. As a result, the findings of this study are communicated through detailed narratives which explored various themes on the interface of multilingualism, localism principle, and national identity in the ZBC broadcasting.

4.2.2.3 Historical research

To support the findings generated using the case study and phenomenological research plans, this study also profoundly leaned on historical research. According to O'Leary (2010) historical research offers an understanding of past events. This plan of research is meant to supplement materials collected by the researchers and it greatly relies on documentation. In this study the documentation that was relied on include books, journals and the ZBC records concerning the subjects of language, the localism principle, and national identity construction. This documentation was examined in line with the study objectives, research questions and the data gathered from the field using the interview and the questionnaire methods so as to develop independent arguments which are novel in this thesis. This is called secondary analysis, where the researcher goes back to the raw materials and reanalyse them in line with the aims of a given form of research (Deacon et al, 1999: 16).

4.2.3 DIMENSIONS OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The rationale of the inquiry is three-fold in outlook. First of all, this study is exploratory in nature. This denotes a research which is conducted to gain new insights, discover new ideas and increase knowledge of a phenomenon (Burns and Grove, 2005). In this study, the researcher selected the exploratory method in order to gain new insights, discover new ideas and add to knowledge on the national identity politics in the ZBC broadcasting based on the handling of the language question on the radio and television stations in the context of the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *BSAA* (2007) and the local content broadcasting policy apparent in the *BSA* (2001). Secondly, this study is explanatory in nature, since the study was aimed at explaining the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations.

Finally, this study is evaluative in nature. Qualitative evaluation research is a response to the need to evaluate or appraise the:

...effectiveness, efficiency and goal attainment of political, social and ecological programmes, models, laws, of pedagogic and therapeutic types of intervention, of social, cultural and technical interventions (Von Kardoff, 2004: 136).

In other words, evaluation research is intended to promote, document and monitor desired social and organisational changes (Torres et al, 1996). This research therefore, evaluated the implementation, triumphs and faultlines of the localism principle in the *BSA* (2001) and the multilingual approach (evident in the Seventh Schedule of the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act, 2007 Act No. 19 of 2007*) in the ZBC radio and television broadcasting in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions and the desire to construct a distinct Zimbabwean national identity. This is an important exercise for the reason that “there is a growing need for scientifically underpinned proof of the effectiveness, efficiency, quality and acceptance of political programmes and measures in all areas of society,” Von Kardoff (2004: 136).

4.3 TARGET POPULATION AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

According to Deacon et al (1999:40), in communication and cultural studies, “sampling issues involves all kinds of areas, most commonly people, social groups, events, activities institutions and texts”. These are referred to as the population of interest. The target population of this study was determined by the strategies of inquiry explained in the previous

section which are the case study, phenomenology and the historical research design. On the case study, the researcher targeted one broadcasting organisation that is the ZBC. Against the backdrop of a myriad of policies governing broadcasting in Zimbabwe, this study focuses on the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) as amended in 2007. More so, amongst the many provisions in this act, the impetus of this study revolves around the aspects local content, multilingualism, and the nation of Zimbabwe. At the ZBC, the researcher targeted the practising broadcasting practitioners since they have hands on experience on the implementation of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies on the ZBC radio and television stations.

However, though the broadcasting practitioners have the much needed practical experience on the implementation of the multilingual and local content broadcasting policies, they lack the critical analysis academics have on the handling of the multilingualism, local content and the Zimbabwean nation on the ZBC radio and television stations. To bridge this gap, the researcher also targeted the language and media studies academics at selected Zimbabwean universities. This target population provided the valuable theoretical and pragmatic data on the language issues and media practice as it manifest on ZBC radio and television. These were the key informants in this study who are “the individuals whose role and experiences result in them having relevant information of knowledge they are willing to share with a researcher” (O’Leary, 2010: 171).

The targeted population suggests that, though the subject of this thesis is situated in the African Languages Department, it is characterised by interdisciplinarity. An interdisciplinary approach is critical to this study since it is characterised by an overlap of African Languages Studies and Media Studies. This approach is synonymous to what can be referred to as thinking “outside the box” Cook-Sather and Shore, 2007:2). More so, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 15) argue that:

today’s research world is becoming increasingly interdisciplinary, complex, and dynamic; therefore, many researchers need to complement one method with another, and all researchers need a solid understanding of multiple methods used by other scholars to facilitate communication, to promote collaboration, and to provide superior research.

Therefore, this study did not target lecturers of language studies alone, since this researcher envisaged the inadequacies of the language studies academics in Zimbabwe on the factors which determine language choices and practices on the radio and television stations.

A sample comprising the broadcasting personnel and the academics specialising in the language and media studies was selected by way of a probability sampling method which is referred to as purposive sampling since they provided what can be referred to as expert data in this research. On that note, Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasise that the guiding principle of sampling in qualitative research is one of convenience, and therefore important consideration in sampling qualitative research participants is whether there are people available to allow the researcher to collect data about them. Therefore, purposeful sampling is the most common sampling technique. The researcher keenly selected the most useful sample to answer the research question, in this case the ZBC employees and the university lecturers in the relevant departments. For the purposes of this study, a total of twenty-seven ZBC employees and ten academics were selected.

Within the phenomenological qualitative research tradition, which is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher identifies the essence of human experiences about a phenomenon as described by participants (Creswell, 2008); this study targeted the listeners and viewers of the ZBC radio and television stations. This group of people represents the speakers of the many languages in Zimbabwe and the audience of the ZBC local content broadcasts on radio and television.

On sampling size, the assumption that big is beautiful is challenged in qualitative research, since:

a lot of qualitative studies are less concerned with generating extensive perspective than providing intensive insights into complex human and social phenomena in highly specific circumstances” (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994: 56).

This means that qualitative research tends to use comparatively small samples than those in quantitative research. Therefore, in this study the researcher targets twenty-seven personnel working at the ZBC, ten language and media academics, twenty nine university students who participated in the two focus group discussions and three hundred and forty-seven radio listeners and television viewers who responded by filling in the questionnaires. While the purposive sampling method was used in selecting the key informants, the radio listeners and television viewers were selected by the cluster sampling method which is a probability sampling method. According to Deacon et al (1999:48) cluster sampling is useful when one is intending to reach geographically dispersed populations. In this study, the clusters were the provinces where various language groups are resident. After identifying the clusters, the ZBC

radio listeners and television viewers were randomly selected from the respective provinces. This is supported by Schofield (1996: 34) who notes that “for a genuine probability sample ...any other form of cluster, and the individuals surveyed should be chosen at random.” Therefore, this becomes a multi-stage cluster sampling (Deacon et al, 1999:50). This form of sampling helped the researcher to capture the diversity of opinion on the usefulness of a multilingual approach in broadcasting in the construction of a distinct Zimbabwean national identity as the local content broadcasting policy translated into ZBC programming.

On the historical research design which relies on secondary sources, which offers an understanding of past events (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998), this study therefore purposively made use of the documents which include the research materials produced by academics such as books and research articles in journals, programme records the ZBC. In the generation and sustenance of arguments in this thesis, these information databases were examined alongside the research material collected from fieldwork. Some of the key scholars which were used in this study include Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2004, 2009, 2013), Ndhlovu (2009) Charamba (2012), Magwa (2002, 2008), Chiumbu (2004), Crystal (1997, 2000), Fanon (1963, 1967), Habermas (1989, 1992, 1995), Ives (2004, 2006, 2009), Mutasa (2004, 2006), Magwa (1999, 2002, 2008), Mazrui and Mazrui (1998), McChesney (2001), McPhail (1987, 2002, 2009), Moyo (2003, 2004, 2005), Nyamnjoh (2005), Pennycook (2000), Phillipson (1992, 2010), Wallerstein (2004) and wa Thiongo (1986).

4.4 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

This section discusses the data collection and analysis methods which were used in this study. According to Creswell (2008), one other major element in the framework of methodology is the specific research methods that involve the forms of data collection, analysis, and interpretation that researchers propose for their studies. In the first part of the section, the researcher explains what Deacon et al (1999) calls methods of question delivery, which are the data gathering tools to be employed in the study. Specifically, the researcher employed three methods of data collection which are questionnaire method, the interview method, focus group discussions (group interviews) and document analysis.

4.4.1 THE QUESTIONNAIRE METHOD

In order to get a deeper understanding of the judgments and experiences of the ZBC television viewers and radio listeners on the usefulness and equity of the multilingual approach in the ZBC local content programming and its impact to the representation of the Zimbabwean national identity, the researcher used the questionnaire method. According to Somekh and Lewin (2005: 258) the questionnaire method is believed to be a "... common place instrument for observing data beyond the physical reach of the observer." The tool was preferred in this instance because it was economic and easier to administer in the suggested provinces where the diverse radio listeners and television viewers are resident. Therefore, this was the most appropriate method which helped the researcher to reach the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers since they constituted a larger sample which was dispersed in the selected provinces in Zimbabwe. More so, De Leeuw (2008a) considers the self-completed questionnaires as the most structured form of questioning in which no intermediary is involved in presenting the questions. For that reason, this method proved to be the most convenient and cost-effective means of questioning large or geographically dispersed populations in Zimbabwe.

On the mode of administration, the questionnaires were distributed and collected from the ZBC listeners and viewers by the research assistants that were employed by the researcher. Through emails, the researcher forwarded the questionnaires to the research assistants who were stationed in the selected provinces in Zimbabwe. De Leeuw (2008b) acknowledges that, "no one, not even the most renowned expert can write a perfect questionnaire". However, in this study to improve the validity and reliability of this method, the questionnaires were pre-tested on a small sample that was selected based on the proximity to the researcher. The pilot study assured the researcher that the questionnaires communicated to respondents as intended at the same time provided valuable pointers which helped the researcher to improve the unsatisfactory questions.

4.4.2 THE INTERVIEW METHOD

To complement the questionnaire method, the researcher also employed the interview method. The interview method was used to solicit data from the language and media academics and the broadcasting practitioners for the reason that this method helped the researcher to conduct in-depth discussions with the respondents since this target population constituted a smaller and manageable sample and which provided rich expert data. This

validates the assertion that “interpretive researchers insist that all social knowledge is co-produced out of the multiple encounters, conversations and arguments they have with the people they are studying” (Deacon et al, 1999: 7).

The researcher conducted both face-to-face and focused interviews. The face-to-face interviews were conducted with the broadcasting practitioners and the academics since the self-administered interviews convinced the reluctant respondents, motivate respondents, and provided additional instruction or explanations during data collection (De Leeuw, 2008). The interviews were self-structured; that is the researcher used an interview guide during the interview process.

To augment the self-administered interviews in the data collection process, the researcher also conducted focused interviews with two groups of students partaking language related courses in the Department of African Languages and Culture at Midlands State University where the researcher is employed as a lecturer. According to Hopf (2004) focused interviews in their original form are group interviews or group depth interviews. This scholar argues that a focus group is a group of people who are asked about their attitudes and opinions about a service or on a particular issue. Using this method of question delivery, the role of the researcher is that of a moderator who listens, observes, ask questions and keeps the group on track. In this study, this method allowed the collection of valuable insights from the respondents who are readers in the discipline of African languages studies while at the same time are audience of the ZBC local content programming. Broadly speaking, the advantage of using focus groups lies in the fact that they permit the researchers to observe a large amount of interaction on a specific topic in short time.

The data collected using the interview method (both personal and group) was recorded using a digital audio recorder and later on transcribed into the written form. According to Kowal and O’Conwell (2004), transcription is understood as the graphic representation of selected aspects of the behaviour of individuals engaged in a conversation such as interview. Thus the aim of producing the interview transcripts was to represent on paper as accurately as possible the verbal features of the interviews prior to the analysis of data.

4.4.3 RECORDS AND DOCUMENTATION

The study also made use of secondary sources as part of desk review which can be referred to as document analysis. Generally, the documents are any preserved recording of a person's thoughts, actions or creations (Potter, 1996). According to Deacon et al (1999) these documents provide primary evidence and also provide confirmatory evidence of the information obtained from the interviews and questionnaires. Thus in this study, the documents were revisited to supplement the research materials that was collected by the researcher from the research participants by interviews and questionnaires. Particularly, the records and documentation produced by the ZBC or on ZBC on language use, local content programming and national identity construction were used in the generation and sustenance of arguments in this study.

The researcher made use of both primary and secondary documentation. In this case, the primary sources were the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001), the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) and the ZBC archival material since Deacon et al (1999:22) argues that major sources of documentation includes sound recordings, records, visual media involving films and television programmes videos, while the secondary sources are the scholarly research material on the local content broadcasting policy, language issues and the politics of national identity construction Zimbabwe. These include journals, books, and dissertations. These secondary sources were helpful to this study in developing, sustaining, and the confirmation of the arguments raised in this study. For the purposes of this study, secondary sources consisted of research materials which are related to this study. Furthermore, the researcher consistently followed the programmes on the ZBC radio and television stations to observe the language use patterns and their implication to the Zimbabwean national identity.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION PLAN

This section explains the data analysis and presentation plan to be used in this study. Data analysis entails the process of meaning construction out of the collected data. According to Strauss and Corbin (2008), data analysis concerns the organisation of data, detecting patterns in the data, questioning the patterns in the data, drawing inferences from the data, as well as substantiating or contesting those inferences as the basis for developing arguments. Data analysis involves interpretation, that is, a researcher's understanding of events as related by participants (Strauss and Corbin, *ibid*). It has been pointed out in Section 4.2.2 of this chapter

that this study largely employed the qualitative strategy of inquiry. Therefore, at the data analysis stage of this study, this researcher was the main interpretive instrument. Hence, he analysed the data in order to generate meaning from the interview transcriptions, the questionnaires and documentary research. The use of document analysis, which is also referred to as secondary analysis (Deacon et al, 1999) is an indication that the analysis and interpretation of the collected data was done in view of past research so as to produce novel and contextual arguments. To ensure a refined analysis, the researcher triangulated the analytic tools (methods of data analysis). The analytic tools help researchers to distance themselves from the technical literature and personal experiences that might block the ability to see new possibilities in the data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). These are content analysis, semiotics, critical discourse analysis, thematic analysis, and hermeneutics of interpretation.

This study is an enquiry into the Zimbabwean national identity politics in the ZBC radio and television in the context of the multilingual and local content broadcasting policies. This study required the analysis of the languages used in the local content programming in the ZBC radio and television stations and how this impact on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation. Therefore, in this study, the researcher employed content analysis as one of the methods of data analysis. According to Deacon et al (1999: 17) content analysis:

allows us to produce systematic descriptions of what documentary sources contain. Thus by counting how often particular topics, themes or actors are mentioned, how much space and prominence they command, and in what contexts they are presented. Content analysis provides an overview of patterns of attention. It tells us about what is highlighted and what is ignored.

The implication in this excerpt is that content analysis is a method of analysing content in documentary sources. In this study, this method of analysis was employed to quantify and qualify salient and manifest features of language use on the ZBC radio and television stations. The focus was on how much space and prominence is commanded by the respective Zimbabwean languages in the respective ZBC radio and television stations and programming. The researcher also analysed the contexts in which the languages were used or ignored on the radio and television stations and use these observations and figures to make broader inferences on the processes and politics of multilingualism, localism and the Zimbabwean nation in the ZBC broadcasting. The researcher employed content analysis in the scrutiny of data on ZBC radio and television stations for the reason that it provided the researcher with the methodological approach to establish the patterns of representation in media content and

it is a natural domain in the study of communication and cultural studies, (Deacon et al, 1999).

Semiotic analysis was also employed in this study as a data analysis strategy, that is in unbundling meaning of images and symbols of language use patterns on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of a multilingual and local broadcasting policy since this study was concerned with the processes and politics of representation of the Zimbabwean languages and national identity. Semiotics is a method of data analysis which is credited to the works of Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce. Semiotics is considered as the theory of the production and interpretation of meaning based on the sign, (Curran and Gurevitch, 2000). This technique is rich in revealing the meaning hidden in texts, as a case in point, multilingualism, national identity and locality in ZBC broadcasting. Semiotic analysis was helpful in this study on the analysis of the symbols and images in the representation of the Zimbabwean nation produced and reproduced by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations.

In the analysis of the collected data, it is also imperative to consider the historical, political, social and economic contexts which determine the languages choices in ZBC broadcasting. Therefore, hermeneutics of interpretation is another method of data analysis which was employed in this study, since it emphasises the point that the margins of a text are equally important as the centre. According to Ncube (2011), hermeneutics of interpretation emphasises that for one to understand the part, there is need to understand the whole and to understand the whole there is need to understand the part. This is what is called the hermeneutic circle. Most importantly it emphasizes the need for one to be conversant with history, political, social and economic contexts in order to understand phenomena. Therefore, in the analysis of data on the identity politics in the ZBC broadcasting, the historical, political, social, economical and global factors were also considered.

The researcher also considered what is said or written on the Zimbabwean national identity politics in the ZBC broadcasting. This is referred to as discourse analysis meaning what people say or write (Antaki, 2008). Considering the fact that media texts are not ideologically innocent, in analysing the language choices in ZBC radio and television, the researcher employed a *critical discourse analysis* approach to assist in unpacking the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance (Antaki, *ibid*) of certain languages in national identity and locality politics in the ZBC radio and television. Thus, in this study, critical

discourse analysis was employed to unpack meaning hidden in the ZBC language choices and practices so as to establish how they construct and re-produce the Zimbabwean national identity in the context of multilingual and local content broadcasting policies. This approach assisted the researcher in finding out who is included and excluded, or empowered and disempowered by the language choices and prominence on the ZBC radio and television stations in projecting the language-based images and symbols of the Zimbabwean national identity.

This study also adopted Corbin and Strauss (2008)'s schema of qualitative data analysis. They propose (a) the use of questioning that is the raising of exploratory questions to the pieces of collected data in order to bring new insights, (b) making comparisons, thus comparative analysis of data to help the researcher grasp the meaning of events or issues which may seem obscure as well as examination and validation of research findings, (c) and looking at emotions expressed by the research participants to the questions of the study.

In the analysis of data collected from the respondents by the interview and questionnaire methods, the researcher also employed thematic analysis. That is, the researcher translated and transcribed the recorded interviews, organised data from the questionnaires, and then read and checked through the data to identify the emerging themes. The themes that existed in a set of interviews or questionnaires questions were identified, and the data was analysed into the respective themes that were observed by the researcher.

As shown in Chapter 5 of this study, the findings of this research were presented largely in qualitative form, that is in form of words (analysing and illuminating the findings), thus the use of narratives. These are tales from the relevant people, and the quotations of verbatim from the interviews and questionnaires. This practice was a testimony that research was done, thereby improving the trustworthiness of the study. This method of presentation was augmented by the applicable quantitative methods of presenting data which include among others, graphs, tables and pie charts. Furthermore, to a lesser extent the use of numbers, a practice which is quantitative in orientation was accepted in this study since numbers can be used to add precision to words, pictures, and narrative in qualitative research (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

4.6 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY CONSIDERATIONS

The preceding sections of this chapter have explained the research design to be adopted in this study. This section discusses the considerations and action that were taken by the researcher to ensure that the research is conducted using the preferred research methods is trustworthy. This concerns the issues of reliability and validity in qualitative research. In research practice, trustworthiness is described as endeavour aimed at “establishing validity and reliability of qualitative research,” (Streubert and Carpenter, 1999:333). This implies that the trustworthiness of the qualitative research is achieved by consistently and accurately representing the experience of the study participants.

In this study, to satisfy the principle of trustworthiness, this researcher considered the issues of reliability and validity of the research findings. For that reason, the researcher took steps that ensured the trustworthiness of this research; a process Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 22) call the legitimation step since it involves assessing the trustworthiness of qualitative data and the subsequent interpretations. Lincoln and Guba (1985:290-330) identify the activities which increase the probability of having trustworthy findings. These activities involve prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, referential adequacy and member checking. Taking a cue from this discovery, this researcher invested considerable time in data collection in order to gather enough data sufficient to answer the research questions meaningfully. This is what Lincoln and Guba (ibid) refer to as prolonged engagement. It was imperative therefore that the researcher used enough time with the research participants so as to detect and take account the distortions that might otherwise creep into the data. This ensured that the researcher’s personal misrepresentations were dealt with. .

This study’s trustworthiness is increased by the legitimation method of triangulation. According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), triangulation is a strategy which is employed in mixed methods which is aimed at seeking convergence and corroboration of results from different methods and designs studying. According to Flick (2004), triangulation is the observation of a research issue from at least two different methods, for example the application of different methodological approaches, triangulation of data, or triangulation of theories. It is basically a validation strategy. The concept of triangulation by different methods can imply either different data-collection methods or different designs (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). As already demonstrated in the preceding section, this study triangulated the

strategies of inquiry, data collection methods, sources of data, and the data analysis strategies. The previous chapter also reflects that this study was informed by multiple theories, thus theoretical triangulation.

Furthermore, this researcher also exposed himself to fair-minded peers, conversant with the issues discussed in this thesis for the purpose of exploring aspects of the study which may elude the researcher's mind. In this study, the researcher exposed the research findings to colleagues in the academic circles, who have vested interests in issues of multilingualism, nationalism and the localism principle in Zimbabwean broadcasting for constructive criticism. This is what Lincoln and Guba (1985:308) call peer debriefing, a process which exposes a researcher to the searching questions of others who are experienced in the methods of enquiry or the field of study. In the historical research that was employed by this researcher, the researcher considered the representativeness, authenticity and credibility of documentary sources (Deacon et al, 1999:39).

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE STUDY

Celia and Anushko (2008: 96) observe that the "increased recognition of the value of social research has been accompanied by the heightened sensitivity to the obligation to conduct social science responsibly". This assertion demonstrates that the observation of the ethics in researches which deal with people is no longer an option but an obligation which researchers are expected to consider faithfully. This is supported by the argument that, because:

research as an intervention in the social world it is always as much a matter of ethics as of techniques. It carries responsibilities, to those who take part in our studies, to colleagues and professional peers, and to the wider society (Deacon et al, 1999:13).

Against the backdrop of this avowal, in this study, the researcher deemed it necessary to commit himself to dutifully observe the ethical principles that define good social research practice. Thus, taking a cue from the ethical principles identified by Celia and Anushko (2008: 96), in this study, the researcher had the obligation to maximise research benefits and minimise research harms to the participants by taking the responsibility to ensure that research participation is informed and voluntary.

Therefore, in data collection, the researcher informed and asked for consent from the research participants and the relevant authorities such as the ZBC management. This ensured the

autonomy and privacy rights of those engaged for research participation are respected. In any case research access and informed consent are ongoing and negotiated processes (Butler-Kisber, 2010) that continued throughout this study. More so, the participants were assured of their confidentiality in the handling of the responses from the interviews and questionnaires and that no identifying information was included in this thesis. The observation of the ethical principles in qualitative research is imperative for the reason that “the conduct of responsible social science depends upon investigators’ commitment and lifelong efforts to act ethically” (Celia and Anushko, 2008: 106).

4.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter spelt out the research methodology that was utilised in this study. In particular, the chapter has discussed the adopted research paradigm, research design of the study, the target population and the sampling techniques, the proposed data collection methods, the data presentation and analysis plan for this study as well as the ethical considerations that were observed during data collection and analysis. The chapter demonstrated that qualitative research design was utilised, since this study is situated within the interpretive research paradigm. This implies that the viewpoints of the research participants were critical to the development of arguments in this study. Therefore, the research methods used in this study were tailor-made to capture the opinions, the views and experiences of the research participants. As a testimony to this avowal, this research employed the humanistic strategies of inquiry which are the case study, phenomenology, and historical research. To capture the opinions, the views and experiences of the research participants, this study adopted the explorative, explanative and evaluative dimensions of qualitative research. Data for this study was gathered from purposively selected ZBC employees, university lecturers and university students using the questionnaire and interview methods. The opinions of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers were gathered using focused interviews and the questionnaire method after selecting a sample using the cluster sampling method. The relevant records and documents were also critical in providing the data to validate and develop the arguments in this thesis. The collected data was analysed using an amalgam of methods which include discourses analysis, semiotics, thematic analysis, content analysis, and hermeneutics of interpretation. The reliability and validity of the research findings was confirmed by prolonged engagement with the research participants, triangulation of methods and peer debriefing. In view of the ethical challenges faced in qualitative research, a research tradition which deals with humans, the researcher committed himself to conducting this research

ethically. After collecting the data using the research plan laid out in this chapter, the researcher presented and analysed the research findings in Chapter 5 of this study.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter spelt out the research methodology employed in this study, that is, the research paradigm, the research design, the target population and the sampling techniques, the data collection methods, and the data presentation and analysis plan. In Chapter 4, the researcher demonstrated that this research adopted the qualitative research design for the reason that this study is situated within the interpretive research paradigm. This implies that the viewpoints of the research participants were critical to the development of arguments in this study. Hence, the research methods that were used in this study were aimed at capturing the opinions, the views and experiences of the research participants. Following the data collection exercise, in this chapter the researcher logically present and analyse the collected data. Though, this study is largely qualitative, in this chapter some quantitative data and techniques were used to augment the analysis and presentation of the qualitative data. This chapter is organised into three broad sections. The chapter starts by revisiting the study context and specifying the persons who participated in this study. The second section presents and analyses the questionnaire responses from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers, and the ZBC employees. The third section presents and analyses research findings from the personal interviews with the university lecturers, the ZBC employees, and group interviews with ZBC radio listeners and television viewers.

5.2 THE STUDY CONTEXT

For the purposes of this chapter, in this section, the researcher briefly recaps the study context in terms of its aim, the research participants and the methods of data analysis and presentation in order to have a focused presentation and analysis of the research findings. As pointed out in the introductory chapter of the thesis, this study interrogates the mediation of the aspects of multilingualism, localism and the nation on the ZBC radio and television stations. This is pursued by analysing the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their programming after the crafting and implementation of the local content guidelines apparent in the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)* and the multilingual approach to public service broadcasting specified in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act (2007)*. Therefore, the data analysis and presentation exercise in this chapter was guided by this aim.

The collected data was analysed and interpreted using qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods as outlined in Section 4.5 of the preceding chapter. The qualitative methods which were employed in this study include content analysis, semiotics, critical discourse analysis, thematic analysis, and hermeneutics of interpretation. These qualitative methods of analyzing data were augmented by the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software package while the EXCEL computer package was used to display the data graphically. In presenting the research findings in this chapter, the researcher formulated the topics based on the questions which were in the questionnaires, personal interviews and focus group discussions. In line with what is outlined in Section 4.7 of Chapter 4 in this study, during the data collection and analysis phase, the researcher successfully managed to dutifully observe the ethical principles that define good social research practice. Therefore, in presenting and analysing the research findings, the names and identity of the research participants from the ZBC, universities and the ZBC radio listeners and viewers remained unidentified for confidentiality purposes. Against the backdrop of this research context, the researcher presents and analyses the research findings of this study in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

5.2.1 THE RESPONDENTS' PROFILE

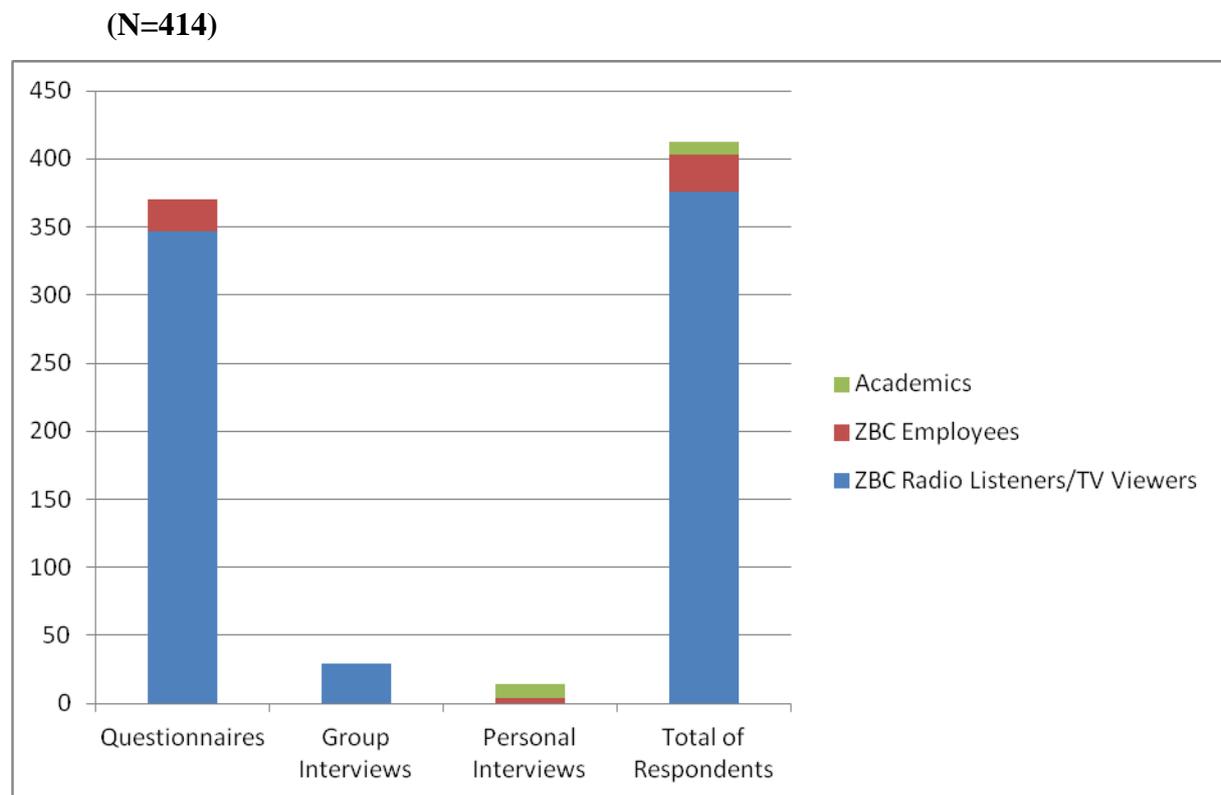
This section presents the profile of the respondents of this study. This was done to in order to demonstrate the competency of the respondents in providing valid data for this study as well as the representation of the sources of data which are the producers of the ZBC broadcasting content, the consumers of the content, and the academics. As outlined in Section 4.3 of Chapter 4, the respondents in this study were selected to represent different segments of the target population which are relevant to the study. In this chapter, the symbol (N) is used to indicate the total number of respondents. The participants in this study comprise of a sample of three hundred and seventy six ZBC radio listeners and television viewers (N=376) who are the speakers of the languages in Zimbabwe and the ZBC audience, twenty-seven ZBC employees (N=27) who are the producers of radio and television content, and eleven university lecturers (N=11) from the disciplines of language, media and cultural studies as intellectuals and informed pundits. This gives a total of four hundred and fourteen participants (N=414) in this study. Table 5.1 below gives a summary of the target population, the number of participants per population segment, and the total number of respondents in this study.

Table 5.1: Shows the target population, number of respondents per population segment, total number of respondents/segment (N=414)

Method/Target Population	ZBC Radio Listeners/TV Viewers	ZBC Employees	Academics
Questionnaires	347	23	-
Group Interviews	29	-	-
Personal Interviews	-	4	11
Total of Respondents	376	27	11

The information in the table 5.1 has been presented graphically in figure 5.1 below. It is clear from the bar chart that the largest number of the respondents was the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers who were reached using the questionnaire method.

Figure 5.1 Shows the bar chart for the distribution of the target population, the methods used, the number of respondents per population segment



5.3 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM QUESTIONNAIRES

This section presents and analyses the research findings from the questionnaire responses from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers, and questionnaire responses from the ZBC employees. For the purposes of this study, a total of five hundred self-administered questionnaires were personally handed to the ZBC television viewers and radio listeners, and thirty self-administered questionnaires were distributed to the ZBC personnel. Three hundred and forty-seven completed questionnaires from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers were returned, giving a response rate of 69.4%, and twenty-three completed questionnaires from the ZBC personnel were returned giving a response rate of 76%. Therefore, the overall questionnaire response rate was 69.8%. Subsections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 cover the presentation and analysis of the research findings from the questionnaire responses from the ZBC audience (viewers/listeners) and the ZBC personnel respectively. In each section, the researcher starts off with presenting the common broad views and the actual responses from the questionnaires followed by the analysis of these responses.

5.3.1 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM QUESTIONNAIRES FROM THE ZBC TELEVISION AUDIENCE

In this subsection, the researcher presents and analyses the questionnaire responses from the ZBC television viewers and radio listeners on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the local content guidelines outlined in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the multilingual approach in public service broadcasting evident in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007). A total of five hundred questionnaires were distributed and three hundred and forty seven completed questionnaires were returned giving a response rate of 69.4%.

Question 1: Biographical Information

(a) Gender.....

The question on the gender of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers allowed the researcher to ascertain the gender composition of the research participants in the questionnaire method. The information regarding the gender composition of the ZBC

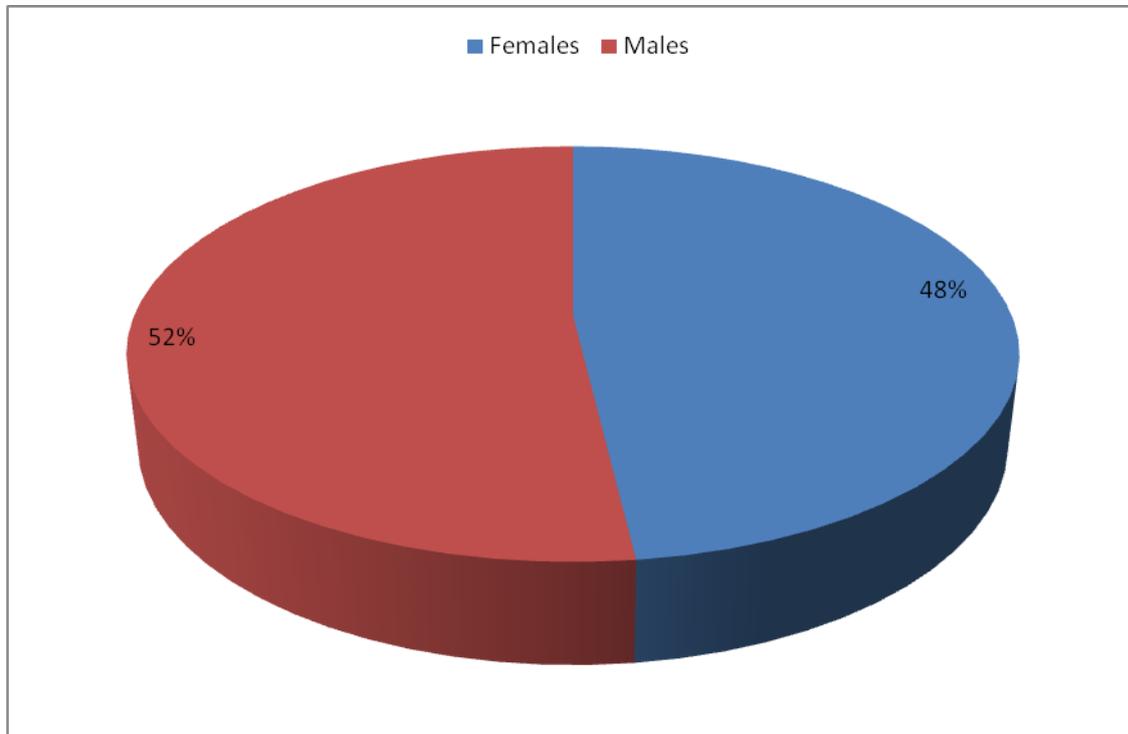
audience in this study was important in order to generalise their perspectives on the mediation of multilingualism, localism and the Zimbabwean nation across gender lines.

Table 5:2 Distribution of the ZBC radio listeners/television viewers by gender (N=347)

Gender	Number of Participants	Percentage (%)
Females	167	48
Males	180	52
Total	347	100

The biographical information about the gender of the ZBC audience presented in Table 5.2 is graphically presented in the pie chart in Figure 5.2 below.

Figure 5.2: Pie chart showing the distribution of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers by gender (N=347)



The biographical information about the gender of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers demonstrate that 52% of the respondents were females and 48% of the respondents were males. It is clear from the pie chart that there is fair representation of the female and male respondents in the questionnaire responses from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers.

Question 1: (b) Age Group

Less than 20yrs ____ 21-30yrs ____ 31...40yrs ____ 41-50yrs ____ 51-60yrs ____ More than 60yrs ____

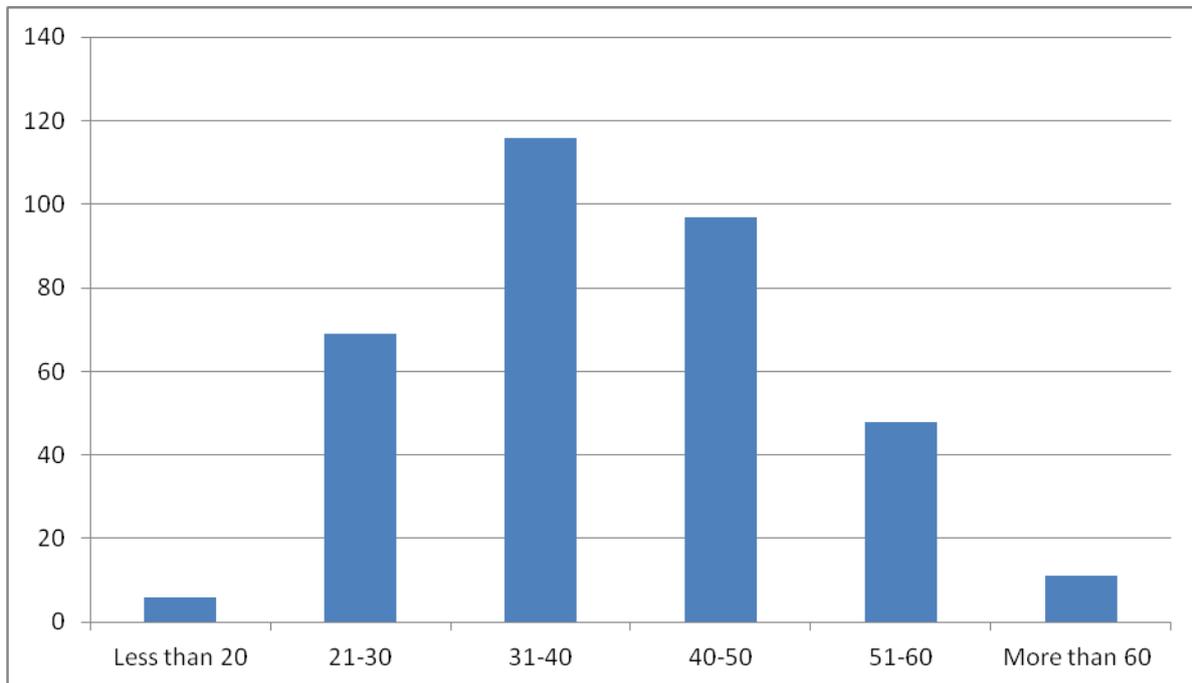
This question gathered the biographical information concerning the age groups of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers who responded to the questionnaire method. This information is important in ascertaining the appreciation, experience and exposure of these listeners and viewers to the ZBC radio and television stations. The distribution of the questionnaire respondents by age is shown in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5:3 Questionnaire respondents’ age (N=347)

Age (years)	Number of Respondents	% of the Respondents
Less than 20	6	2
21-30	69	20
31-40	116	33
40-50	97	28
51-60	48	14
More than 60	11	3

The information on the distribution of the questionnaire respondents by age in Table 5.3 is presented graphically in the bar chart in Figure 5.3 below.

Figure 5.3: Bar chart showing the distribution of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers by age (N=347)



As shown in Table 5.3 and Figure 5.3, the age range of the respondents was between less than 20 to above 60 years. The bulk of the respondents 330 (95%) were aged between 21-60 years while 2 (0.6%) were in the age bracket of less than 20 years and 11 (3.2%) respondents were aged above 60.

Question 2: What is your first language/mother tongue?

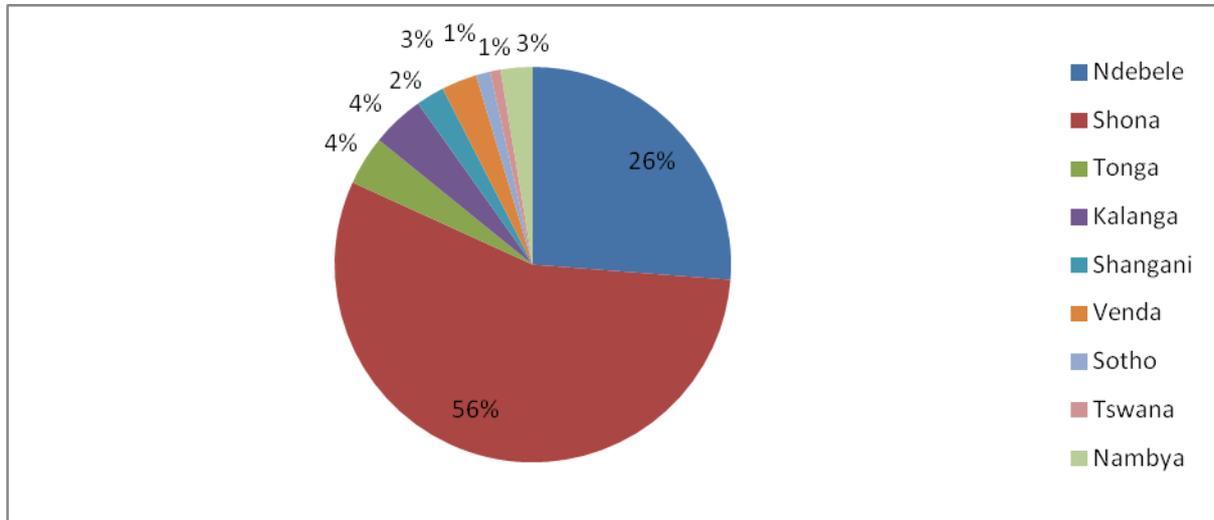
This question provided the researcher with the information pertaining to the first languages or mother tongue of the questionnaire respondents. This information was important to show the distribution and the representation of the different language speakers from different linguistic communities in Zimbabwe since there is a close connection between language and identity (Wright, 2004). As demonstrated in Table 5.4 and Figure 5.4 below, the majority of the respondents were Shona speakers (56%), followed by the Ndebele speakers (26%) and the rest of the minority language speakers had less than 5% of the respondents. This distribution of the questionnaire respondents by the languages spoken corresponds to Hachipola’s (1998) and Magwa’s (2008) observation that Shona has got a greater number of speakers, followed by Ndebele language with the rest of the minority language speakers having very few speakers. This shows that, in this subsection there is a reasonable proportional representation of the different language speakers in the questionnaire respondents.

Table 5.4: Distribution of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers by the first language (N=347)

Language Spoken	Number of ZBC Listeners/Viewers	Percentage (%)
Ndebele	91	26
Shona	193	56
Tonga	14	4
Kalanga	15	4
Shangani	8	2
Venda	10	3
Sotho	4	1
Tswana	3	1
Nambya	9	3

The information on the first languages spoken by the questionnaire respondents in Table 5.4 is graphically represented in the pie chart below in Figure 5.4 below.

Figure 5.4: Pie chart showing the distribution of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers by their first languages/mother tongue (N=347)



Question 3: Which ZBC radio station do you generally prefer? *Spot FM, Radio Zimbabwe, Power FM, National FM or Voice of Zimbabwe*

This question allowed the researcher to gather the general information on the distribution of the ZBC radio listenership. That is, the distribution of the listeners' preferred station on the available ZBC radio stations. This information was important in analysing the ZBC audience's perspectives on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations, since this data can be used to assess the place of language in the choice of a radio station. The distribution of the ZBC radio listenership is presented in Table 5.5 below.

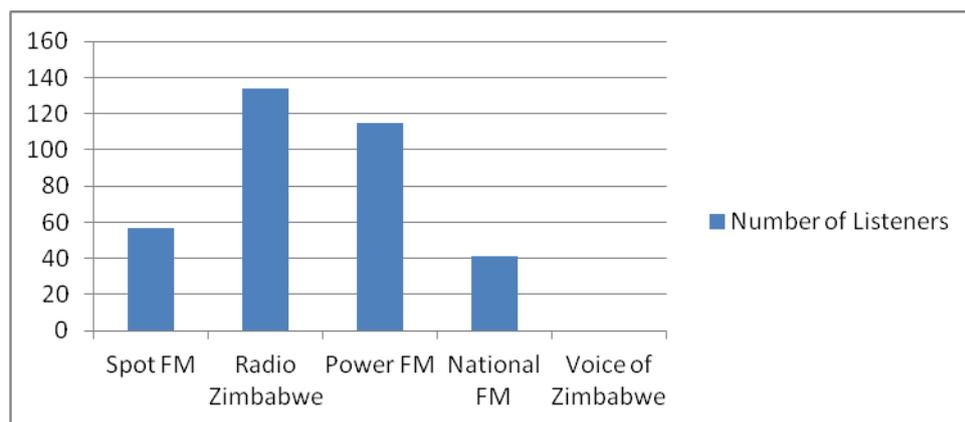
Table 5.5 Shows the distribution of ZBC radio listenership (N=347)

Radio Station	Number of Radio Listeners/Station	Percentage (%)
<i>Spot FM</i>	57	16
<i>Radio Zimbabwe</i>	134	39
<i>Power FM</i>	115	33
<i>National FM</i>	41	12

<i>Voice of Zimbabwe</i>	0	0
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The information regarding the questionnaire respondents on their ZBC radio station preferences is graphically presented in Figure 5.5 below.

Figure 5.5 Bar chart shows the distribution of respondents’ preferences on the ZBC radio stations (N=347)



The information in Table 5.5 and Figure 5.5 reflects that amongst the questionnaire respondents, *Radio Zimbabwe* which broadcast in Shona and Ndebele has got more listeners (39%) than other radio stations. This is followed by *Power FM* (33%) and *Spot FM* (16%) respectively which broadcast in English. 12% of the respondents preferred *National FM*. There were no respondents who preferred *Voice of Zimbabwe*. This is valuable data in assessing the language factor in the radio station preferences. The distribution in Table 5.5 and Table 5.5 show that the respondents preferred radio stations in different languages.

Question 4: What is your comment on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions specified in the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)*?

This question intended to find out the general feeling of the respondents on the treatment of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming following the enactment and implementation of the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)*. If localisation is “a process which reverses the trend of globalisation by discriminating in favour of the local” (Hines, 2000:27), this question provides information on the respondents’ observations and perceptions on the ZBC’s response to language utilisation in its local content broadcasting.

Table 5.6: Broad views and actual questionnaire responses from the ZBC television viewers and radio listeners on the handling of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of the BSA (2001)

Broad view 1	The language issue was not appropriately handled on the ZBC radio and television stations considering the limited use of the local languages and the predominant use of English	72%
Actual responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The local content on ZBC television and radio is not broadcast in indigenous African languages. • The language which is dominant on the ZBC radio and television stations, that is English is not a local language. • Localisation of content in the ZBC broadcasting must be demonstrated by using local languages. • Very few programmes of national significance are done in local languages on ZBC TV except for entertainment programmes such as musical programmes and dramas. 	
Broad View 2	As the principle of localising content in public service broadcasting apparent in the BSA (2001) translated into ZBC programming, the language issue was overshadowed by partisan and political imperatives.	23%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As the local content guidelines in the BSA (2001) translated into ZBC radio and television programming it relapsed into a political, ideological and elitist agenda. • The local content broadcast on ZBC radio and television is selective and censored. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents who shunned the question 		5%

Table 5.6 demonstrates that there are two broad views from the questionnaire responses on the handling of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television stations after the implementation of the local content broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001). While, 5% of the respondents did not answer the question, 72% of the respondents claimed that the language issue was not appropriately handled on the ZBC radio and television stations considering the limited use of the local languages and the predominant use

of English on the ZBC radio and television stations. The argument is based on the observation that the local content on the ZBC television and radio is not broadcast in indigenous African languages. Instead, English is still the dominant language in ZBC broadcasting, yet this is not a local language. The respondents also noted that there are few programmes of national significance which are presented in the local languages on ZBC television except for entertainment programmes such as musical programmes and dramas. What can be deduced from these responses is that the localisation of content in the ZBC broadcasting must be demonstrated by the use of local languages. This means that, English is not a local language, and therefore it cannot be entrusted to carry the Zimbabwean local content. In other words this view valorises the role played by indigenous languages in carrying the local culture, an argument which confirms wa Thiongo's (1986) view that language carries culture. The English hegemony in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation local content broadcasting is discussed in subsection 6.6.1 in Chapter 6 of this study.

On the other hand, 23% of the respondents detected that as the principle of localising content in public service broadcasting apparent in the *BSA* (2001) translated into ZBC programming, the language issue was overshadowed by partisan and political imperatives. This group of respondents observed that as the local content guidelines in the *BSA* (2001) translated into ZBC radio and television programming it relapsed into a political, ideological and elitist agenda. It was also noted that the local content broadcast on ZBC radio and television is extremely selective and censored. This observation validates the argument that the media are part and parcel of the ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 1971). On the other hand, Moyo (2004) observes that the local content quota in Zimbabwean broadcasting is "...unique and worrisome and is coloured by the self-interest of the ruling party whose desire was to perpetuate its stay in power." Considering the observation by the respondents and the arguments by the aforementioned scholars, it can be envisaged that the language choices and practices in broadcasting may have been outdone by political factors. A detailed discussion of the impact of political factors on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations after the implementation of the local content broadcasting policy is given in Section 6.2 of Chapter 6 in this study.

Question 5: Do you think language is an important consideration in local content broadcasting?

Unlike question 4 which intended to find out the general feeling of the respondents on the treatment of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective programming following the enactment and implementation of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001), this question was aimed at ascertaining the respondents' precise opinion on the position of language in the drive of localising content in broadcasting. That is, to ascertain if language is an important consideration in the localisation of broadcasting content.

Table 5.7: Broad views and actual questionnaire responses from the ZBC television viewers and radio listeners on the relevance of language in the localisation of broadcasting content on ZBC radio and television

Broad View 1	Yes, language is an important consideration in the localisation of broadcasting content on ZBC radio and television stations, therefore local content must be broadcast in local languages.	74%
Actual responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local content on ZBC radio and television broadcasting stations must be broadcast in indigenous African languages. • ZBC broadcasting content in English cannot be regarded as local content because it is broadcast in a colonial language. • English is not a local language. • Language is a carrier of culture and marks the identity of a people. • There is a close link between language and content. 	
Broad View 2	No, language is not an important consideration in the localisation of broadcasting content on ZBC radio and television stations, therefore any language, including English can be used to broadcast local content on the ZBC radio and television stations.	26%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local content cannot be defined on the basis of the languages used in conveying the content. • ZBC local content can be broadcasted in any language, including English. • English is a local language because it is an official language and the language of education in Zimbabwe. • Zimbabwe is part and parcel of the global community and therefore it cannot resist the impact of globalisation. • In the age of multiplicity of media technologies, it is difficult to 	

distinguish between local language and foreign language.
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5.3.1.1 Presentation and analysis of findings from the questionnaire responses from the ZBC audience on the position and place of language in the localisation of ZBC broadcasting content

Table 5.7 shows the broad views and actual responses from the questionnaire responses by the ZBC television viewers and radio listeners on the relevance of the language issue in the localisation of broadcasting content on ZBC radio and television. It is apparent from Table 5.7 that there are two broad views resulting from Question number 5. 74% of the respondents consider language as an important consideration in the localisation of broadcasting content on ZBC radio and television stations. For that reason, they argued that ZBC local content must be broadcast in indigenous Zimbabwean languages. This group of respondents categorically rejected the ZBC content in English as not local. English is rejected as not being a local language because language carries culture and identity. This implies that content cannot be separated from the language used to carry that content. This view is situated in the linguistic determinism school of thought where language is an important determinant which influences content. Views by scholars such as Magwa (2008), Magwa and Mutasa (2007), wa Thiongo (1986) among others are situated in the same school.

On the other hand, 26% of the respondents disagreed with the view raised by the respondents in the previous paragraph since they said language is not a relevant consideration in the localisation of broadcasting content on ZBC radio and television stations. According to these respondents, any language can be used to broadcast local content on the ZBC radio and television stations. This implies that there is nothing wrong with ZBC local content which is broadcast in English. 26%, of the respondents strongly claimed that English is a local language. The reason why they considered English to be a local language is that it is the official language and the language of education in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, these respondents consider Zimbabwe to be a product of colonialism and to be part and parcel of the global community which makes it difficult to define local content. This school of thought resonate Achebe's (1975, 1988) approval of English though it is in the writing of African literature. The relevance of English and local languages in broadcasting local content on ZBC radio and television is discussed in section 6.7 in Chapter 6 of this study.

Question 6 (a): How equitable is the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the local content broadcasting policy specified in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and multilingual broadcasting in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007)?

Question 6 (b) Illustrate your answer by giving examples from the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective programming.

Question 6(a) was intended to find out the perceptions of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers on the equity of the spatial distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations after the crafting and implementation of the local content broadcasting and multilingual broadcasting policies evident in the *BSA* (2001) and the *BSAA* (2007) respectively. This allowed the researcher to assess the justice in the treatment of the different languages spoken in Zimbabwe. Question 6 (b) allowed the respondents to use examples from the ZBC radio and televisions and their programmes to support their observations on the equitability of the distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on ZBC radio and television stations. The broad views and actual responses from the respondents on the distribution of languages on ZBC radio and television stations are shown in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8: Broad views and actual responses from the questionnaire responses from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers on the distribution of languages on ZBC radio and television stations

Overall Broad View	The distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming is not reasonable; other languages are more dominant than others.	100%
Broad View 1	English is the most dominant language in both ZBC radio and television broadcasting	44%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English is the dominant language in radio broadcasting considering that it has three allocated radio stations out of the available five. • English is the dominant language on ZBC TV. • Most important programmes on ZBC radio and television are done in English. 	
Broad	Shona and Ndebele are the dominant local languages on the ZBC	

View 2	radio and television stations at the expense of other local languages.	35%
Actual responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages found on ZBC TV. • Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages with a dedicated radio station- <i>Radio Zimbabwe</i>. • Shona and Ndebele are also used on <i>National FM</i>, a radio station dedicated for the minority languages. 	
Broad Views 3	Shona is the most dominant local language on the ZBC radio and television broadcasting.	15%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shona has got more programmes on ZBC television and radio stations than those in Ndebele. • There is an observation that Shona programmes always begin, and Ndebele versions of the programmes come last such as news on radio and television. 	
Broad Views 4	The Shona which is broadcast on ZBC radio and television stations does not represent the uniqueness of the other dialects of the same language spoken in various parts of Zimbabwe.	5%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Shona which is dominant in the ZBC is largely Zezuru; the other dialects of Shona are not used to broadcast programmes on radio and television. • The journalists and presenters of the ZBC contribute to the marginalisation and denigration of other Shona dialects by using them to achieve humour. 	

5.3.1.2 Presentation and analysis of findings from the questionnaire responses from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers on the distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations

Table 5.8 illustrate that 100% of the respondents unanimously agreed that the distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming is not reasonable; instead there are some languages which are more dominant than others. This implies that the general observation by the questionnaire respondents is that there are languages which occupy more space or enjoy more prominence on ZBC radio and television

as well as in programming. However, the respondents observed varied issues to support their views on the unfair distribution of languages on ZBC radio and television. In this regard, 44% of the respondents observed that English is the most dominant language on ZBC radio and television broadcasting. The most cited illustrations of its dominance include the fact that it has been allocated three radio stations out of the available five. According to these respondents, the dominance of English is also observable on ZBC television. While the detection of English hegemony in the Zimbabwean media is not completely new in Zimbabwean scholarship, this study innovatively discusses the political economy of broadcasting in Zimbabwe which perpetuates English hegemony on the ZBC radio and television stations as demonstrated in chapter 6 of this thesis.

Other than English hegemony in broadcasting, 35% of the respondents noticed that Shona and Ndebele are the dominant local languages on the ZBC radio and television stations at the expense of the other local languages. This observation is in line with Ndhlovu's (2009) argument that Shona and Ndebele are the killer languages in Zimbabwe which threatens the existence of the other local languages. To validate this observation, the respondents noted that Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages found on ZBC television, Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages with a dedicated radio station which is *Radio Zimbabwe*, and that Shona and Ndebele are also found on *National FM*, a radio station which is dedicated for the minority languages. The views expressed by these respondents as presented in this paragraph point to the inequity of the utilisation of the Zimbabwean languages in ZBC broadcasting, with Shona and Ndebele emerging as the dominant local languages. This study argues that, this situation can be understood if factors such as the political economy of the broadcasting, colonial heritage, the refeudalisation of the media as public spheres by economic and political interests, and the numerical muscle of the speakers of these dominant local languages among other factors are to be considered as demonstrated in subsection 6.6.2 in Chapter 6 of this study.

While Shona and Ndebele are considered to be the dominant local languages on the ZBC radio and television stations as presented in the preceding paragraph, 15% of the respondents observed that in the ZBC broadcasting, Shona is more dominant than Ndebele. This is demonstrated by the observations that Shona has got more programmes on the ZBC television and radio stations than those in Ndebele, especially programmes of national significance, such as 'Toringepi?' (Where shall we face?) and 'Zvevanhu' (of the people).

These programmes do not have equivalents in other languages. To stress the same point, the cliché “it is common sense that Shona news comes before Ndebele News” came from 5% of the respondents. This demonstrates that the dominance of Shona over Ndebele is observable on ZBC radio and television. This view echoes the Gramscian concept of hegemony and the success of one linguistic form over the other (Ives, 2004). However, there is need to go beyond observing the schema and interrogate the factors which necessitate this linguistic arrangement which naturalises the hegemony of Shona in ZBC broadcasting as demonstrated in subsection 6.6.3 in the next chapter.

5% of the respondents objected that Shona language in the ZBC broadcasting is largely Zezuru (one of the dialects of Shona, which is the central dialect) such that the Shona which is broadcast on the ZBC radio and television falls short in representing the distinctiveness of other dialects of the same language which are spoken in various parts of Zimbabwe. This implies that what is referred to as Shona in the ZBC broadcasting is actually Zezuru. According to these respondents, the other dialects of Shona which include Karanga, Manyika and Korekore are marginalised when they are professed to be included in the Shona language. 6% of the respondents argued that instead these marginalised dialects of Shona are used by the ZBC presenters and journalists in achieving humour. This view seems to be a revival of the contested representativeness of the Shona language which is a 1932 creation, a project which was spearheaded by Clement Doke (Magwa, 1999). In subsection 6.6.4 in Chapter 6, this study discusses the problem of the Zezuru hegemony in the Shona language on the ZBC radio and television stations.

Question 7 (a): Do you think a multilingual approach to public service broadcasting is the rightful solution to the representation of multilingualism in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television station? **Yes/No**

Question 7 (b): Give reasons for your answer.

Question 7(a) was intended to ascertain the respondents’ perceptions on multilingual broadcasting which is apparent in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2001). These observations were then supported by the examples that were required by Question 7(b). Table 5.9 below shows the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers’ responses on the appropriateness of multilingual broadcasting on the ZBC radio and television.

Table 5.9 Respondents’ responses on the relevance of the ZBC multilingual broadcasting

Response to Question 7(a)	No. of Responses	Percentage (%)
Yes (For multilingual broadcasting)	251	72
No (Against multilingual broadcasting)	96	28

It is clear from Table 5.9 that 72% of the respondents maintain that multilingual broadcasting on the ZBC broadcasting stations is the just approach to the representation of the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe. Only 28% of the respondents were against multilingual broadcasting. Table 5.10 below shows the broad views and actual responses on the appropriateness of multilingual broadcasting policy in the ZBC broadcasting. The information in Table 5.9 is presented graphically in Figure 5.6 below.

Figure 5.6: Bar chart showing the number of responses on the appropriateness of the ZBC multilingual broadcasting (N=347)

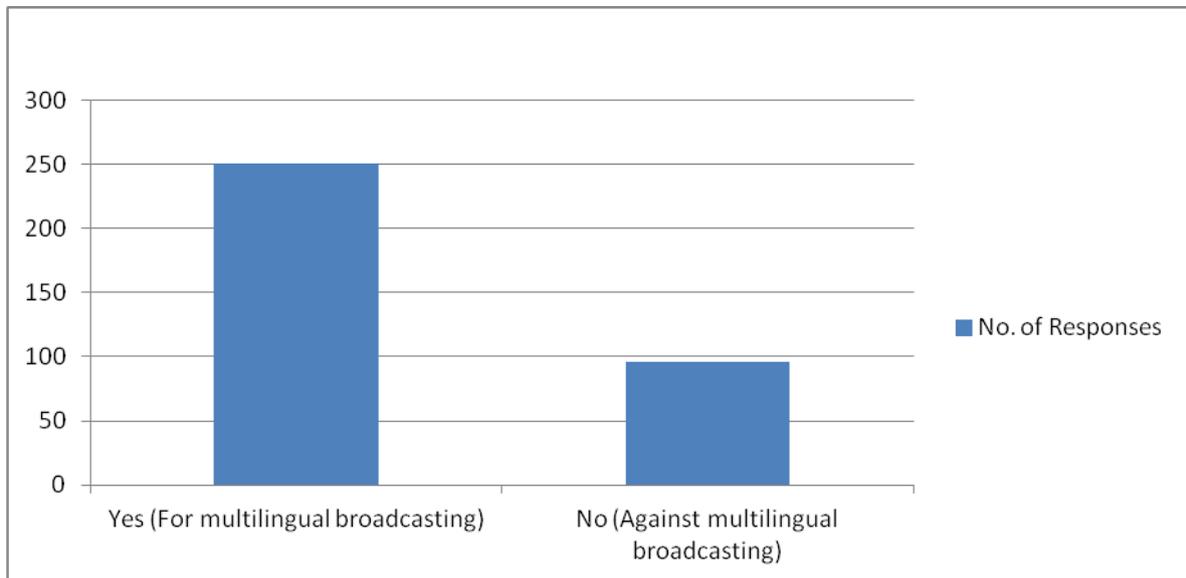


Table 5.10 Broad views and actual responses from the ZBC television viewers and radio listeners on the importance of ZBC multilingual broadcasting towards the representation of the multilingual character of Zimbabwe

Broad View 1	Yes, all languages spoken in Zimbabwe must be given equitable space on the ZBC radio and television stations so as	
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	to reflect the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe.	72%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Every person has got a right to receive information in his/her own language. • The minority languages in Zimbabwe must be given equal prominence as Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting. • Giving considerable space and time to languages in the ZBC broadcasting makes their speakers to identify with the Zimbabwe. 	
Broad View 2	No, multilingual broadcasting is a retrogressive and divisive policy. Instead, neutral languages such as English must be used on the ZBC radio and television.	28%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasising linguistic differences divides the people of Zimbabwe. • English is a neutral language which brings all linguistic communities together. • English integrates the people of Zimbabwe into the international community. • Multilingual broadcasting is an expensive policy. 	

5.3.1.3 Presentation and analysis of findings on the ZBC television viewers and radio listeners' views on the relevance of the ZBC multilingual broadcasting towards the representation of the multilingual character of Zimbabwe

Table 5.10 shows that 72% of the respondents argued that all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe must be given equitable space on the ZBC radio and television stations so as to reflect the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe. This means that these respondents supported the idea of promoting all languages on the ZBC radio and television stations. This group of respondents argued that every person has got a right to receive information in his/her own native language. Therefore, they suggested that the minority languages must be given equal prominence with Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting. They also observed that giving sufficient space and time to all languages in the ZBC broadcasting makes their speakers to identify with the Zimbabwe. This argument is suggestive of the language rights concept (May, 2008). This study argues that, though the idea of upholding individual

linguistic rights through the ZBC public service broadcasting is noble, the availability of financial resources to sponsor multilingual broadcasting need to be considered. Nevertheless, 28% of the respondents regarded the recognition of multilingualism in the ZBC broadcasting as being retrogressive and divisive. According to 8% of the respondents, emphasising on linguistic differences divides the people of Zimbabwe. Therefore, the use of a neutral language such as English is considered to bring linguistic communities together. However, in this study, the problem of the number of people who are fluently conversant with the English language is observed. To buttress the challenges of multilingual broadcasting, 5% of the respondents argued that this is an expensive broadcasting policy. The feasibility of the multilingual broadcasting policy is discussed in Section 6.4 of the next chapter.

Question 8: In view of the local content broadcasting requirements in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the idea of using all languages in public service broadcasting specified in the *BSSA* (2007), how do the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations represent nation of Zimbabwe?

Question 9: Give reasons to support your observations.

Question 8 was intended to gather the respondents' judgements on the ZBC's language choices and practices in the context of the *BSA* (2001) and the *BSAA* (2007) and how they impact on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation. Question 9, allowed the respondents to support the observations they would have made in Question 8 with practical examples from the ZBC radio and television stations as well as in programming. Table 5.11 below shows the broad views and the actual responses from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations.

Table 5.11: Broad views and actual responses from the ZBC television viewers and radio listeners on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the ZBC's language choices and practices

Broad View 1	The language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming symbolises Zimbabwe as an English speaking nation.	32%
Actual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English has got three dedicated radio stations out of the available five. 	

Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English is the main language on ZBC TV. Most programmes of National significance on ZBC TV and radio are done in English. 	
Broad View 2	The language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting presents Zimbabwe as a Shona and Ndebele speaking nation.	44%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages which are found on ZBC TV, the only ZBC television station in Zimbabwe. National events such as Heroes Day and Independence Day celebrations are usually covered on the ZBC in Shona and Ndebele. Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages with a dedicated radio station, i.e. <i>Radio Zimbabwe</i>. Shona and Ndebele languages are also found on <i>National FM</i>, a radio station dedicated for the minority languages. 	
Broad View 3	The use of Shona on ZBC radio and television stations demonstrates Shona speakers as overmastering in the representation of the Zimbabwean nation.	18%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most programmes of national significance, such as ‘Zvavanhu’ (of the people), ‘Toringepi’ (we do we face?) among others are done in Shona, and have no parallel programmes in other local languages. Other local languages are used sparingly in entertainment and musical programmes such as ‘Ezomgido’ and ‘Afro Beat’. 	
Broad View 4	The Shona which is broadcast on ZBC radio and television stations is mainly Zezuru; as a result the speakers of the other dialects of Shona are excluded in the national project.	6%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Zezuru is the dominant dialect on the ZBC radio and television. The ZBC journalists and presenters contribute to the marginalisation of other Shona dialects by using them when they want to achieve humour. 	

5.3.1.4 Presentation and analysis of findings on the ZBC television viewers and radio listeners' views on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the ZBC's language choices and practices

Table 5.11 demonstrates that there are various concerns that were raised by the respondents on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming. As shown in Table 5.11, there are four identifiable broad views from the questionnaire responses from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers which explain the exclusive utilisation of languages on ZBC radio and television.

The first view is that, the language choices and utilisation on the ZBC radio and television presents English as the central language to the nation of Zimbabwe. This view came from 32% of the respondents who argued that the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming symbolises Zimbabwe as an English speaking nation. The respondents reasoned that this is demonstrated by the observation that English has got three dedicated radio stations out of the available five, and also English is the dominant language on ZBC television. They also observed that most programmes of national significance such as the national budget presentation are conducted in English. The implication is that, the fact that the English language occupies more space in the ZBC broadcasting is a demonstration that it is a central national language. While this might appear to be a plausible argument, however, the dominance of English in Zimbabwean broadcasting may not mean that it is the national language, rather it has got different dynamics which are facilitated by factors such as the colonial history, the impact of globalisation as well as the dictates of the media economics. Otherwise, the predominance of English in the ZBC broadcasting may have little to do with nationalistic or identification imperatives in the Zimbabwean broadcasting. The position and role of English in the Zimbabwean nation is discussed in subsection 6.6.1 of the next chapter.

Secondly, 44% of the respondents observed that the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting demonstrate that Zimbabwe is a Shona and Ndebele speaking nation. This is demonstrated by the fact that Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages which are used in broadcasts on ZBC TV. The respondents also reasoned that Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages with a dedicated radio station which is *Radio Zimbabwe*. More so, Shona and Ndebele languages are also used in *National FM* which is a radio station

dedicated for the minority local languages. These responses sum up the view that ZBC broadcasting is typified by Shona and Ndebele hegemony at the cost of other local languages which are spoken in Zimbabwe. The respondents assumed that this is based on the assumption that the speakers of the other minority languages are conversant in either Shona or Ndebele implying that the speakers of these marginalised languages have been assimilated into these dominant ethnic cultures. This view confirms Ndhlovu's (2009) argument that Shona and Ndebele are "killer languages" in Zimbabwe.

Thirdly, 18% of the respondents argued that the use of Shona on the ZBC radio and television stations demonstrate Shona speakers as more central to the Zimbabwean nation. According to these respondents, this is demonstrated by the fact that most programmes of national significance, which include 'Zvavanhu' (of the people) and 'Toringepi' (where do we face) among others are done in Shona without any matching programmes in other local languages while the other languages feature more in programmes of less national significance such as musical programmes and dramas. This view means that the ZBC broadcasting is characterised by Shona hegemony at the expense of other local languages because of the prominence which is given to this language. However, the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC need to be understood in terms of the financing of the broadcasting operations which prompt the ZBC to use the languages with a greater number of speakers. The political economy and other historical factors which naturalise the hegemony of Shona and Ndebele as well as Shona hegemony in the ZBC are discussed in subsections 6.6.2 and 6.6.3 in the next chapter.

Table 5.11 also shows that 6% of the questionnaire responses from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers whose first language is Shona also found fault on the 'Shona' which is broadcast on the ZBC radio and television stations for the reason that it is mainly Zezuru. The respondents assumed that the speakers of the other dialects of Shona are excluded in the national project since broadcasting is central to the reproduction and maintenance of nationalism (Billing, 1995). This means that the Shona which is dominant on ZBC radio and television is not representative enough of all the Shona dialects such that Zezuru becomes the dominant 'language' on the ZBC radio and television. The marginalisation of these dialects is further maintained by the ZBC journalists and presenters who sparingly use the other dialects of Shona particularly Manyika, Karanga and Korekore when they want to achieve humour. This observation demonstrates how Zezuru has been naturalised as the standard Shona language, in this study, this is a case of 'inner linguistic hegemony' and how the ZBC

	consider native speakers of minority languages or people with meaningful competence in the minority languages.	4%
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ZBC must be independent from the state for it to focus more on improving the status of local languages on the radio and television stations. 	5%
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is need for the government of Zimbabwe to fund the ZBC to ensure the promotion of the local languages. 	31%
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ZBC must demonstrate their pride in local languages by increasing their utilisation in television and radio broadcasting. 	11%

5.3.1.5 Presentation and analysis of the recommendations on the management of the language question and the national question on the ZBC radio and television stations

Table 5.12 demonstrates that 100% of the respondents recommended that the ZBC must make attempts to promote all languages spoken in Zimbabwe on its radio and television stations so as to reflect the multilingual nature of the Zimbabwean nation. 32% of the respondents argued that the ZBC should create more public service broadcasting stations to facilitate broadcasting in different languages. What this means is that this segment of the respondents is concerned with the need to expand broadcasting space to accommodate all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe. However, these respondents did not consider the availability of the financial resources for the ZBC to bankroll this project. Nevertheless, 8% of the respondents implored the government of Zimbabwe to fund the ZBC to ensure the promotion of the local languages. 17% of the respondents advocated the introduction of community radio and television broadcasting stations in Zimbabwe to cater for the multiplicity of ethnic and linguistic communities in Zimbabwe. This indicates that the respondents consider community broadcasting as a panacea to linguistic hegemony in the ZBC and making sure that all the Zimbabwean languages are accorded fair broadcasting space. What these respondents did not realise is that it is not the mandate of the ZBC to lead the exercise of introducing community broadcasting, at the same time the preparedness of the Zimbabwean

government to democratise broadcasting to that extent need to be considered since as alluded to earlier, the media are political and ideological institutions (Althusser, 1971). This also makes the thinking by 5% of the respondents that the ZBC must be independent from the state for it to focus on improving the language situation on radio and television a tall order in implementation.

Furthermore, 4% of the respondents also recommended that the ZBC must recruit people with competence in the minority languages such as Tonga, Nambya and Shangani and not people with rudimentary knowledge of these languages. This implies that the respondents observed that the ZBC personnel who are currently presenting some programmes in the marginalised languages are misrepresenting the languages. However, this problem needs to be historically situated into the language policy of Zimbabwe which made Shona and Ndebele the national and regional languages which are taught in schools. 11% of the respondents implored the ZBC to take pride in local languages by giving them more space on radio and television for it to have a national character. This view implies that the ZBC must consider broadcasting in local languages as a priority for nationalistic purposes. However, it must be noted that, the ZBC needs revenue to finance its operations which may impact on the languages choices which attract advertisers and allowing it to reach a wide audience. The impact of media economics and the political economy of the media on the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television stations form the basis of the discussion in the next chapter.

5.3.2 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM QUESTIONNAIRES FROM THE ZBC EMPLOYEES

In this subsection, the researcher presents and analyses the questionnaire responses from the ZBC employees on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the local content guidelines outlined in the *BSA* (2001) and a multilingual approach to language use in public service broadcasting evident in the *BSAA* (2007). A total of thirty self-administered questionnaires were distributed to the ZBC personnel and twenty-three completed questionnaires from the ZBC personnel were returned giving a response rate of 77.6%.

Question 1: What are the major contributions of the local content broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) on the ZBC radio and television to the development of the indigenous Zimbabwean languages?

Question 1 was intended to allow the personnel working at the ZBC to give information emitting from their experiences on the contribution of the ZBC local content programming to the development of the indigenous African languages. Table 5.13 below shows the ZBC personnel's broad views and actual responses on Question number 1.

Table 5.13: Broad views and actual responses from questionnaires from the ZBC personnel on the contribution of the ZBC local content to the development of indigenous African languages

Broad View 1	The ZBC local content broadcasting contributed to the promotion of local languages through various programmes on radio and television.	80%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local content broadcasting led to the birth of the urban grooves music and other music genres in local languages. More local dramas, such as 'Tiriparwendo' (We are on a journey) are broadcast on <i>ZBC TV</i>. 	
Broad View 2	The language issue was not central in the ZBC local content broadcasting.	20%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The major attractions in the ZBC local content programming are of Asian, South African or Nigerian origin, which are broadcast in English. Most local programmes in local languages are political in nature, for example 'Zvavanhu' (of the people). 	

5.3.2.1 Presentation and analysis of findings on the ZBC employees' views on the contribution of the local content broadcasting policy to the development of indigenous African languages.

Table 5.13 shows that 80% of the respondents argued that the ZBC local content broadcasting contributed to the promotion of local languages through various programmes on radio and television. The respondents substantiated this claim by insisting that the local content broadcasting on the ZBC radio and television led to the beginning of the urban grooves and other local music genres in the indigenous local languages. Furthermore, the respondents said that the contribution of the ZBC local content is seen in the increase in the number of local dramas in the local content broadcast on the ZBC television and radio stations. The implication is that the increased number of dramas and urban grooves music in local languages has promoted the local languages thereby depicting the Zimbabwean locality and national identity. However, these respondents did not consider the use to which these local languages was put as well as the number of local languages which were used in the urban grooves music and the local dramas. They also did not consider that English, Shona and Ndebele are the dominant languages in the ZBC broadcasting.

On the contrary, 20% of the respondents observed that the language issue was not central to the exercise of localising content on the ZBC following the promulgation of *BSA* (2001) which stipulated a high local content requirement in broadcasting. This is demonstrated by the fact that the major attractions in the ZBC local content programming are either of Asian, South African or Nigerian origin and are conveyed in English. The respondents affirmed that though there was increased number of local programmes in local languages, they were largely political and partisan in nature. This demonstrates the ideological nature of the media as an institution which possibly may undermine it in pursuing other missions such as raising the status of local languages and constructing a distinguishable multilingual national identity. The position of language in the localisation of the ZBC broadcasting content is discussed in detail in Section 6.7 in the next chapter.

Question 2: Considering the time allocated to the different languages spoken in Zimbabwe, what is your take on the fairness of the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television station and their respective programming?

Question 3: Give reasons for your answer.

Question 2 was aimed at getting the ZBC employees' perceptions on the fairness of the distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming. Question 3 allowed the respondents to give practical examples from the ZBC radio and television stations to support the observations they made in question 2. Table 5.14 below shows the ZBC Employees' views on the equity of the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of the local content policy in the *BSA* (2001) and the multilingual approach to public service broadcasting in the *BSAA* (2007).

Table 5.14 Broad views and actual responses on the ZBC employees' views on the distribution of languages on ZBC radio and television

Broad View 1	There is fairly enough time allocated to every language spoken in Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting.	53%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is nothing wrong with the spatial distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on ZBC radio and television. • The language distribution on ZBC radio and television stations reflects the statistical representation of the language speakers in Zimbabwe. • It is not practical for all languages to be used equitably on the ZBC radio and television. 	
Broad View 2	The languages spoken in Zimbabwe are not equitably distributed on the ZBC radio and television.	47%
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language use on the <i>ZBC TV</i> did not significantly change after the promulgation of the <i>BSA</i> (2001) and the <i>BSAA</i> (2007) besides reducing the number of English movies and bringing in a lot of Shona and Ndebele talk show programmes. Otherwise English remained the dominant language, followed by Shona and Ndebele. • The traditionally marginalised languages are accommodated only on <i>National FM</i>. • <i>ZBC TV</i> makes use of the three major languages (Ndebele, Shona and English). 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On <i>ZBC TV</i> the minority languages are only given coverage in documentaries.
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5.3.2.2 Presentation and analysis of findings on the ZBC employees' views on the equity of the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations

Table 5.14 shows that 53% of the respondents insisted that there is fairly enough time and space allocated to each and every language spoken in Zimbabwe in either ZBC radio or television broadcasting. This implies that this segment of respondents does not see anything wrong with the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television stations. 53% of respondents approved the language distribution on the ZBC broadcasting stations for they considered this language distribution as indicative of the statistical representation of the speakers of the languages in Zimbabwe. The respondents are suggesting that a language with more speakers in the country should be allowed to dominate in the ZBC broadcasting. However, it must be noted that though a language is spoken by a few people it still serves the same purpose like that of the majority. The marginalisation and exclusion of the minority languages on the ZBC radio and television, and the construction and representation of the multilingual Zimbabwean nation is fully discussed in the next chapter.

Conversely, 47% of the respondents observed that the languages spoken in Zimbabwe are not equitably distributed on ZBC radio and television. The argument is that, language use on *ZBC TV* did not significantly change after the promulgation of the *BSA* (2001) and the *BSAA* (2007) besides reducing the number of English movies and bringing in a lot of Shona and Ndebele talk shows. Otherwise English remained the dominant language, followed by Shona and Ndebele in that order. This shows that, these respondents are not comfortable with the hegemony of these three main languages for they consider them to occupy more space on ZBC radio and television at the expense of the minority languages. These respondents also considered one radio broadcasting station for the minority languages (*National FM*) as inadequate. More so, the respondents also asserted that the *Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation Television (ZBC TV)* makes use of the three dominant languages (Ndebele, Shona and English) with the marginalised languages featuring sparingly in documentaries and musical programmes. While this is a pertinent observation, these respondents did not

realise that the hegemony of the three dominant languages is varied. Otherwise, on ZBC radio and television, English is the most dominant while Shona is more dominant than Ndebele. This scenario has got an impact on the construction and representation of the Zimbabwean nation. However, factors such as colonial legacy, media economics, political economy of the media, and globalisation among others need to be explored in explaining the nature of dominance of these three languages as demonstrated in Section 6.6 in the next chapter.

Question 4: To what extent does the ZBC manage to implement the multilingual approach to public service broadcasting specified in the *BSAA* (2007)?

This question was intended to get the ZBC employees' perceptions based on their experiences on the implementation of multilingual broadcasting on the ZBC radio and television. The responses to this question demonstrated what the ZBC mean by multilingual broadcasting. As shown in Table 5.14, using almost the same language and examples, 100% of the respondents strongly defended ZBC's efforts to broadcast in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe.

Table 5.15: The ZBC employees' views on multilingual broadcasting and multilingualism in Zimbabwe

Broad View	The ZBC has made concerted efforts to broadcast in all languages. The public broadcaster has managed to represent the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe in its broadcasting.	100%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is time and space allocated to each and every language on radio, though currently ZBC TV broadcast in English, Shona and Ndebele. • The available radio stations demonstrate the linguistic diverse nature of Zimbabwe. • On <i>National FM</i> all the 14 languages are given equal time to reflect on the cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe. 	

According to 100% of the respondents (ZBC employees), the ZBC has managed to represent the multilingual and multicultural nature of Zimbabwe in its broadcasting. The general argument given by these respondents is that at least there is time and space allocated to every language on both radio and television stations and programming. The respondents claimed

that the available assortment of the ZBC radio stations demonstrate the linguistic diverse nature of Zimbabwe. This argument suggests that, the fact that the ZBC has got different radio stations broadcasting in various languages, and various programmes in different languages on the *ZBC TV* is a representation of Zimbabwean multilingualism. *National FM* is cited as the greatest achievement by the ZBC in granting many languages broadcasting space in one station. While the arguments by this group of respondents seems to be meaningful considering that at least every language has got a programme on either radio or television, this study questions the type of representation by looking at the time and space given to the indigenous African languages. Considering English hegemony which is observable in the Zimbabwean media (Magwa, 2008; Ndhlovu, 2009) it is imperative to discuss the impact of the English language broadcasting on nation building as demonstrated in subsection 6.6.1 in Chapter 6 of this study.

Question 5: What challenges are faced by the ZBC in implementing multilingual radio and television broadcasting?

The responses in Question 4 demonstrate that the ZBC is making stern efforts to broadcast in all languages spoken in Zimbabwe. Question 5 allowed the researcher to gather data on the challenges that are faced by the ZBC in implementing multilingual broadcasting on ZBC radio and television.

Table 5.16 Broad views and actual responses on the challenges faced by the ZBC in implementing multilingual broadcasting

Broad Views	The ZBC does not have the resources to equitably represent all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on radio and television.	33%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ZBC does not have enough broadcasting equipment such as video cameras and editing machines to produce content in many languages. • The ZBC does not have enough personnel to engage in programmes which are inclusive of all languages. • The ZBC is failing to improve its signal in places with no to poor transmission. • ZBC does not receive meaningful state fund allocation. Instead, the broadcaster survives on advertising and licence fees. 	

	<p>Unfortunately, the rural communities are excluded in paying listeners licence fees, and also generally the people of Zimbabwe are reluctant to pay licence fees.</p>
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Though 100% of the respondents in Table 5.15 argued that the ZBC has managed to implement multilingual broadcasting, 33% of the respondents as shown in Table 5.16 noted that the broadcasting unit does not have the necessary resources to satisfy the desire to represent all the languages equitably. This implies that the limited representation of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe could be an indication of the lack of resources to bankroll the multilingual broadcasting project. In this regard, the specific points that were raised by the respondents include the lack of enough broadcasting equipment such as video cameras and editing machines to produce content in many languages, poor to no transmission in other parts of Zimbabwe, the lack of adequate state funding, and the non-payment of licence fees by the ZBC audience. This is recognition that patterns of ownership, control and financing of broadcasting affect the ZBC's commitment to policy implementation. Therefore, in the next chapter, the study demonstrates the interface of the political economy perspective and the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting.

Question 6: What must be done by the ZBC in order for it to represent the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe?

Question 7: In view of the recommendations which you gave in Question 6, how do you think that can be achieved?

Question 6 was intended to get recommendations from the ZBC employees towards improving the ZBC's representation of the multilingual character of Zimbabwe. Question 7 was aimed at getting the ZBC employees' suggestions on how the recommendations made in Question 6 can be achieved. Table 5.17 below shows the general recommendations that were given by the respondents and the plans of action suggested if these recommendations are to be accomplished.

Table 5.17: Broad view and actual responses from the ZBC employees towards improving the ZBC’s representation of the languages in Zimbabwe

Broad View	The ZBC has made significant efforts to broadcast in all languages in Zimbabwe. However, there is need to avail the ZBC with more funding and other resources.	46%
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ZBC must purchase more broadcasting equipment which includes video cameras and editing machines to facilitate the production of content in many languages. • There is need for increased state funding. • The ZBC must recruit personnel who are competent in the minority languages such as Nambya, Tonga, Sotho, among others. • There is need to improve the ZBC radio and television signal in places such as Beitbridge, Binga, Plumtree, Gwanda, Victoria Falls just to mention a few. Currently, people in these places are relying on foreign broadcasting stations. 	

Though the ZBC is said to have made significant inroads towards broadcasting in all the languages in Zimbabwe as shown in Table 5.15, Table 5.17 shows that 46% of the respondents believe that the ZBC can improve its representation of languages on radio and television if more funds and other resources could be availed. The respondents argued that the ZBC must recruit personnel who are competent in the minority languages such as Nambya, Tonga, Sotho, among others. They considered some of the ZBC current crop of presenters of programmes in the marginalised languages as more competent in either Shona or Ndebele which makes it difficult for them to direct or produce programmes in a language which they do not speak. This suggests that, recruitment at ZBC should give priority to the native speakers of the respective marginalised languages. However, there is need to consider the availability of the educated fluent speakers of these languages against the backdrop of the entrenched Shona and Ndebele hegemony. The respondents also requested the ZBC to work on the radio and television signal in places such as Beitbridge, Binga, Plumtree, Gwanda,

Victoria Falls just to mention a few. Currently, people in these places are relying on foreign broadcasting stations such as the SABC and the BTV. Therefore, the next chapter discusses how the political economy of broadcasting interconnects with the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television.

5.4 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM INTERVIEWS

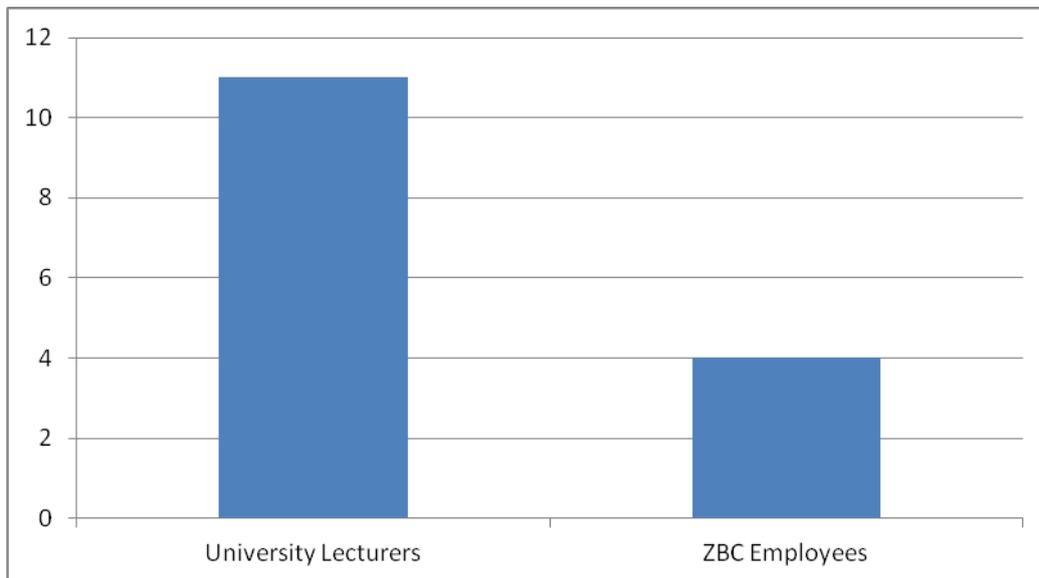
In this section, the researcher presents and analyses the data collected from personal and group interviews. The first subsection of this section (subsection 5.4.1) presents and analyses the data collected from the personal interviews that were conducted with the key informants who are “the individuals whose role and experiences result in them having relevant information of knowledge they are willing to share with a researcher” (O’Leary, 2010: 171). For the purposes of this study, this group of participants comprises of the ZBC employees and the academics in the disciplines of language, culture and the media at various universities in Zimbabwe. The ZBC employees were selected as key informants for the reason that they are producers of the local content on the ZBC radio and television. The university academics provided scholarly and independent views to the study. For the purposes of this study the researcher collected data from fifteen key informants who are referred in this section as interviewees. Out of the fifteen interviewees, eleven were academics, while four were ZBC employees. The second subsection of this section (subsection 5.4.2) presents and analyses data collected from two group interviews (focus group discussions) that were conducted by the researcher as the moderator with twenty-nine ZBC radio listeners and television viewers. In line with the ethical considerations presented in section 4.7 of Chapter 4, the names and identities of these interviewees are kept somewhat anonymous and confidential. The distribution of the interviewees by profession is shown in 5.18 below.

Table 5:18 Shows the distribution of interviewees by profession (N=15)

Interviewee	Number of Interviewees	Percentage
University Lecturers	11	73
ZBC Employees	4	27
Total Number	15	100

The information presented in Table 5.18 above is graphically represented in the bar graph in Figure 5.7 below.

Figure 5.7: Bar chart showing the graphical representation of the interviewees by profession (N=15)



5.4.1 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

This section presents and analyses responses from the four ZBC employees and ten university lecturers on the construction, maintaining and representation of the Zimbabwean nationalism by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the local content guidelines outlined in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the multilingual approach to public service broadcasting evident in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007).

5.4.1.1 Interviewee 1

Interviewee 1 is a Professor of African Languages and Culture at a University in Zimbabwe. He is an experienced scholar and veteran Shona playwright whose research interests lie in the harmonisation of African languages and African indigenous knowledge systems.

Realising that this study is framed by the overlap flanked by the interdisciplinary concerns of language, nationalism and media studies, this interviewee admitted that he was not a media

guru and had rudimentary knowledge about issues of nationalism and broadcasting. He also acknowledged that he had lost touch with the ZBC radio and television. This is an indication that interviewee 1 is a victim of the compartmentalisation of education into various disciplines and as a result he has remained in his chosen 'compartment' of language studies and which makes him fail to appreciate the pervasive character of language, such that it is not only used in literature and education, but also in the media. Interviewee 1 is oblivious of the fact that the media carry language, they operate through language, and they develop language (Tom, 2007). The interviewee is also unaware of the reality that language issues are critically important to nation-building (Gellner, 2006) and also that the media are the public spheres where national identities are constructed and contested (Billing, 1995). Therefore an interdisciplinary approach to the study of languages allows language experts to venture into other disciplines where language is used, hence the improvement and expanding of the discipline of language studies.

On language and the localisation of content on the ZBC radio and television, Interviewee 1 argued that language is an important subject to consider in the localisation of content. He argued that the local content on ZBC radio and television must be broadcast in indigenous languages which are understood by the local people. He asserted that though there is an acknowledgement that the literacy rate in Zimbabwe is high, the predominance of English language in broadcasting brings a lot of problems since the majority of the people of Zimbabwe are not conversant in the language. Interviewee 1 precisely argued that "...local content must be broadcasted in local African languages." According to him, the reason is that "...though most of the people in Zimbabwe may have some idea of the English language, they cannot cope with the demands of the language in comprehending and articulating themselves in the media." This implies that Interviewee 1 believes that local content on ZBC radio and television must be broadcast in indigenous African languages, suggesting that broadcasting content in English cannot be regarded as local. However, the interviewee is not aware of impact of the emerging global media systems which are considered to have significant cultural impact on the peripheral nations (McChesney, 2001).

On the construction and representation of the Zimbabwean nation on ZBC on the basis of languages used on ZBC radio and television, Interviewee 1 argued that the Zimbabwean nation represented in the ZBC is exclusive in character. He bemoaned the presumed representativeness of the Shona language, when in actual fact the other dialects such as Nda, u,

Karanga, Manyika and Korekore are distinctively unique from the central Shona which is basically Zezuru. These sentiments imply that while the inclusion of Shona in broadcasting might seem to represent all the Shona speaking people in Zimbabwe, other people who speak the other dialects of Shona are unfortunately not represented in the ZBC broadcasting. To substantiate this claim, Interviewee 1 observed that "...there are no full-fledged plays or films in Ndau, Korekore or Manyika on the ZBC radio or television." Instead, Interviewee 1 detected that these dialects of Shona are "used to achieve some kind of humour...that is not the status that should be given to a language which is spoken by the people who are also proud to be who they are." According to this interviewee, this means that the ZBC has contributed to the denigration of some of the African languages which are sometimes mocked by actors on ZBC television and radio, inadvertently helping to discourage the speakers of these languages to speak their languages or to dislike their own languages. To support this argument, interviewee 1 gave an example of a joke that was thrown on national radio by the former 'Studio 263' actor-cum-presenter on ZBC's *National FM*; the late Nevernay Chinyanga, around the year 2008 which was meant to ridicule the Manyika people from Manicaland. He said:

...Yakange iri nguva yehondo, apo vana mukoma vaiva papungwe mune rimwe dunhu reZimbabwe, semazuva ose vachiimba nziyo inonzi 'Neiko neiko musina murare'. Zvino zvakazoonekwa kuti pange pane vaiita discord zvikanzi nanamukoma umwe neumwe ngaaimbe ega. Pavakasvika panaSaManyika akabva ati "ngenyiko ngenyiko musina murare" vanhu vakabva vaziva kuti ndipo pange pane discord...

(It was during the liberation struggle, in one of the villages in Zimbabwe. The liberation fighters were leading people in a song and it was discovered that there was some discord. Therefore, each and every individual was asked to sing on his/her own while they were listening. When it was the turn for the Manyika person (person who speaks the Manyika dialect of Shona in eastern parts of Zimbabwe) he sang with a distinctively hilarious tone. Therefore, it was realised that this was the person who was singing with dissonance)

According to Interviewee 1, this illustration of a joke on national radio gives a very negative impression of people who are proud of their dialect. It appears like the presenter was saying this one is not a language. In the context of this research, this presenter actually said the Manyika people bring 'discord' in the nation of Zimbabwe. This is marginalisation by inclusion, where other language varieties are supposedly included in the standard language only for them to be dominated by a particular language variety as the case of Zezuru and the other dialects in the Shona language as discussed in subsection 6.6.4 in the next chapter.

Interviewee I suggested the introduction of the broadcasting stations in various parts of the country so as to expand the broadcasting space where the languages spoken in Zimbabwe can be equitably used thereby constructing a distinguishable national identity of Zimbabwe in the context of multilingualism and the local content broadcasting conditions. He implored the universities in Zimbabwe to initiate the starting of broadcasting stations using different languages spoken in the regions in which the universities are situated. He said,

...universities can take the initiative... Lupane State University can broadcast in Kalanga and Nambya, Great Zimbabwe broadcast in Karanga and Shangani, Manicaland University broadcast in Ndau and Manyika, Hwesa and Barwe, Midlands State University can broadcast in Ndebele and Zezuru and the University of Zimbabwe can broadcast in Korekore, and Zezuru.

This indicates that Interviewee 1 advocates the democratisation of the airwaves and pluralisation of broadcasting in Zimbabwe as a way of expanding the space to accommodate the many languages spoken in Zimbabwe. However, he did not consider that the media are ideological and political institutions which cannot be democratised keenly in a country where the government is afraid of its people's voices as demonstrated in section 6.2 of the next chapter.

Interviewee 1 acknowledged that, it is very difficult to forge an inclusive Zimbabwean nation in the context of localism and multilingualism through ZBC broadcasting. However, for the purposes of nation-building it can only be achieved when the people of Zimbabwe can agree on one language. According to him the solution to building the nation of Zimbabwe is the harmonisation of seemingly mutual intelligible languages in Zimbabwe. He said:

... taking the role played by Swahili in Tanzania, we can also choose a language that can be understood by the majority of the people in the country... like what is being done by CASAS... if we harmonise these languages, ultimately we will get used to the idea of belonging to each other, and ultimately we will make an effort to understand each other regardless of the idiosyncrasies of our languages... thereby finding a common identity...

This indicates that Interviewee 1 considered multilingual broadcasting as a problem to nation building. For that reason, he suggested harmonisation as the panacea to the problem of multilingualism since he considered it "...to have centrifugal forces of uniting people into a nation." It can be deduced that, this interviewee considers giving emphasis on language differences as not health for nation-building; implying that diversity contradicts nation-building. However, though language harmonisation appears to lessen needless variations

within the nation, this has got its own challenges. In language harmonisation, this interviewee does not consider the issue of linguistic hegemony where other languages dominate other languages; such that other people may feel excluded in the harmonised language. In any case this means that language would be created for the people, instead of people modifying their own languages. The other problem is that harmonisation of languages might result in nation transcending national boundaries denoted by the geographical boundaries. The harmonisation of languages as a panacea to the problem of multilingualism in broadcasting is discussed and dismissed in subsection 6.8.6 in Chapter 6 of this study.

5.4.1.2 Interviewee 2

Interviewee 2 is a lecturer in the department of Media and Society Studies at a university in Zimbabwe. He is also a Doctoral candidate at one of the universities in South Africa. His research interests include among others, media representation and identities as well as cultural studies and sports.

Interviewee 2 confirmed the centrality of the media in the construction of national identities. He said "...the media not considering their size, form or colour; they participate in national identity politics." This means that national identities are not natural but they are constructed. This implies that in this study, the ZBC radio and television are the conduits through which the nation of Zimbabwe can be defined and imagined. Interviewee 2 further argued that it is imperative to consider the context in which the *BSA* (2001) which stipulates a high local content requirement in broadcasting was crafted. He said, "...this Act was crafted at a time when Zimbabwe was at the mercy of its ideological enemies from the west." Therefore the local content broadcasting policy in the *BSA* (2001) is "...a way of inspiring what Jonathan Moyo calls Cultural Revolution". Interviewee 2's arguments imply that the local content broadcasting was meant to protect the Zimbabwean nation from cultural imperialism and ideological denigration from the western countries. This implies that the local content in the ZBC broadcasting was meant to create a Zimbabwean nationality that is well conversant and proud of the national culture and patriotic principles. In a nutshell, Interviewee 2 argues that the localism principle is crucial to nation building. However, it must be noted that Interviewee 2 does not give much attention to the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting as an aspect of localisation which has got a bearing on the construction and representation of the Zimbabwean nation.

Concerning the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations after the crafting and implementation of the local content broadcasting guidelines and multilingual broadcasting, Interviewee 2 referred to it as "...change without change because English is still the dominant language in broadcasting." His argument concurs with Zaffiro (2002), who argues that at independence the young nation of Zimbabwe became pseudo heirs of the outgoing Rhodesian system where there was a mere substitution for the Zs for the Rs; in this case, Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) to the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). What is evident in this argument is that English has remained dominant in broadcasting in the context of local content regulations, a situation which obtained during the colonial period. More so, Interviewee 2 also observed that even after the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007), English remained the dominant language followed by Shona and Ndebele in that order. What can be noted in this interviewee's observation is that the dominance of English in broadcasting is not good for nation building in Zimbabwe. Interviewee 2 categorically said "...the dominance of English actually defeats the whole logic of the localism principle which is evident in the *BSA* (2001)." In his argument, Interviewee 2 also insinuated that, other than English hegemony in broadcasting, Shona and Ndebele are also hegemonic on ZBC radio and television stations and programming. Therefore, this approach to localisation and nation-building empowers only the Shona and Ndebele people at the expense of the other languages, at the same time the dominance of English denotes the excessive colonial and foreign vestiges in the local and the 'nation'. However, this observation does not take into consideration the role of English in a globalising world.

It is also worth noting that Interview 2 condemned the sweeping statements in the *BSSA* (2007) such as "...the public broadcaster should make programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe". The interviewee observed that the language policy in the *BSAA* (2007) lacks specificity on the languages spoken in Zimbabwe. He said "... though it seems that English, Shona and Ndebele are commonly used languages in Zimbabwe; a language like Tonga is also commonly used in Binga." This implies that language use is contextual and circumstantial.

On the issue of ZBC local content, Interviewee 2 argued that the content is far from being local because of the dominance of the English language with its colonial and imperial record. In a way, the interviewee echoed the sentiments of Appiah (1992) who argues that the attainment of independence by African nations does not mark the end of colonialism rather

colonialism is far from being dead. The argument is that, English is an imposed colonial language which carries colonial culture, an argument which is also held by Fanon (1967). According to Interviewee 2, on the implementation of the *BSA* (2001), “politicians conveniently forgot that English is not a local language...” This means that Interviewee 2 strongly argued that English is not a local language. The validity of this declaration is discussed in section 6.3 in the next chapter.

On the representation of the nation on radio and television, Interview 2 argued that there is no univocality in the imagination of the Zimbabwean nation in the ZBC broadcasting. He blamed the failure of the ZBC to forge an inclusive nation through language use to the politicians who are key stake holders in nation building themselves for “their hypocrisy”. As a result, the language choices and practices in the ZBC produce “...a bastardised version of the nation, which is a mongrel...” Interview 2’s argument is based on the observation that other languages are predominantly used while others are marginalised and excluded on ZBC radio and television stations. In a nutshell, the interviewee bemoans the ZBC’s failure to inculcate an inclusive national identity. However, this view is oblivious of the political economy of the media and the influence of globalisation and the pitfalls of nationalism in post-independent African states.

Interviewee 2 recommended that the ZBC as a public broadcaster must reflect the diverse nature of the nation. He also argued for the decentralisation of the ZBC radio and television stations to different places which denote different ethnic groupings. This implies that the bases of the ZBC stations should not be only in Harare, Bulawayo and Gweru. Places like Hwange where Nambya is spoken, Binga where Tonga is spoken and Chipinge where Ndau is spoken should be granted opportunities to have subsidiary station of the ZBC. The argument for this decentralisation is to allow for all the linguistic communities in the provinces in Zimbabwe to have a television or radio station which they can identify with. In such a situation, “...if *National FM* was to be located in Hwange, the Nambya people would have a say in programming.” Though, this is a noble argument, Interviewee 2 did not consider the political economy of broadcasting in Zimbabwe, that is the availability of resources to finance the broadcasting stations in the various provinces as discussed in subsection 6.8.1 in the next chapter.

5.4.1.3 Interviewee 3

Interviewee 3 is a seasoned educationist with considerable experience in print media and community development; He is a lecturer in the Department of Media and Society Studies at a Zimbabwean university.

Interviewee 3 argued that the idea of localising content in Zimbabwean broadcasting was a noble idea for the reason that "...foreign cultural products would be replaced by the local cultural products, including language thereby contributing to the reassertion of the true Zimbabwean identity..." However, Interviewee 3 acknowledged that the local content issue has always been a contentious issue which was difficult to define. What this means is that the term 'local content' is problematic in definition as well as in implementation as demonstrated in ZBC broadcasting where "...at times language features as an aspect of the localisation process as shown by the increase in the number of programmes in local languages and local music on the ZBC radio and television." This argument insinuates that the aspect of language was considered as an aspect of the localising the ZBC radio and television broadcasting content. The central question in this study is on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television as the local content and the multilingual policies translated into programming.

Interviewee 3 did not see any contradiction in juxtaposing the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies. He argued that, localisation of broadcasting content and multilingual broadcasting provide "...a platform for producing content in the various local languages spoken in the country..." However, this interviewee does not consider the fact that this can only be achieved only if there could be equitable distribution of space to the multiplicity of languages in Zimbabwe, considering that other languages such as English, Shona and Ndebele are hegemonic. However, Interviewee 3 argued that there is a problem in reconciling the attempt to reflect the linguistic and cultural diversity in the public broadcasting subsumed in the *BSAA* (2007) with the other intention of creating a distinctive national identity ensued in the *BSA* (2001).

According to Interviewee 3, this problem is necessitated by the arbitrary nature of the boundaries which marks the African nations where we find a considerable number of languages in the country with fairly distinct differences being bunched together to form one nation. He said this is because "...the drive towards greater nationhood is not achievable

without some sort of sacrifice, in form of subordinating other forms of sub-national identities...” This means that nationhood cannot be achieved unless individuals in the country are prepared to subordinate their smaller identities which may be competing with the national identity. It also implies that the forging of a common national identity works ultra vires the other objective of maintaining local and diverse linguistic identities. The arguments by Interviewee 3 are based on the fact that the linguistic dominant groups can impose their languages as the national languages. What this means is that it is difficult to celebrate linguistic diversity in Zimbabwe while at the same time trying to achieve one distinctive national identity. This observation obtained from Interviewee 3’s assertion confirms that national identities are artificially constructed and are always elitist in nature (Hobsbawm, 1996).

On language use and nation building on ZBC radio and television, Interviewee 3 considered the use of English as the panacea to the multiplicity of languages in Zimbabwe. He said, “...via the use of the languages of former colonisers we find our commonalities as people who belong to the same group...” This means that, the indigenous languages cannot be used in the forging of an inclusive nationhood. However, this interviewee is oblivious of the fact that English is a language which is not appreciated uniformly by all the people in Zimbabwe because of the differences in disciplines, level of education and experiences which makes it a problem in nation-building. More so, he does not consider that there is a possibility that the ethnic language factor remains latent though people may decide to conveniently forget about it and pretend as much as they can that whatever they do is not linked to language. This means that the language factor may remain in the sub-consciousness in the process of nation building.

Commenting on the language provisions in the *BSAA* (2007), Interviewee 3 argued that the policy is high sounding and noble in nature on paper, but practically it has not been realised on ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming. This is for the reason that all language communities do not find their way in ZBC broadcasting. As the *BSAA* (2007) was implemented, Interviewee 3 observed that:

...the biggest indigenous languages, that is Ndebele and Shona are dominant, with Shona being more dominant followed by Ndebele... while the rest are lumped in one stations and non-existent on ZBC television...

In this declaration, Interviewee 3 insinuates that there is no fair treatment of the languages from different linguistic communities in Zimbabwe on ZBC radio and television stations and programming implying that the ZBC has failed to reflect the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe.

Interviewee 3 recommended that there is need for a rigorous broadcasting policy reform which will open up other forms of broadcasting over and above public service broadcasting so as to expand the space to accommodate more languages. He argued that:

...there are other options to be explored, rather than worrying ourselves with the ZBC and its weaknesses. We should go for policies that allow for the plurality of broadcasting stations of different types, be it commercial, national, public, or community broadcasting...

This implies that this Interviewee 3 sees the solution of coming up with broadcasting which truly represents the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe in the crafting of new broadcasting policies which permit the pluralisation of different types of broadcasting stations which include commercial and community broadcasting. He emphasised the need for community radio and television broadcasting in Zimbabwe to increase the chances of catering for the ethnic diversities in the Zimbabwean nation. He insisted that "...in a pluralised broadcasting terrain with many radio and television stations, the language issue will take care of itself". However, this interviewee may not have considered the preparedness of the Zimbabwean political establishment to democratise the broadcasting terrain considering the ideological nature of the broadcasting institution. More so, the availability of resources to support an endeavour of creating community radio and television broadcasting stations; as well as the impact of the profit imperative in the commercial radio stations on the language choices need to be put into consideration as demonstrated in the next chapter.

5.4.1.4 Interviewee 4

Interviewee 4 is a lecturer in the department of Media and Society Studies and at a university in Zimbabwe. He is a speaker of Ndaou, a language spoken in the Manicaland province of Zimbabwe.

On the implementation of the *BSA* (2001), Interviewee 4 argued that the language issue was not considered in the localisation of content on the ZBC radio and television stations. He strongly agreed that language is a vital aspect in the localisation of broadcasting content; such

that the ZBC was expected to demonstrate that cause by granting more space to the local languages instead of broadcasting much of the content in English. According to Interviewee 4, this handling of the language issue in the localisation of content was inevitable considering that "...just like any Zimbabwean policy which came after the year 2000, the seventy-five local content broadcasting policy must be treated with suspicion because of the broader economic and political context in which it was crafted." This argument refers to the post-2000s political contestations in Zimbabwe which resulted from the formation of a formidable opposition political party, that is, the MDC which challenged the long standing ZANU (PF) hegemony and the negative portrayal of Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2006 and Chiumbu, 2004). The foregoing is a reflection that Interviewee 4 observed that though the language issue was going to be central to the localisation of broadcasting content, it was overshadowed by certain strategic and political interests. This is in line with Ives's (2004) view of moving away from Neogrammarian tradition of "viewing language as a collection of words, sounds, and phrases" which makes it difficult to answer "...important questions of how language and different languages function within society, politics and culture" (Ives, 2004: 73). Therefore, the next chapter discusses the political and economic factors which impact on the handling of languages in the ZBC radio and television local content and multilingual broadcasting.

On the spatial distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television, Interviewee 4 said "I would like to borrow from those who say history is a tale of the victors, or Napoleon Bonaparte's observation that history are lies agreed upon...so the seventy-five local content is an example of the tale of the victors, when they talk of Shona as part of the local content, there is exclusion of other languages..." Interviewee 4 is strongly bothered by the marginalisation of the eastern dialects of Shona (which are Ndaou and Manyika) in the ZBC, while promoting the Zezuru dialect as the 'national standard dialect'. What this means is that, the local content programming on ZBC radio and television, treats Shona as a homogenous linguistic group without appreciating heterogeneities within this language. For that reason, Interviewee 4 said:

...the only time you get to see or hear an easterner [a person from Manicaland] on ZBC radio or television is through music by the likes of Hosiah Chipanga and the late Ketai Muchawaya...you hardly hear any Ndaou or Manyika speaking on national radio...

He bemoaned that, the only time the other dialects of Shona are used on ZBC radio and television, is when the radio and television presenters want to achieve derision or some kind

of mockery of the speakers of the dialects. To substantiate this claim, Interviewee 4 gave four instances obtaining from ZBC broadcasting where Ndaou and Manyika were used for the purposes of achieving humour.

(i) Interviewee 4 recounted the programme on the ZBC national television on the promotion of women rights by the Musasa Project. The host, Noliwe Bamu sarcastically imitated a lady from Chipinge when she said “*ndoda kumboreketawo*” (give me chance to speak). Interviewee 4’s observation is that this was not done for the learning of the language or to give the woman a chance to speak, rather it was done for poking fun on the Ndaou speakers. What this mean is that the host of the programme, Noliwe Bamu treated Ndaou as something which is funny or strange. This implies that this presenter was ethnocentric. This thinking demonstrates that the presenter treated her own dialect (Zezuru) as superior than Ndaou.

(ii) Interviewee 4 also gave an example of the famous ZBC TV comedy in the early 1990s, ‘Mutirowafanza’. He argued that “...though it seemed fine that an easterner [someone from Manicaland province] was on ZBC television, but if you look at the people around him, you would realise that they were all Zezuru speakers who interestingly reacted derisively to Mutirowafanza’s language.” This implies that, what was interesting on this comedy was the dialect which was spoken by Mutirowafanza and nothing else. Interviewee 4 reiterated that, “Mutirowafanza, a Ndaou speaker became a spectacle representing ‘easterners’ as people who do not speak the Shona language properly.” On this illustration, Interviewee 4 argued that, this is marginalisation by inclusion, where the Ndaou and Manyika are supposedly included in the Shona language in order to be “...marginalised, to be ridiculed, and to be reduced into a spectacle. Thus Mutirowafanza and his countrymen were being othered.”

(iii) Interviewee 4 observed that:

“...the other instance which I am very bitter about is that of Timmy naBonzo in one of their stupid comedies on ZBC television. One of them said “...*kwanzi vanhu vainge vari mubhazi, ndokubva vozwa chimwana choti mummy! mummy!* [In a bus, one toddler shouted, mummy! mummy!] The passengers in the bus thought she was going to continue speaking in English only to say *ndode kuuye ikweyo* [I want to be that side]”.

According to Interviewee 4, this was a joke that was meant to demonstrate that the Manyika people have got an obsession with the English language as shown by their chats which are always marked by code-switching. What this interviewee is saying that, a national television is used to perpetuate the stereotypes about the Manyika speakers who are assumed to be admirers of English when they are not proficient in the language. This is a reflection of the exclusive character of the ZBC broadcasting when it is supposed to be a national broadcaster which reflects a multilingual national identity thereby contributing to social cohesion.

(iv) The other example given by Interviewee 4 is that of the presenter of 'Hoza Friday', a musical programme on ZBC TV, Hazvineyi Sakarombe whom he characterised as "a nigger in the house...an uncle Tom or what the British would call a choc ice". What this means is that, Hazvineyi Sakarombe pretends to be Manyika when in actual fact she is not, rather she imitates and exaggerates the Manyika dialect. In fact "...she is just Manyika by virtue of the surname, in the inside she is Karanga and on the outside she is Manyika." The implication in the interviewee's arguments is that Sakarombe is put on ZBC television for the Manyika to feel represented when they are not. What this interviewee seems to be saying is that the Manyika are symbolically alienated on national television.

Though, Shona is a conglomeration of Zezuru, Korekore, Karanga, Ndau and Manyika dialects (Magwa, 1999), Interviewee 4 is challenging the standard Shona language for its shortcomings on the representation of other dialects (Hachipola, 1998). This indicates that Doke's recommendations on the standardisation of Shona (Doke, 2005) are finding their way into the ZBC broadcasting content. In any case, this is not the problem of Manyika and Ndau dialects, but the Korekore and Karanga people once experienced the same thing. But the Karanga people accepted their own peculiarity and appropriated their own language to demonstrate pride in their dialect. Hence, the invention of statements such as "*wezhira, wezhara, wezheve*" (path, hunger and ears in distinctively ChiKaranga dialect) as a demonstration to the pride they have in their dialect. Furthermore, the role of the ZBC presenters in perpetuating particular language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television as what Antonio Gramsci refer to as organic intellectuals (Ives, 2004).

On the representation of the nation in the ZBC broadcasting by the language choices and practices on radio and television, Interviewee 4 responded by a question "...do we have a nation? All what we have is a country, not a nation...we have a country marked by physical boundaries, not cultural boundaries." Making reference to Benedict Anderson's definition of a nation as an imagined political community, Interviewee 4 argued that the imagined community constructed by the ZBC is "...dominated by two languages, Zezuru and Ndebele, and the other languages do not exist." This insinuates that the ZBC local content programming has failed to construct an inclusive multilingual national identity for the reason that there is unfair representation of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television. However, this interviewee does not consider the practicality of broadcasting in all languages spoken in Zimbabwe and also the unanimity which has been played by Shona and English in Zimbabwe.

Interviewee 4 recommended that "the ZBC should strive to be a true public sphere, which represents all the subgroups in the country and not belittling them..." Interviewee 4 seems to suggest that, the ZBC should allow all the languages, including dialects spoken in Zimbabwe to flourish on radio and television. However, this view does not consider the fact that what is happening on the ZBC radio and television is a reflection of the broader problems which include political, technological and economical reasons. Interviewee 4 also proposed that the ZBC should learn to handle the differences in languages properly in order to avoid the fragmentation of the nation. Otherwise,

...the drive to create oneness through broadcasting in Zimbabwe has been done in a way that causes distress to the other language groups. Imagine you venture into another province and the moment you start talking, people start looking at you in a queer manner, wondering what language you speak (Interviewee 4).

This happens because these languages or dialects are non-existent on national television and radio. What Interviewee 4 suggests is that if the minority language groups are covered on ZBC television and radio, the dominant language groups would appreciate other language varieties in Zimbabwe other than "...wondering when they meet speakers of Nda, Manyika or Korekore... or looking at them as some creatures from the stone age..." Though, it seems reasonable for Interviewee 4 to see the failure and the blame squarely on the shoulders of ZBC for its failure to represent all languages and inform the public on the diverse nature of Zimbabwean linguistic terrain, Interviewee 4, does not consider the influences of colonialism,

politics, economics on the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television as discussed in the next chapter.

According to Interviewee 4, a multilingual approach to broadcasting is achievable. According to him this is achievable if there are channels which cater for the minorities in different places. This shows that Interviewee 4 is for the decentralisation of broadcasting stations to the various provinces in Zimbabwe. He said:

...nothing hurts like when the ZBC was unbundled, relocating *Power FM* to Gweru, *Spot FM* to Bulawayo, *National FM* and *Radio Zimbabwe* remained in Harare and noting for the other provinces, like Matebeleland North and South, Masvingo, Manicaland among others....so people in these provinces may say we are not Zimbabweans since we do not deserve any radio stations...

According to Interviewee 4, the failure of the ZBC to be a true public sphere, representing the interests of the public, has resulted in alternative public spheres such as the Chimanimani and Chipinge Constituent People's Voices Facebook page where people from Chipinge and Chimanimani try to promote their languages such as Garwe. The feasibility of the decentralisation of broadcasting to various provinces to facilitate multilingual broadcasting is discussed in subsection 6.8.1 in the next chapter.

5.4.1.5 Interviewee 5

Interviewee 5 is the Acting-Director of the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) at the University of Zimbabwe, and also a senior research fellow in the field of language and lexicographic studies.

Interviewee 5 argued that when the local content was implemented on ZBC radio and television, it was apparent that the definition of the term local content was not clearly defined. As a result it was difficult to tell what exactly was local on the ZBC radio and television stations. Therefore, he strongly argued that the position of local languages in the localisation of content on the ZBC radio and television was not clearly defined. This implies that to Interviewee 5, local languages must have been central to the broadcasting of local content on ZBC radio and television. This is because the content is carried in a language, and therefore local content should be conveyed by the local languages. This implies that the local content should be expressed in local languages for it to be understood by the people of Zimbabwe. Interviewee 5 categorically said:

...kana tichida kusimbasaradza nyaya yelocal content inofanira kuuya nemitauro yedu... asi pakauya BSA (2001) neBSAA (2007) hapana shanduko yandinoona nekuti chirungu chakaramba chichingotonga mumaradio nemutelevision...

(If we are serious about the issue of local content, we should seriously consider the use of local languages, but the implementation of the *BSA* (2001) and the *BSAA* (2007) did not change anything, English continued to dominate in both radio and television broadcasting.)

This means that, the broadcasting policy reforms in the 2000s did not bring any change with regards to language use on radio and television stations. For that reason, Interviewee 5 observed that broadcasting in Zimbabwe is characterised by English hegemony, something which does not amount to true localisation of content. This argument is situated within the linguistic determinism school of thought. While this is a meaningful observation, the dominance of English has got different dynamics which can be understood if factors such as colonialism, electronic colonisation, globalisation and media economics are to be considered. This view is discussed in detail in section 6.7 in the next chapter.

Interviewee 5 also raised concern on what he called the “meaningless and lack of specificity in the language provisions in the *BSSA* (2007) where it says the public service broadcaster must broadcast in all languages commonly used in Zimbabwe”. He felt that ‘all’ and ‘commonly’ must have been qualified by specifying the languages. Otherwise that lack of clarity leaves room for the manipulation of the policy in favour of the dominant languages. As a result, Interviewee 5 observed the stratification of languages in the ZBC broadcasting which is typified by English, Shona, Ndebele and the others. More so, quality programming is not achieved in all the languages, and there is lack of equity in the distribution of languages on radio and television stations and programming. Apparent in Interviewee 5’s arguments is that, on the ZBC radio and television English, Shona and Ndebele are dominant, and also the crafting of broadcasting policies in Zimbabwe was not backed by meaningful implementation strategy. However, in this study it is argued that the distribution of languages on ZBC radio and television cannot be explained without considering the political and economic factors which determine language choice.

Interviewee 5 also blamed the policy makers and the administration of the country for failing to implement the policies because of their love for the English language and they lack commitment to giving other local languages broadcasting space. For that reason, Interviewee 5 does not consider the lack of resources to support a multilingual approach to broadcasting

as a problem. Informed by the political economy perspective, this study argues that the crafting of language policies of broadcasting must be followed by infrastructural development to facilitate the implementation. Otherwise multilingualism in broadcasting is supposed to be an expensive policy.

On the harmonisation of multilingualism and the nation in broadcasting, Interviewee 5 argued that “...nyaya yekushandisa mitauro yakawanda haipindirane nenation building [Multilingualism is not palatable with nation building]...if we consider language use on the ZBC radio and television...the nation is not national”. On this point, Interviewee 5 seem to be contradicting himself in the first paragraph he advocated for the utilisation of all the languages in ZBC broadcasting, whereas on this point he considers multilingualism as a vice in nation building.

Interviewee 5 recommended the introduction of community radio and television stations in Zimbabwe so as to solve the problems in the ZBC on the language choices and practices. This reflects that Interviewee 5 proposed the decentralisation of broadcasting stations to various cultural communities in Zimbabwe. However, he does not consider the availability of funding and infrastructure to support this endeavour of pluralisation of broadcasting stations. More so there is need to consider the preparedness of the government to the democratisation of broadcasting considering the ideological national of the media, (Althusser, 1971, Žižek, 2003, Moyo, 2006).

5.4.1.6 Interviewee 6

Interviewee 6 is a lecturer in the department of African Languages and Culture at a university in Zimbabwe. His research interests lie in language choice and practice in the context of colonialism, neo-colonialism, nationalism and globalization.

On the idea of localisation of content in the ZBC, Interviewee 6 argued that it is an idea which is viable and very important, because “...it caters for the redefinition of what is Zimbabwean and also it links up with the goals of indigenisation and domestication which are very important concepts especially to countries that have been colonised.” However, Interviewee 6 observed that, it is not attainable in the Zimbabwean modern era and also considering the colonial history of this nation. He also argued that localisation of broadcasting content can only be achieved by or under certain conditions. This implies that Interviewee 6 supported the idea of localisation of radio and television broadcasting content.

However, he acknowledged the challenges of the localisation of broadcasting content considering the Zimbabwean experience of colonisation and globalisation. These challenges and how they impact on language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television are discussed in the next chapter.

Interviewee 6 did not see the importance of language in the goal of localisation on ZBC radio and television. His argument is that:

we should not worry about the languages of broadcasting at the moment but we should worry ourselves with what is celebrated on ZBC...if what is being celebrated is western, let the western language be used to capture that...it is better that way...local languages only become important in carrying the local content.

Evident in Interviewee 6's argument is that localisation should not start at the level of language; instead language should be the icing of the goal of localisation. Hence, Interviewee 6 insisted that the "concern should not be on the spatial distribution of languages on ZBC radio and television...the worry should be on what we are doing with these languages..." This demonstrates that his worry is with what these languages are used to articulate. Interviewee 6's view is that, for Zimbabwe to move towards meaningful localisation and national identity construction, there should be a set of agreed set of values which define the Zimbabweanness. Then the languages will only make these values accessible to the public. This indicates that, for Interviewee 6 the issue of languages of broadcasting is something which is secondary such that:

...we should not lament on the dominance of English in broadcasting...if what is communicated is not for the people to know, you rather use English to confuse them, and those whose languages are not in use in the Zimbabwean media are privileged enough because they are not getting the nonsense...

This implies that the concern must be on what is broadcast to the people by the ZBC before people can be worried with the instrument used (language). However, Interviewee 6 fails to consider that what he calls the "agreed values" in nation building might be a reflection of the dominant ideology and hegemonic groups.

When asked on the handling of multilingualism in the Zimbabwean nation projected in the ZBC, Interviewee 6 responded "...the problem is that you are talking about a nation when Zimbabwe is not a nation...rather talk of nation building or nationalism, we are struggling to

build a nation...” His view is that Zimbabwe has not yet achieved a level of nationhood. Instead, there are attempts to build the nation through institutions such as the ZBC and in that process language is not an important issue in nation building but the need to have agreed values. This confirms the problematic nature of Zimbabwean nationalism (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). What this interviewee suggests is that linguistic nationalism is not synonymous to true nationalism otherwise “in equating language to nationalism there is danger in celebrating linguistic nationalism because we are going to have many nationalisms in the country...for example Shona nationalism, Tonga nationalism...” Indicative to Interviewee 6’s argument is that language can be divisive in nation building if it is given too much emphasis.

According to Interviewee 6, this can be resolved by celebrating a single set of homogenous national values. What this means is that the content should be grounded in the culture and the history of the people. According to him, history and culture are key in defining the values of a nation. For instance, he argues that the liberation struggle can be used to bind Zimbabweans together and not language. However, he does not consider the fact that the selected values and history can be manipulated and personalised by the minority who can be a few elites. On this point Interviewee 6 argues that the problems lie with the western countries who unnecessarily intrude into the affairs of Zimbabwe. He said “in Africa there is no country that has achieved nationalism because of foreign intrusion which is unprecedented.” According to Interviewee 6, globalisation is also a serious threat to nation-building in Zimbabwe since it goes against the principle of building the nation of Zimbabwe from within such that “...you cannot be yourself when everyone is coming from all directions...there will be infiltration of global culture.” What this mean is that globalisation and foreign intrusion are anti-nationalism because nationalism entails belonging to a nation first before we are individuals, but globalisation sees individuals who belong to the globe.

On the challenges facing Zimbabwe on the construction of a distinguishable nation in the context of multilingualism, Interviewee 6 notes that there are three basic challenges. Firstly, foreign intrusion coming in most cases as superpower politics (United States of America) and counter superpower politics (countries like China and Japan). Secondly, the interviewee argued that “...the elites of Africa were natured in the womb of neo-colonialism, as a result they are not committed to building nations, and instead they fuel tribal divisions in addition to what the superpowers are doing in broadcasting.” Thirdly, the concept of liberal democracy

in relation to human rights supported by the superpower politics makes it difficult to build a nation in a multilingual setting because of the “individualism principle ensued in the human rights issues which makes it difficult to build a nation when we are individuals.” What this interviewee observed is in line with the Gramscian approach to social organisation since he sees the dominance of a few countries in global politics and a few elites in the Zimbabwean national project through the ZBC broadcasting.

On the language choices and practices on ZBC, Interviewee 6 recommended that:

...at the moment let them use English so as to confuse the people, because the message is neo-colonial, the agenda is neo-colonial... let English dominate until we have people centred values in broadcasting. We should not put our languages to bad use.

This means that, Interviewee 6 is not concerned with making recommendations on the language choices, since he argued that his concern is on the change of values which are celebrated on ZBC and not language use patterns.

5.4.1.7 Interviewee 7

Interviewee 7 is a Zimbabwean Senior Lecturer in the School of Behavioural, Cognitive and Social Sciences at the University of New England. He is a former lecturer in the Department of African Languages and Culture at a university in Zimbabwe. He has published extensively in the areas of language policy and politics, multilingualism and multilingual citizenship, as well as language and identity formation in Zimbabwe. At the time when this research was conducted, Interviewee 7 delivered a public lecture in Zimbabwe.

Interviewee 7 argued that “language has always been and will always be part of the localisation process for the reason that it is part and parcel of what is happening at the local level”. This implies that this interviewee reckons the localisation of content as well as multilingual ZBC broadcasting as noble ideas. However, he observed that in a globalising world, localisation in broadcasting requires the ZBC to strike:

...middle ground between two extremes of perspectives on globalisation. One extreme perspective of globalisation entails the existence of a global village with no equality which is typified by the imposition of the language and culture of the most dominant country such as the USA. The other extreme view is that globalisation is made up of multiple locals, where

globalisation should start at the local level. When the multiple locals collide and converge they form what is globalisation.

Interviewee 7 insinuates that globalisation is inevitable and cannot be evaded, at the same time localisation is an imperative exercise such that glocalisation (striking a balance between globalisation and localisation) is the inevitable. However, Interviewee 7 does not consider the fact that some languages will always prevail over others due to factors such as electronic colonisation, colonial legacy, and the political economy of radio and television among others. This idea of language and glocalisation in ZBC broadcasting is discussed in Section 6.3 in the next chapter.

On the spatial distribution of languages on ZBC radio and television stations, Interviewee 7 argued that the bunching of the so called marginalised languages on *National FM* "... is an epitome of the hegemonic neo-liberal discourses, that is, the discourse of them and us, between the developed and the developing world." This implies that the existence of *National FM* which is dedicated for the minority languages must not be celebrated since this is synonymous with what obtains in the neo-liberal discourses where it has been acknowledged that these languages cannot co-exist on ZBC radio and television with the dominant languages which are Shona, English and Ndebele. In a nutshell, Interviewee 7's argument is that, the separation of languages into different stations is not a genuine kind of providing space, rather it further reinforces the idea that these languages are different and they are not equal. More so, Interviewee 7 observed that nationally important issues are not always aired on *National FM* which is dedicated to the minority languages. This means that, these marginalised languages have been put on their own radio station as a "way of keeping them off the national and developmental agenda". This validates Gramsci's notion of hegemony which indicates a socio-political situation or an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant (Williams, 1960).

On the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwean broadcasting media, Interviewee 7, disagrees with Ndhlovu (2009) who considers Shona and Ndebele as 'killer languages' in Zimbabwe which have led to the marginalisation of the other languages. In this particular interview, he argued that, "...there is no language that kills another language, but people do kill languages, policies do kill languages, politics do kill languages, and economics does kill languages." What is evident in this argument is that the problem does not lie in languages; rather it is the question of what people do with the languages which threatens the existence of

other languages. This implies that it is the structural problems that do kill and impose languages just like what happened during the Apartheid era in South Africa where Afrikaans prevailed. This view is an appreciation of the salient forces which determine language choices in the broadcasting media such as the political economy of the media and the politics of the day. These factors and how they determine language choices in the media are discussed in the next chapter.

On the dominance of English on ZBC, Interviewee 7 strongly argued that “English, even to the most patriotic people in Zimbabwe, they know that English is a very good language”. This view is also evident in Ndhlovu (2011), where he argues that the political discourse during the period 2000-2008 is epitomised by the “no to everything British but their language” scenario. This is to say that, though other British cultural products were vilified on ZBC local content, nothing was said against English. Interviewee 7 continued to say “...for me English is an asset, and not a curse or something that can push away other languages in this country.” This implies that the argument that there is not enough space for the other languages in broadcasting cannot be sustained since these languages are not as functional as English. According to Interviewee 7:

...using English is being pragmatic. People do not eat or leave on loyalty to certain languages... if you want to say your small language is equally important, you have to demonstrate it by allowing that language to function the way you want it, not blaming other languages.

Interview 7 also maintained that “every language has got a social capital which works in different contexts, the local languages serve well in the local communities, English in the public domain.” This means that to him, the problem is that people incorrectly tend to say a language becomes important when used in the public domain. He buttressed the idea that every language has got its own space in what he called “linguistic ecology” where there is the co-existence of languages while performing different functions. In any case, Interviewee 7 said English cannot be said to be dominant when it is spoken by less than ten percent of the people in Zimbabwe. All these arguments by Interviewee 7 can be summed up as a vindication of the English language as not a problem language but a good language in building the nation of Zimbabwe.

However, what Interviewee 7 seems not to consider is that the appreciation of English in broadcasting is not uniform across the nation of Zimbabwe. The role played by English in the Zimbabwean nation is discussed in the next chapter. It is argued in this study that the idea of

English has been well interpellated in this interviewee. This is because this interviewee's exoneration of English can be explained as a product of what Althusser (1971) calls interpellation or what Gramsci calls hegemony by consent (Dobie, 2012). This is because this interviewee has willingly accepted the dominance of English and ultimately he is now working as what Gramsci calls an organic intellectual (Ives, 2004) in supporting the hegemony of English in Zimbabwe.

On multilingualism and the Zimbabwean nation, Interviewee 7 argued that in Zimbabwe there is no case of multilingualism, but it is a case of multiple-mono-lingualism and multiple-monoculturalism meaning that they are multiple people who are monolingual in their own right, but happen to share the same geographical space. This implies that Interviewee 7's understanding of multilingualism to him is based on the ability of individuals to speak more than one language. In this study, multilingualism is not understood at individual level but at community level where multiple languages are allowed to thrive (Wardhaugh, 2006). In any case, Zimbabwe has got many people who speak more than one language. Interviewee 7 argued that since the nation building agenda in Zimbabwe is driven by the processes of political expedience which entail the idea of unity, multilingualism is not an issue in nation building. To him, multilingual approach is a vice to nation building in Zimbabwe. Instead, languages of convenience must be used to achieve unity in the nation. Interviewee 7 is oblivious of the fact that the linguistic issues will always manifest and impact on nation-building even though people may be convinced that language is not important in building nations. More so, cases of exclusion and marginalisation on the basis of languages spoken by individual societies will always be witnessed. The significance of using languages of convenience as suggested by Interviewee 7 is discussed in section 6.4 in the next chapter.

Interviewee 7 avoided making any recommendations to the ZBC on the treatment of the language issue in the local content and multilingual broadcasting. Instead, he insisted that he is not worried about the languages that are used on ZBC radio and television stations because "...the level of relevance has shifted from the nation-state to a bigger picture of things...people no longer watch ZBC TV, or listen to the ZBC radio stations." This argument suggests that the ZBC has lost its relevance in the global context and the information age since people are now exposed to other regional and global broadcasting stations. Interviewee 7 also implies that the nation state has lost its relevance because of globalisation. However, Interviewee 7 did not consider that not all the nation-states are equitable players in the global

village, such that what may be called globalised world might be a representation of the dominant nations and their languages.

More so, celebrating regional and global media is failing to appreciate the impact of global capitalism on the African languages and that the global media have always been perceived of representing and reflecting American interests (McChesney, 2001). Interviewee 7 also noted that the so called small and marginalised languages in Zimbabwe have got a potential in the global world since they cut across borders (cross-border or trans-national languages) thereby creating what he called cross-border/trans-national citizenship other than national citizens. This is to say national citizenship is no longer important in the global world. Though this seems to be attractive in words, its practicality is questionable as long as the geographic boundaries and the state politics which govern countries are still in existence. The existence of the regional blocs, continental or global integration does imply that the nations involved are going to enjoy the same recognition considering the varied histories, economic and political contribution of individual nations. More so, the interviewee did not consider the number of speakers of these minority languages.

5.4.1.8 Interviewee 8

Interviewee 8 is a lecturer in the Department of African Languages at a University in Zimbabwe.

Interviewee 8 contends that the content on ZBC radio and television cannot be regarded as local content for the reason that English is a foreign language, yet it is dominant at the expense of the local languages. This is demonstrated by the fact that the programmes on ZBC radio and television stations are predominantly English. What is observed in this interviewee's sentiments is that the ZBC programmes in English cannot be regarded as local content. Interviewee 8 also observed that the urban grooves music in local languages is associated with foreign beats, themes and dances which are not home grown. This interviewee exposes the intricacies and problems in the definition of the term local content as the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) was implemented. The position and relevance of the English language in the local content broadcasting is discussed in Section 6.3 in the next chapter.

On the efficacy of the multilingual approach in the ZBC broadcasting, Interview 8 plainly stated that this approach is not achievable. According to this interviewee it is something that

people in Zimbabwe can wish to happen as an ideal thing, but difficult to implement practically. The reason given by this interviewee is that the African nation-states fashioned at the Berlin Conference (1884-5) were not carved along ethnic boundaries, such that the African states are characterised by the multiplicity of languages and ethnic groups. As a result it is difficult to have all the programmes on ZBC radio television and radio in all the languages in a given day. Basing on this argument, Interviewee 8 sees diversity and multilingualism as a challenge to broadcasting. He does not consider the problem of the monopolisation of broadcasting by the ZBC which have constricted the broadcasting space and the political economy of the ZBC as an institution.

On the representation of the Zimbabwean nation on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of localism and multilingualism, Interviewee 8 observed that the Zimbabwean nation is an embodiment of all sort of things. To him, without the content which is truly Zimbabwean and using a dominating language in the ZBC which is not Zimbabwean, that is, English it is difficult to come up with a true Zimbabwean nation; to him it is a fractured nation. What can be inferred from this response is that, nation building and a nation is pre-modern and essentialist in nature since he sees the local languages as primary to the development of what he calls the true Zimbabwean nation. In his thinking, he seems not consider the fact that Zimbabwe is a product of colonial product with a multiplicity of ethnic groups and is now part and parcel of a world system.

Interviewee 8 also advocated for the crafting of broadcasting policies which are specific on language choices on radio and television. This implies the avoidance of ambiguity and generalisations on language choices in policy provisions such as “all languages commonly used in Zimbabwe” (BSAA, 2009) which will always allow manipulation in implementation at the expense of the indigenous African languages.

5.4.1.9 Interviewee 9

Interviewee 9 is a senior lecturer in the department of Media and Society Studies at a Zimbabwean university. His research interests lie in film studies, media and cultural studies, visual anthropology among others.

Commenting on whether there is a contradiction in trying to articulate local ethnic identities marked by the local languages and national identity, Interviewee 9 articulated that the debates on localisation of content are common. He argued that this is necessitated by the disparity in

the information flow, which has been commonly referred to as Americanisation; where the cultural products from the USA happen to be dominant in Africa. Interviewee 9 observed that the localisation of content is an attempt of reconfiguring realities of Europe as being centres of cultural production which they then massively reproduce for commercial purposes and identity purposes. This is an acknowledgement of the USA's hegemonic tendencies, a view which is also apparent in McChesney (2001). In this study, the concern is on how the western cultural hegemony impact on the language choices on ZBC radio and television in the context of the local content broadcasting and multilingual broadcasting policies.

On language and nation-building in Zimbabwe, Interviewee 9 argued that though there could be a need and attempt to make every language find expression on the ZBC radio and television, the problem is that, "the people who may claim to be part and parcel of certain ethnic groups may not be the original...as a result these claims are made on the basis of being proficient in some language when they are simply hybrids..." This reflects that, Interviewee 9 doubted the authenticity of the so called original people constituting particular ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. This means that because of the hybridised nature of the Zimbabwean ethnic groups, it is difficult to use the ethnic identifications denoted by the languages spoken by the people to denote the national identity of Zimbabwe through broadcasting media. Interviewee 9's views insinuate that he celebrates the nation projected on the ZBC as a hybridised one. His arguments also suggest that the Zimbabwean national identity is fluid. For that reason, "...the smaller ethnic identities which are the sub-national identities [the ethnic languages] should subordinate themselves to the bigger new 'ethnic construction'...which is the nation of Zimbabwe". He vividly argued that "narrowing of identity to ethnicity works against the bigger national project." He sees the ethnic languages as unmanageable units which splits the nation. Therefore, it can be inferred that this interviewee considers the emphasis of multilingualism in ZBC broadcasting as contradicting to nation building.

On the representation of the Zimbabwean nation on the ZBC radio and television by language use, Interviewee 9 argued that the notion of public service broadcasting which had been traditionally funded by the state and licence fees has been compromised by commercial concerns. This implies that the ZBC is no longer reflecting the long-established features of a true public broadcaster; rather its contents including the languages used are now subject to the commercial interests, that is, the language issue is now determined by the idea of meeting a wide audience and attract advertisers. This observation is in line with the political economy

perspective of broadcasting. The intersection of the language of broadcasting and the political economy perspective is discussed in the next chapter.

On the equity of language distribution in programming, Interviewee 9 argued that the people of Zimbabwe must know that some of the programmes which they complain about not having versions in other languages are funded and controlled externally and not by the ZBC funds. Interviewee 9 gave examples of a programme like ‘Mai Chisamba Show’ and ‘Zvavanhu’ (of the people) which have external sponsors. Interviewee 9’s arguments suggests that the dynamics of financing and control at the ZBC need to be understood in order to understand the language choices and practices obtaining in the ZBC programming. However, Interviewee 9 tends to confine himself to the ZBC’s methods of financing, and does not consider the political imperative which impact on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations.

Be that as it may, Interviewee 9 insisted that the distribution of languages on the ZBC stations and programming is acceptable considering the numbers of speakers of these languages. This means that interviewee 9 considers the statistical representation of languages on ZBC content based on the numbers of speakers of the languages as the best practice in according languages broadcasting space. However, this interviewee does not consider the fact that English language which is the predominant language on ZBC has got very few native speakers in Zimbabwe. More so, the fact that a language may be spoken by a few people in the country does not mean that the language is ‘small’ and therefore must be given peripheral space in broadcasting. The language still serves the same purpose to its speakers, just like what the language with many speakers does to its speakers.

On the role played by Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC, Interviewee 9 does not consider that scenario as a case of linguistic domination in Zimbabwean broadcasting; rather he argues that these two languages serve a convenient purpose to the multiplicity of languages in Zimbabwe. This means that this interviewee considers multilingualism in Zimbabwe as a problem which has been resolved in ZBC broadcasting by according Shona and Ndebele an ad hoc lingua franca status to cater for the speakers of the many languages. He gave the example of Kiswahili in Tanzania where the other ethnic languages are undervalued allowing Kiswahili to be the lingua franca of the Tanzanian nation. In the same like manner, Interviewee 9 argued that it is a good practice in Zimbabwe to strategically adopt a culturally engineered practice which accord Ndebele and Shona a dominant role as part of the bigger

national project. Though Interviewee 9 argued that “...speaking a language does not transform you into another person, just like speaking English does not make one English...”, he does not consider the fact that the choice of English, Shona and Ndebele as the main languages on ZBC is not a democratic one, rather there are historical, political and economic factors that have raised these languages in Zimbabwean broadcasting to where they are today. More so, not everyone is conversant with Shona and Ndebele.

Interviewee 9 accepted the idea of excluding other languages in broadcasting as well as creating humour using other languages as normal to any African state as long as the humour is not belittling. This interviewee insinuates that humour centred on other Zimbabwean languages on ZBC radio and television is good for nation building. Ironically, this interviewee acknowledged that he speaks Zezuru which is the central dialect of Shona (Doke, 2005). Interviewee 9 does not consider that the humour is always targeting other dialects of Shona and not the Zezuru dialect. Yet, Interviewee 4 and the questionnaire responses noted that the humorous statements are full of derision which makes other people feel excluded from the bigger national project.

On the position of English in the Zimbabwean national local content project, Interviewee 9 categorically said he does not see any contradictions:

...basing on the acceptance of the realities of our colonial past which made English to be a lingua franca which covers many population which diverse languages which might not be intelligible to each other...English becomes a resource to deal with these other narrow limitations on understanding each other...

Furthermore, he does not see the dominance of English in Zimbabwean broadcasting as undermining other ethnic identities such as Shona and Ndebele. He does not see English as posing any threat to the ethnic identities and the bigger national project. Rather “...English is simply a vehicle of communicating Zimbabwean values and aspirations and sensibility with a Zimbabwean national interest”. Interviewee 9’s argument on the position of English in the nation of Zimbabwe denote that English is strategically placed in production, economics, technology, information and has intricate history which makes it a dominant language. This confirms Crystal’s (1997) arguments as demonstrated in the next chapter.

However, this interviewee does not consider the impact of foreign cultural products from the English speaking counties which are not based on the Zimbabwean sensibilities. The other

reason for Interviewee 9's vindication of the dominance of English language on ZBC is globalisation when he argued that "...in your assertion of regional or national interests you also need to be seen as civilised and abiding to the best standards of the global community." Evident in Interviewee 9's argument is that globalisation takes precedence in defining the local national identities. However, this interviewee does not consider the fact that globalisation can threaten the existence of other nations where there could be other nations which are overbearing and condescending in a way which favour their languages such as the USA and Britain which have promoted the use of English in the world. It may be argued that Interviewee 9 is another Gramscian scholar (Ives, 2004) who works towards naturalising the dominance of English in Zimbabwe. The role of what Gramsci calls organic intellectuals in the promotion of the English language is discussed in the next chapter.

Interviewee 9 asserted that "... indeed Zimbabwe is a nation because identities are either self-inscribed or they are given by others. Therefore even if you feel unrepresented in broadcasting but if there is documentation which makes you Zimbabwean you are still Zimbabwean." He insisted that people need to consider themselves as Zimbabwean before they can consider themselves Shona, Ndebele and so forth. This implies that the aspect of language should be subordinated to the bigger national project. On that basis, the "ZBC has done enough to construct a distinguishable national identity through stations such as the *Voice of Zimbabwe*, *Spot FM* and *Power FM* which broadcast in English. This further buttresses Interviewee 9's idea that language is not an important aspect in building the nation of Zimbabwe. However, this interviewee does not consider the fact that language choices and practices on ZBC are a reflection of the historical, political and economic contestations which dates back to the colonial period. Moreover, Interviewee 9's idea that localisation is a futile idea in broadcasting since one can maintain his/her Zimbabweanness wherever one might be is a reflection of his failure to consider the problems of imposed identities.

Interviewee 9 recommended that the linguistic compartmentalisation of ZBC radio stations be broken so as to allow dominant ethnic languages which are Shona and Ndebele to be articulated on the radio stations which have been a preserve of the minority while at the same time the so called minority languages be articulated on the radio stations which were allocated for the dominant languages. This implies that Interviewee 9 suggested that all the local languages must co-exist in all the radio broadcasting stations. The reason for this proposition is that splitting radio stations to meet specific linguistic needs would mean that

people may not be aware of the existence of other languages. This implies that Interviewee 9 advocates the strategic mixing of languages on radio and television as a way of fostering national sensibilities which allow all the languages to be appreciated nationally. This means that compartmentalisation of radio stations on the basis of languages can make people less appreciate other languages since people will just tune to the stations which use their own languages and may not be curious to know what happens in other stations. While this idea might appear to be a noble one, some languages may continue to dominate due to the linguistic colonial heritage, ideological nature of the media, the political economy of the ZBC, and the refeudalisation of the public sphere by political and commercial interests as demonstrated in Chapter 6 of this study.

5.4.1.10 Interviewee 10

Interviewee 10 is a lecturer in the Department of Media and Society Studies. She has got particular interest in the media in Zimbabwe and media economics.

According to Interviewee 10, the idea of including all Zimbabwean languages in public service broadcasting evident in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act (2007)* was not implemented. Interviewee 2 argued that the multilingual broadcasting proposed in the *BSAA (2007)* is "...populist in character and claims to be people centred when it is not... more so the ZBC does not have the economic muscle to avail itself in the language of every citizen of Zimbabwe." This indicates that the ZBC does not have the financial resources to broadcast in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe. According to her, this is demonstrated by the poor infrastructure at the ZBC which makes it inaccessible to places such as Beitbridge and Gokwe because of the weak signal. This observation by Interviewee 10 points to the lack of resources and financial stamina which cripples the ZBC in its endeavour to serve all the linguistic societies in Zimbabwe.

As a result, Interview 10 observed that the languages in Zimbabwe are not fairly represented in the ZBC; instead, English, Shona and Ndebele in that order are the dominant languages at the expense of the other local languages in Zimbabwe. What this means is that there is over representation of the mentioned three languages and under representation of the other languages on the ZBC radio and television. She argued that "the other languages other than English, Shona and Ndebele have been thoroughly othered... marginalised both by exclusion and by exclusion". What this means is that the ZBC has not been an innocent partner of the

relatively smaller linguistic communities in Zimbabwe and has grimly failed to reflect the linguistic diverse nature of Zimbabwe since there is no fairness in the language use in the broadcasting stations and their respective programming. As an illustration, ‘Zvavanhu’ (of the people) on the ZBC TV which is aimed “... at championing and creating nationalistic cadres through Shona speaking participants such as Mahoso who, using Shona tend to conveniently forget certain facts, and conveniently remember certain facts so as to create a citizen that is patriotic in their own sense...” She noted that this programme does not have equivalent programmes in other languages. Otherwise, this documentary creates a Zimbabwean national from a Shona perspective. The observation in the foregoing is a demonstration of the entrenched Shona hegemony on the ZBC radio and television. She said:

...look at the ZBC television programme ‘Toringepi’ a programme which is done mainly in Shona to remind us about our past as Shona people... Zimbabweanness and Shonanness are inseparable. Look at the ZBC television programme ‘Behind the Camera’ by Tazzen Mandizvidza; the places which he selects for this programme include Masvingo, Chirumanzu among others. The coverage of a language does not necessary reflect in the use of language but also on the places selected... look at the ZBC structure...ZBC CEO is Happson Muchechetere; General Manager Current affairs is Tazzen Mandizvidza; General Manager Programming Allan Chiweshe... they are all Shona...

Evident in this interviewee’s assertions is that language is a site of struggle. This argument is in line with the Gramscian perspective of hegemony where the organic intellectuals such as the presenters of ‘Zvavanhu’ and the ZBC personnel work to perpetuate Shona hegemony in the ZBC.

Interviewee 10 blamed the failure of the ZBC to reflect a multilingual and multicultural nation in its stations and programmes to the hangovers of colonialism, the manipulation of public broadcasters African politicians as mouth pieces of propaganda, lack of resources to allocate quality programming to the various languages, lack of political will, and the political nature of language. More so, this interviewee argued that the media no longer operate as public entities; instead they are now profit making entities. “In fact media exist in what is called the dual market, the advertisers market and the audience market. The media need to balance the interest of the advertisers and the interest of the audiences if they are to survive, public broadcaster are no exception.” This observation points to the fact that in as much as the ZBC is supposed to be a public broadcaster, it is no longer rooted on the traditional model of public broadcasting since it is now motivated by the desire to attract advertisers and

customers which may eventually affect its mission to represent ‘the public’ on languages used on ZBC radio and television. Therefore, the ZBC targets the languages which have got more viewership and listeners (Shona and Ndebele) as well as the language which attracts more advertisers (English), thus dancing to the tune of the market forces. Interviewee 6 recommended that the ZBC should cease to be elitist and instead broadcast in all languages. Interviewee 6 fails to realise that the ZBC, just like the media in general are part and parcel of what Althusser (1971) calls the ideological state apparatuses which help in concretising the hegemony of the dominant groups in the society.

5.4.1.11 Interviewee 11

Interviewee 11 is a seasoned linguist, who is the Dean of the Faculty of the Culture and Heritage Studies at a university in Zimbabwe.

Interviewee 11 indicated the problems of the definition of the local content stipulated in the *BSA* (2001). He insisted that “...what is referred to as local content on the ZBC radio and television is just propaganda of certain political parties.” Interviewee 11 argued that ideally “...a list of thematic issues that are categorized under local content” must have been outlined and explained in the *BSA* (2001). To him, such a document must have been subjected to a nation-wide survey to get the views of the people and a referendum so as to come up with an agreed meaning of local content. Otherwise what is referred to as local content in the ZBC is merely political propaganda.

On the contributions of the local content broadcasting guidelines in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) in the raising and development of the local languages in Zimbabwean broadcasting, Interviewee 11 considered the use of indigenous African languages in local content broadcasting as a “cosmetic endeavour” with no clear reason for using these languages. This position of the indigenous African languages in the localisation of the broadcasting content is discussed in sections 6.3 and 6.7 in the next chapter. Interviewee 11 observed that, there are two issues with regards to the *BSAA* (2007)- firstly, the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *BSAA* (2007) is okay in as far as policy is concerned and secondly the lack of implementation of the policy where other languages are not benefiting from this language arrangement. He observed that Shangani, Tonga and Venda are some of the marginalised languages on the ZBC radio and television stations. This demonstrates that this

interviewee applauded the policy but lamented the lack of implementation. The implementation of the multilingual broadcasting policy is discussed in section 6.4 of the next chapter.

Interviewee 11 also noted that, though the *BSAA* (2007) stipulates that all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe must be served in high quality programmes, this is difficult to accomplish. Otherwise according to Interviewee 11, the spatial distribution and equity of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the available radio and television stations and their respective programmes is more of a divisive move for the reason that “if my language is not recognized then as a person I am not also recognized”. This means that this interviewee considered the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television to be characterised with marginalisation and exclusion. Interviewee 11 also argued that basing on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations, there is substantial efforts to use the indigenous African languages, but “the local content is not all encompassing, there is an element of marginalisation of certain specific linguistic groups in the local content.” The marginalisation of other languages in the ZBC broadcasting is discussed in Section 6.6 of the next chapter. Interviewee 11 recommended the setting up of community radio stations which use languages that exist in the respective linguistic communities. This view confirms Kasoma’s (2002) argument that the availability of community radio among the three tier broadcasting system will help people celebrate their own culture. He gives the Zambian example where there are community radio stations which broadcast in the regional languages and reflecting regional culture. The significance of the community radio stations in the raising of the indigenous African languages is discussed in subsection 6.8.3 of the next chapter. Interviewee 11 acknowledged that some issues can be broadcast in a foreign language but with a local thrust because language only facilitates communication. The use of the English language in the local content is discussed in section 6.3 of the next chapter.

5.4.1.12 Interviewee 12

Interviewee 12 is an experienced broadcaster who is now a manager at one of the ZBC radio stations in Zimbabwe.

On the major contributions of the local content broadcasting conditions, Interviewee 12 argued that the nature and structure of ZBC radio which is a medium much more available to

the people of Zimbabwe takes into cognisance the diversity of its listeners. For that reason, this interviewee explained that there are different broadcasting platforms that have been crafted to pursue different objectives. These are *Power FM*, a youth station, which is predominantly English speaking platform; *Spot FM* also an English speaking platform which is basically adult contemporary station and is meant for the mature in mind and attitude where there are discussion with deeper analysis of issues relating to nation building, *Radio Zimbabwe* which is known as “the mass heritage station” broadcasts in two main languages-Shona and Ndebele, taking into cognisance that the speakers of the other national languages are conversant in either of these two regional languages because of the territorial demarcation of Zimbabwe into Shona and Ndebele speaking. Furthermore, This interviewee also explained that the ZBC recognises “...the need to be fair, just, evolutionary and developmental, by creating one nation in one station, that is the *National FM*...the name ‘national’ representing the nation, which broadcasts in nineteen national languages including Shona and Ndebele”. Interviewee 12 also observed that the ZBC has got also an international platform, which is the *Voice of Zimbabwe* which broadcasts in English since it targets the international audience. On ZBC television, this interviewee argued that television currently takes the approach of three dominant languages (English, Shona and Ndebele) because the assumption is that whatever language that one can speak in Zimbabwe, you must be conversant with at least one of the dominant languages.

What is evident in Interviewee 12’s argument is that the ZBC managed to fairly and reasonably allocate all the broadcasting space. It is also clear that to him Shona, Ndebele and English are the languages which represent all the people of Zimbabwe, such that their presence represents everyone. However, it seems Interviewee 12 conveniently overlooks the fact that Shona and Ndebele are overbearing at the expense of the other languages. The observations in the preceding paragraph also demonstrate that Interviewee 12 did not see any problem with the hegemony of English on ZBC radio and television stations. He argues that the “...ZBC has got an equitable package catering for all languages to the satisfaction of all the citizens, either you find yourself on *Spot FM*, *National FM*, *Power FM* or *Radio Zimbabwe*.” He does not consider the prominence that is given to certain languages on radio stations and programming in what he calls an equitable package for all languages in Zimbabwe. More so, he does not consider the fact that English is not an indigenous African language. Interviewee 12 strongly acknowledged and accepted the dominance of English. He conceitedly said:

Kana wakaverenga ukanotenga chirumbi...kana chinhu chatengwa ngachishandisiwe, hazvina zvazvinoreva kuti wapedza mari yavabereki nemakore mazhinji uchitenga ndimi wapedza kuitenga woisa musherefu...kushandiswa kwendimi yechirumbi kunobva pakuti izvo pasi rino chirumbi inyaya yekuti ndovakatanga mberi nanhasi ndoyava language of business, commerce and global interaction.

(If you are educated, it is like you purchased English. If you buy something, utilise it, it does not make sense to invest a lot of time and money in something and then you snub it...the use of English reflects that the owners of the language are pacesetters, as a result their language is now the language of business, commerce, and global interaction.)

This is a reflection that, English is now dominating by consent of the dominated. It can be argued that, Interviewee 12 is another Gramscian scholar who supports the dominance of English on ZBC, and he has been interpellated into believing that English is a superior language.

5.4.1.13 Interviewee 13

Interviewee 13 is an experienced broadcaster; he is the incumbent Acting Chief Executive of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation.

On the contribution of the local content broadcasting policy subsumed in the BSA (2001) to the development of local languages in Zimbabwe, Interviewee 13 argued that "... the seventy-five percent local content policy promoted the local talented musicians through allocating them significant air play on the ZBC broadcasting stations..." According to him, this is demonstrated by the popularisation of the urban grooves music genre which brought musicians such as Rocky, Decibel, Stunner, Plaxedes Wenyika, Sniper, Winky D, and Jah Praiser among others into fame at the same time marketing their musical products to the public audience. However, this interviewee did not consider the languages used by these musicians as well as the dominant themes in their music. He insisted that, "...local content does not need to be broadcast in local languages alone... where necessary; subtitling can be used to cater for the other language speakers..." This demonstrates that this interviewee considers content broadcast in English as local.

On the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting, Interviewee 13 argued that there is time allocated to every language and no language is referred to as 'minority'. He explained that *Spot FM* broadcast in English, and the listeners may be allowed to contribute in either Shona or Ndebele, *Power FM* broadcasts in English to some extent allowing the use

of slang which appeals to the youths, *Voice of Zimbabwe* broadcasts in English since it targets Zimbabweans in the Diaspora and the world at large; *Radio Zimbabwe* broadcasts in the two main languages which are Shona and Ndebele, and *National FM* broadcasts in all the other languages spoken in Zimbabwe. He also said the ZBC has one national television station, the ZBC TV which broadcasts in three main languages which are Shona, Ndebele and English. The other local languages can be used in musical programmes or documentaries. At the same time, the Interviewee 13 acknowledged that it is difficult to fit all the languages in one television station and the few radio stations. He also said that it is also difficult to have particular programmes in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe because of the limited broadcasting space. The argument indicates that from the ZBC's view point, commitment has been made to allocate time to every language. However, it should be noted that English is still the dominantly used language, followed by Shona and Ndebele in that order while other languages have been marginalised in radio broadcasting and excluded in the ZBC television. This demonstrates that, the ZBC is characterised by English hegemony as well as Shona and Ndebele hegemony.

Nonetheless, Interviewee 13 vindicated the dominance of English in the ZBC for the reasons that (a) English is the language of education of Zimbabwe, (b) it is the lingua franca which brings all the speakers of different languages in Zimbabwe together, (c) it is the language of technology (d) the language of the modernisation, (e) English integrates Zimbabwe into the international community and the global world, (e) ZBC television is now on the Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) and (g) "...our own languages are not well developed to be used in all the domains such as business, education and broadcasting...". Because of these reasons, Interviewee 13 categorically said English in broadcasting is good for building the nation of Zimbabwe because the majority of Zimbabweans understand the English language. This is a reflection that this interviewee does not see any problem with the dominance of English on ZBC radio and television. In this case, Interviewee 13's vindication of the English language in ZBC broadcasting qualifies him to be one of the Gramscian organic intellectuals who are supporting the dominance of English in the Zimbabwean nation to the extent that he does not consider that not every Zimbabwean can speak and understand English. The position and relevance of English broadcasting in the nation of Zimbabwe is discussed in the next chapter.

To make sure that all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe are accorded enough space in ZBC broadcasting, Interviewee 13 suggested that the completion of the digitalisation exercise of

the ZBC be completed since it will create more channels thereby expanding the utilisation of all the languages. Interviewee 13 observed that the content in other local languages such as Tonga and Nambya among others “...is hard to come by...is not easily available...”, and therefore he recommended that the speakers of the minority languages in Zimbabwe should strive to avail the content to the ZBC for broadcasting. Interviewee 13 also implored the people of Zimbabwe to pay for their radio and television licences even though they may dislike the content on the channels. More so, Interviewee 13 said the ZBC for long have had plans to refurbish the Montrose studios in Bulawayo and the decentralisation of the broadcasting stations to the other provinces but wished if “...the government could provide the finances for the refurbishment of the Bulawayo studios and the decentralisation exercise...” He said “...the plans are there, but money is not available as well as the economic problems...” This is a revelation that though the ZBC might have policies and commitment to expand the number of its channels and expand to places outside Bulawayo and Harare, the limited funds from the government and licences fees as well as the economic problems bedevilling Zimbabwe are the major problems which militate against the growth of the ZBC. This is an indication that the financing, control and ownership patterns of the ZBC impact on the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television stations and ultimately on the national identity of Zimbabwe. The political economy and broadcasting language interface is discussed in the next chapter.

5.4.1.14 Interviewee 14

Interviewee 14 is an experienced producer/presenter at one of the radio stations in Zimbabwe.

On the contribution of the ZBC local content programming to the development of indigenous African languages in Zimbabwe, Interviewee 14 observed that English is the dominant language followed by Shona and Ndebele in that order at the expense of other local languages. He observed that other local languages are grouped on one radio station which is *National FM*, and that they are also marginalised on the ZBC television. This indicates that Interviewee 14 argued for the equitable distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations and programming. The dominance of these three main languages in the ZBC broadcasting is discussed in section 6.6 of the next chapter. In his observation, the interviewee does not consider other factors such as the influence of the market and advertisers in determining language choices and practices in the ZBC. Interviewee 14 also argued that, globalisation cannot be an excuse “...to the clear cases of inequality, unjust

treatment of speakers of other languages.” According to him “...globalisation is also about localisation...it can also be interpreted as the greatest opportunity ever for the emergence and reassertion of local identities in the global context because of our chance now of being accessed at a global level...” Interviewee 14 does not see tension in globalisation which drives things towards homogenisation with localisation but envisages forces towards divergence where localisation can be enhanced by the globalisation phenomenon.

However, though globalisation may market the cultural products from the marginalised communities in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television, Interviewee 14 does not consider the hegemonic tendencies of other languages which may be necessitated by the technological divide between Zimbabwe and the English speaking countries, the colonial experience of Zimbabwe, Western cultural hegemony, and the political economy of Zimbabwean broadcasting among other factors. These factors may make the marginalised languages driven further into marginality paving the way for the dominance of English, Shona and Ndebele in that order.

Interviewee 14 recommended the introduction of community radio and television stations in Zimbabwe so as to solve the problems in the ZBC on the language choices and practices. This view confirms Kasoma’s (2002) argument that the availability of community radio among the three tier broadcasting system will help people celebrate their own culture. He gives the Zambian example where there are community radio stations which broadcast in the regional languages and reflecting regional culture. Interviewee 14 also suggested the decentralisation of the broadcasting stations to various parts of the country so as to expand the broadcasting space where the languages spoken in Zimbabwe can be equitably used thereby constructing a distinguishable national identity of Zimbabwe in the context of multilingualism and the local content broadcasting conditions. However, he does not consider the availability of funding and infrastructure to support the endeavour of expanding the broadcasting space. More so there is need to consider the preparedness of the government to the democratisation of broadcasting

5.4.1.15 Interviewee 15

Interviewee 15 is multilingual and experienced producer/presenter at the ZBC Television (Channel 2) and *Radio Zimbabwe*.

Interviewee 15 argued that “the local content broadcasting policy led to the birth of the urban grooves music genre thereby promoting the Zimbabwean upcoming musicians in their career.” This implies that this interviewee considered the urban grooves genre as a positive development. Interviewee 15 did not consider that the urban grooves music in local languages is associated with foreign beats, themes and dances which are not home grown (Sithwala, 2013). According to Interviewee 15, after the crafting of the *BSA* (2001) the ZBC radio stations were unbundled and rebranded with the former *Radio 2* becoming *Radio Zimbabwe* broadcasting in Shona and Ndebele, the former *Radio 1* becoming *Spot FM* broadcasting elitist and classical programmes in English; the former *Radio 3* was renamed *Power FM* broadcasting in English for the youth; while former *Radio 4* changed to *National FM* and took on board all the 14 national languages. The ZBC Television continued to broadcast in English, Shona and Ndebele. Interviewee 15 acknowledged that English, Shona and Ndebele are the dominant languages on the ZBC television at the expense of the minority languages which only feature in documentaries on places where they are spoken. Interviewee 15 argued that:

...the ZBC radio programming is making inroads in embracing all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe, however ZBC Television does not cater for minority languages except on musicals programmes such as ‘Alumbwe leza’ (lets praise the Lord) presented by Omphile Marupi in Sotho, Venda, Kalanga, Tonga, Shangani, Ndebele and Shona and sometimes Lucy Ngosolo in Nambya and Tonga...however these are mere musical programmes.

Interviewee 15 also argued that the ZBC does not have a clear cut language policy on programming nor does it have resources and personnel to broadcast in programmes which are inclusive of all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe. This is an acknowledgement of the impact of the political economy of broadcasting on the language choices and practices on radio and television stations. Interviewee 15 also noted that most producers and presenters on the ZBC radio and television stations seem to be more comfortable with Shona and Ndebele than the minority languages, which makes it difficult to direct/produce a programme in a language you do not speak. This confirms Ndhlovu’s 2009 argument that Shona and Ndebele languages are the killer languages in Zimbabwe. Interviewee 15 also pointed out that though

attempts have been made by the ZBC to broadcast in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe, some of the places Zimbabwe such as Beitbridge and Gokwe do not have ZBC radio and television signal. Interviewee 15 recommended that more ZBC television broadcasting space must be given to the indigenous African languages in Zimbabwe. This view is not mindful of the fact that broadcasting is not a philanthropic exercise, but in actual fact it is business. The influence of the media economics on the language choices and practices is discussed in the next chapter.

5.4.2 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS FROM THE GROUP INTERVIEWS (FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS) WITH THE ZBC AUDIENCE

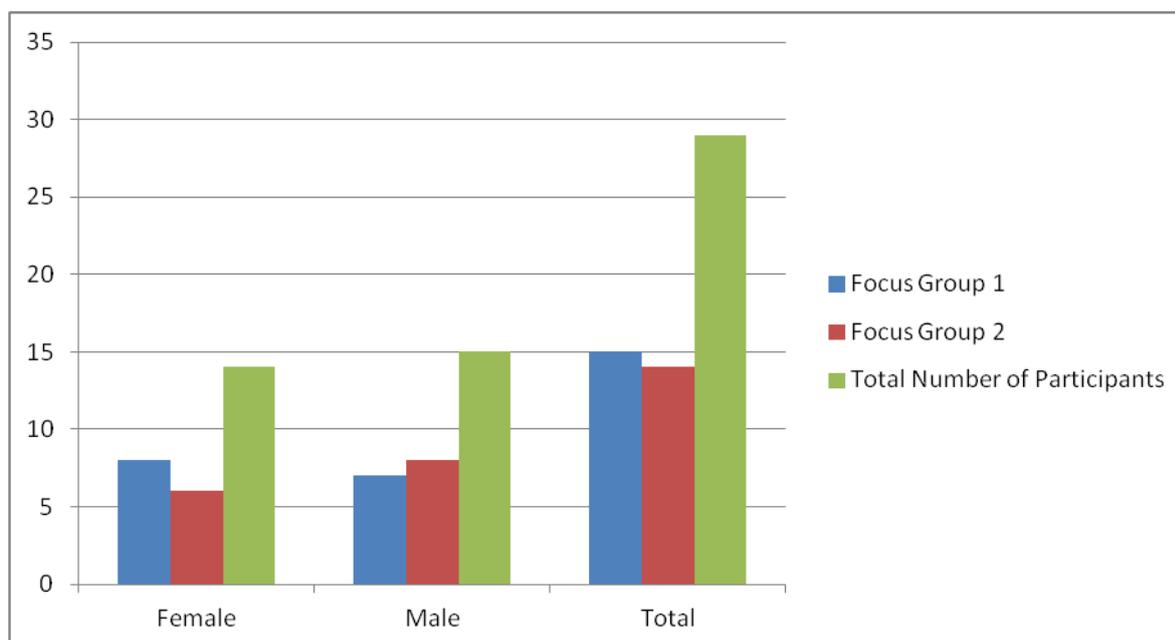
To augment the findings gathered from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers collected using questionnaires as presented in subsection 5.3.1 of this chapter, this subsection presents and analyses the findings gathered from the ZBC listeners and television viewers using group interviews (also referred to as focus group discussions). For the purposes of this study, the researcher conducted two group interviews with the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers which comprised of people from varied linguistic, ethnic and geographical backgrounds in Zimbabwe. These focus group interviews generated data through purposeful use of interaction, something which distinguishes them from other forms of interviews (Merton et al, 1990). In this subsection, the researcher starts off with presenting the broad views and the actual responses from the group interviews with the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the local content guidelines outlined in the *BSA* (2001) and a multilingual approach to public service broadcasting outlined in the *BSAA* (2007). A constant comparison analysis method suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1998) is employed in this subsection. Using this method, the researcher developed dominant themes (broad views) that emerged from the responses of the participants in the two focus group discussions. This is augmented by conversation analysis which is a qualitative data analysis technique that offers much potential for analyzing focus group data (Onwuegbuzie et al, 2009) over and above discourse analysis and content analysis. The total number of the participants in the two focus group discussions is twenty-nine.

Table 5:19 Distribution of the focus group discussion participants by gender (N=29)

Group	Female	Male	Total
Focus Group 1	8	7	15
Focus Group 2	6	8	14
Total Number of Participants	14	15	29

The information presented in Table 5.19 above is graphically presented in the bar chart in Figure 5.8 below.

Figure 5:8 Bar chart showing the distribution of the focus group participants by gender (N=29)



The biographical information about the gender of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers who participated in the focus group discussion demonstrates that in the two focus group discussions, 52% of the respondents were males and 48% of the respondents were females. The difference in the number of female and male participation in this population sample is quite marginal such that it can be argued that there is fair representation of female

and male participants in the focus group discussions that were conducted with the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers.

For the purposes of identifying the place of origin and the first languages of the respondents in the focus group discussions, the researcher tagged the focus groups into FG1 (for the first focus group discussion) and FG2 (for the second focus group discussion). The individual participants are named by letters A to O for FG1 and A-N for FG2. This shows that, in this subsection there is a reasonable proportional representation of the different Zimbabwean linguistic communities in focus group discussions. This explanation is summarised in Table 5.20 below.

Table 5.20: Shows the focus group number, number of participants, the participants and their place of origin, and first language spoken (N=29)

Focus Group No.	No. of Participants	Participant, Place of Origin & 1st Languages Spoken FG1 (A-N), FG2 (A-M)
FG1	15	A (Zaka- Shona), B (Chivi- Shona), C (Bikita- Shona), D (Nyajena- Shona), E (Zvishavane- Shona), F (Hwedza- Shona), G (Buhera- Shona), H (Filabusi- Venda), I (Kezi- Ndebele), J (Lower Gweru- Ndebele), K (Gwanda- Venda), L (Plumtree- Kalanga), M (Plumtree- Kalanga), N (Esgodini- Ndebele), and O (Harare-Shona)
FG2	14	A (Chipinge- Ndau), B (Harare- Shona), C (Harare- Shona), D (Gwanda- Ndebele), E (Nyanga- Shona), F (Mutoko- Shona), G (Beitbridge- Venda), H (Beitbridge- Venda), I (Binga- Tonga), J (Hwange- Nambya), K (Hwange- Nambya), L (Chiredzi- Shangani), M (Maphisa- Sotho), and N (Lower Gweru-Ndebele)

Question 1: What is your comment on the treatment of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions specified in the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)*?

This question intended to find out the general reaction of the respondents on the treatment of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming following the enactment and implementation of the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)*. This question provides information on the respondents’ perceptions on the ZBC’s response to language utilisation in its local content broadcasting. Table 5.21 below shows the broad views and the actual responses from the focus group discussions on Question 1.

Table 5.21 Broad views and actual responses from the group interviews on the treatment of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television local content broadcasting

Broad View 1	The 75% local content broadcasting conditions specified in the <i>Broadcasting Services Act (2001)</i> is a noble idea; however, as the policy translated into programming, it did not significantly contribute much to the development of local languages.
Actual Responses from Group 1 and 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local content must be broadcast in indigenous African languages. (Group 1) • There are notable attempts to incorporate African languages into the ZBC local content broadcasting as shown by the introduction of more programmes in local languages on television and radio; however English still have more programmes in the ZBC broadcasting. (Group 2) • The language use on the ZBC radio and television before and after the <i>BSA (2001)</i> is the same as reflected by the languages used on radio and television. (Group 1) • The ZBC local content broadcasting promoted local talent in popularising the urban grooves genre in indigenous African languages. (Group 1 and 2) • The ZBC local content programming in indigenous African

	languages is too mediocre and sub-standard as compared to content in English. (Group 1)
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5.4.2.1 Presentation and analysis of findings on the group interviews on the treatment of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television local content broadcasting

Table 5.21 shows that the overall view from the two focus group discussions is that, the seventy-five percent local content broadcasting conditions specified in the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)* is a noble idea. However, the general observation by the two groups is that as the local content broadcasting policy translated into programming, it did not significantly contribute much to the development of the indigenous African languages. The group respondents gave this argument because they consider language to be an important consideration to broadcasting local content. Group 1 respondents strongly agreed that local content must be broadcast in indigenous African languages. Group 2 respondents observed that there are notable attempts to incorporate African languages into the ZBC local content broadcasting as shown by the introduction of more programmes in local languages on television and radio; however English still has more programmes in the ZBC broadcasting. Group 1 extended this view when it observed that the language use on the ZBC radio and television before and after the *BSA (2001)* is the same as reflected by the languages used on radio and television. Group 1 argued that, though there are attempts to use indigenous African languages in the ZBC local broadcasting, the programmes are too mediocre and sub-standard as compared to content in English. These opinions imply that content in local languages is poorly produced and is limited resulting in the repetition of programmes. There is also an indication that content in English is the benchmark of quality and is more interesting. This demonstrates how English hegemony is entrenched in the Zimbabwean society. The poor quality of content in the local languages can also be a reflection of lack of financial resources to finance the production of local programmes in local languages. The position and role of English in local content broadcasting is fully discussed in Section 6.6 in the next chapter.

One example which was given by both groups is that the ZBC local content broadcasting promoted local talent in popularising the urban grooves genre in indigenous African languages. This view implies that, the promotion of the local languages on the ZBC radio and television was more realised in music. However, these participants did not consider the

number of the local languages that are promoted through the music that is played on ZBC TV and radio stations. More so, music is not the only component of broadcasting; instead there is also need to consider how the use of local languages is promoted through other important programmes such as news, documentaries and sport among others.

Question 2: How equitable is the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the local content broadcasting specified in the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)* and multilingual broadcasting in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act (2007)*?

Question 3: Illustrate the answer you gave in question 2 by giving examples from the ZBC radio and television stations.

Question 2 was intended to find out the perceptions of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers in focus group discussions on the equity of the spatial distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations after the crafting and implementation of the local content broadcasting and multilingual broadcasting policies evident in the *BSA (2001)* and the *BSAA (2007)* respectively. This allowed the researcher to assess the fairness in the treatment of the different languages spoken in Zimbabwe. Question 3 allowed the respondents in the group interviews to use examples from the ZBC radio and televisions and their programmes to support their observations on the equitability of the distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on ZBC radio and television stations. The broad views and actual responses from the two groups on the distribution of languages on ZBC radio and television stations are shown in Table 5.22 below.

Table 5.22: Broad views and actual responses from group interviews on the equity of the spatial distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations

Broad View 1	English is dominant on the ZBC radio and television. Content in English cannot be considered as local content.
Actual Responses from Group 1 and 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English is the dominant language on the ZBC radio (Group 1 and 2) • English is the dominant language on <i>ZBC TV</i> as reflected by the time allocated to it and the types of programmes which are done in English. (Group 1 and 2)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content in English is not local content. (Group 2)
Broad Views 2	Shona and Ndebele are the dominant local languages on the ZBC broadcasting.
Actual Responses from Group 1 and 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shona and Ndebele are the only local languages which are used on ZBC television and the local languages which have been traditionally referred to as minority or marginalised are not catered for in the ZTV. (Group 1 and 2) • Shona and Ndebele have got a dedicated channel which is <i>Radio Zimbabwe</i> while other local languages, are bunched in one radio station, <i>National FM</i>. <i>National FM</i> does not provide enough broadcasting space for the marginalised Zimbabwean languages. (Group 1 and 2) • The local content in the ZBC broadcasting did not contribute much to the development of all the other indigenous languages, serve for Shona and Ndebele. (Group 1) • The dominance of Shona and Ndebele on the ZBC radio and television further marginalises the minority languages. (Group 1) • On <i>ZBC TV</i>, the marginalised languages only feature on musical programmes such as ‘Afrobeat’. (Group 2).

5.4.2.2 Presentation and analysis of findings from group interviews on the equity of the spatial distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations

All the views that came out of the two focus group discussions described the language distribution on the ZBC radio and television stations as not equitable. In a nutshell, the two groups observed that the ZBC radio and television stations are primarily dominated by three languages which are English, Shona and Ndebele. However, it was noted during the discussions that these three dominant languages do have varied degrees of supremacy in the ZBC broadcasting stations. In this regard, the first broad view is that, the ZBC radio and

television local content programming is marked by English hegemony. Group 1 and 2 concurred that English is the dominant language on the ZBC radio and television as reflected by the time allocated to the language and the types of programmes which are done in English. Group 2 strongly argued that broadcasting content in English is not local. However, the dominance of English in the ZBC and its position in defining the locality and national identity of Zimbabwe requires an explanation which considers the colonial history of Zimbabwe. In that regard, Zimbabwe as part of the world system; and the impact of media economics on the choice of the language of broadcasting.

While English was identified as the most dominant language in the ZBC, Shona and Ndebele were also identified by both groups as the most dominant amongst the Zimbabwean local languages. According to Group 1 and 2, this is demonstrated by the fact that Shona and Ndebele are the only local languages which are used on the *ZBC-TV*. To augment this point, the two groups also observed that Shona and Ndebele have got a dedicated radio channel, which is *Radio Zimbabwe* while other local languages, are bunched in one radio station, *National FM*, a broadcasting space which is not sufficient for the many marginalised Zimbabwean languages. Therefore, as Group 1 put it, the local content in the ZBC broadcasting did not contribute much to the development of all the other indigenous languages, except for Shona and Ndebele. In the same vein, Group 2 argued that Shona and Ndebele have led to the further marginalisation of other languages, a view which matches Ndhlovu's (2009) argument. On the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in broadcasting, there is also need to consider the refeudalisation of the ZBC as the public sphere by historical, political and economic interests is discussed in the next chapter.

Question 4: (a): Do you think a multilingual approach to public service broadcasting is the rightful solution to the representation of the multilingual character of Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television station?

Question 4 (b): Give reasons for your answer.

Question 4(a) was intended to ascertain the perceptions of the respondents in the two focus group discussion on the relevance of the ZBC multilingual broadcasting in the Zimbabwean nation which is apparent in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2001). These observations were then supported by the examples from the ZBC radio and television that

were provided as answers to Question 4(b). Table 5.23 below shows the group responses on the usefulness of multilingual broadcasting on the ZBC radio and television.

Table 5.23: Broad and actual responses from the group interviews on the significance of the ZBC multilingual broadcasting in the representation of the multilingual character of the Zimbabwean nation

Broad View 1	ZBC multilingual broadcasting is problematic in the construction and maintenance of Zimbabwean nationalism.
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Including all languages in broadcasting is not practical; a multilingual approach to broadcasting brings more confusion in broadcasting (Group 1) • The people of Zimbabwe are now used to English broadcasting. (Group 2) • The ZBC does not have the necessary resources to finance multilingual broadcasting. (Group 1)
Broad View 2	The ZBC failed to produce high quality programming in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe.
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ZBC's definition of 'all languages' mean Shona, Ndebele and English (Group 1) • Languages do not occupy the same position on the ZBC radio and television; other languages are dominating while others are being marginalised or excluded on radio and television broadcasting stations. (Group 1). • The ZBC radio and television stations are not accessible in other places in Zimbabwe such as Plumtree, Beitbridge and Hwange (Group 2) • Some of the presenters who allege to speak the minority languages such as Nambya are not competent in the languages, as a result they often shift to Shona or Ndebele in their presentations (Group 2) • The programmes covering the marginalised languages are poorly

	done, for example the poor sound quality on the ZBC-TV Tonga documentary which was broadcasted in May 2013 (Group 1).
Broad View 3	The dominance of Shona and Ndebele in ZBC broadcasting is justified because the speakers of the minority languages are conversant in either of these two languages.
Actual responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some of those people who claim to be speakers of the minority languages such as the Venda cannot fluently speak these languages. (Group 1). • The speakers of the marginalised languages fear stigmatisation; as a result they shift their identities to either Shona or Ndebele (Group 2)

5.4.2.3 Presentation and analysis of findings from group interviews on the significance of the ZBC multilingual broadcasting in the representation of the multilingual character of the Zimbabwe

The responses that came from the focus group discussions reflect that both groups argued that, the ZBC multilingual broadcasting is not the triumph card for nation building in Zimbabwe. This is demonstrated by the fact that, after the promulgation of a multilingual paradigm in public service broadcasting as reflected in the *BSAA* (2007), the ZBC failed to equitably produce programmes in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe. The argument is that, a multilingual approach to broadcasting in the ZBC is not good for nation building in Zimbabwe. On this point, one of the respondents in Group 1 categorically said “...the ZBC’s definition of ‘all languages’ covers only Shona, Ndebele and English”. This means that the ZBC has failed to fully implement the policy of multilingualism on its radio and television stations. Instead, the three most dominant languages enjoy a wide coverage at the expense of the minority languages in Zimbabwe. These respondents seem to blame the ZBC for failing to implement the policy of multilingual broadcasting. They seem not to consider the economic or political imperatives which impact on the languages choices in the ZBC. These and other factors are discussed in the next chapter.

Even if the ZBC would be broadcasting in all the languages, Group 1 observed that other linguistic communities residing in places such as Hwange, Beitbridge and Plumtree do not have access to the ZBC signal. Ultimately, these people “...rely on BTV and SABC stations ... ultimately they tend to identify themselves more with Botswana and South Africa than

they do to Zimbabwe”. Furthermore, Group 1 also noted that the programmes covering the minority languages are at times poorly done, for example, a Tonga documentary which was broadcasted on the ZBC TV in May 2013; it was badly done as shown by poor sound quality. These sentiments indicate that the ZBC is incapacitated to expand its operations so as to accommodate the many languages in Zimbabwe as demonstrated by its failure to upgrade its transmission to be accessed in all parts of Zimbabwe with the existing limited broadcasting space. This is acknowledgement of the ZBC’s limited resources to finance a multilingual project in its broadcasting.

While the responses in the questionnaires and personal interviews found fault in the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC, Group 1 did not see any problem with the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC for the reason that the speakers of the smaller languages are conversant in either of these two languages. Group 2 argued that the speakers of the marginalised languages in Zimbabwe have been co-opted into either Shona or Ndebele ethnic identities. According to Group 2 there are also some cases where speakers of the marginalised languages hide their ethnic identities for fear stigmatisation; as a result they conveniently shift to Shona or Ndebele identities. All these observations further demonstrate the entrenched Shona and Ndebele hegemony in the Zimbabwean society at the expense of the other local languages, an argument that is held by Ndhlovu (2009).

Question 5: In view of the local content broadcasting requirements in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the idea of using all languages in public service broadcasting specified in the BSSA (2007), how do the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations represent the nation of Zimbabwe?

Question 6: Give reasons to support observations made in question 5.

Question 5 was intended to gather the responses from the ZBC audience on the ZBC’s language choices and practices in the context of the BSA (2001) and the BSAA (2007) and how they impact on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation. Question 6, allowed the respondents to support the observations made in Question 5 with practical examples from the ZBC radio and television stations. Table 5.24 below shows the broad views and the actual responses from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations.

Table 5.24: Broad views and actual responses from group interviews on the construction and representation of the Zimbabwean nation on the ZBC radio and television by language use

Broad View 1	The dominance of English in the ZBC local content programming is good for nation- building.
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The dominance of English in the ZBC local content programming is good for nation-building since it a neutral language. (Group 1 and 2) • Emphasis on broadcasting in indigenous African languages separates the Zimbabwean more than uniting them (Group 1). • English is ‘a necessary evil’; let it dominate in ZBC broadcasting since it plays the intermediary role (Group 2).
Broad View 2	Language choices and usage on the ZBC radio and television do not project Zimbabwe as a multilingual nation.
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zimbabwe is presented as a Shona and Ndebele speaking country as demonstrated by the prominence that is given to these languages on ZBC radio and television. (Groups 1 and 2). • English is the most important language in Zimbabwe because <i>Spot FM</i> and <i>Power FM</i> which make use of English are associated with the educated people in the society. (Group 2). • The Shona speakers are projected as being more Zimbabwean than other local language speakers as demonstrated in the ZBC broadcasting (Group 1). • There are many programmes in Shona with no corresponding programmes in other local languages (Group 1). • It is common knowledge that Shona news always comes first, followed by Ndebele news (Group 2). • “Why a programme like ‘Zvavanhu’ (of the people) which appears to be a programme aimed at nation-building always

	have people of Shona orientation...why not Pathisa Nyati or a Ndou...so that all the languages are represented?" (Group 2).
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5.4.2.4 Presentation and analysis of findings from group interviews on the construction and representation of the Zimbabwean nation on the ZBC radio and television by language use

Table 5.24 shows that the two focus groups considered the dominance of English in the ZBC local content programming to be good for nation-building since it a neutral language. Both groups saw the emphasis of broadcasting in indigenous African languages as dividing the Zimbabwean represented on ZBC radio more than uniting them. This line of thinking suggests that English is a neutral language in broadcasting which caters for every Zimbabwean. Therefore, these respondents consider the unity of the Zimbabweans in a common language which is English. This is an indication that the respondents have consensually accepted English hegemony to the point that they fail to consider the fact that; though the Zimbabwean population is regarded to be highly literate, the mastery and appreciation of English is not homogenous across the country. To substantiate this argument, Group 2 observed that *Spot FM* and *Power FM* which are predominantly English stations are always associated with the affluent and the educated. The role of English broadcasting vis a vis broadcasting in indigenous African languages in nation building is discussed in the next chapter.

On the other hand, both groups also described the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television as not reflecting Zimbabwe as a multilingual nation. According to groups I and 2, Zimbabwe is presented as a Shona and Ndebele speaking country as demonstrated by the prominence that is given to these languages on ZBC radio and television. In the same view, Group 2 observed that English is the most important in Zimbabwe considering that *Spot FM* and *Power FM* which broadcast in English are associated with the learned people in the society. The views from the group interviews presented in this paragraph reflect that the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television demonstrate the dominance of English, Shona and Ndebele languages. However, the dominance of these languages is hierarchical where English is the overall dominant language while Shona and Ndebele are the dominant local languages with Ndebele playing second fiddle to Shona. It is important in this study to consider the factors which contribute to the dominance of English in the ZBC.

Chapter 6 of this study discusses the impact of the political economy of the ZBC and media economics on the language choices in the ZBC broadcasting.

Question 7: What language choices and practices do you recommend on ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming?

Question 8: In view of the recommendations which you gave in Question 7, how do you think that can be achieved?

Question 7 was intended to get recommendations from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers to the ZBC on its language choices and practices in view of the local content broadcasting conditions specified in the *BSA* (2001) and the idea of broadcasting in all languages spoken in Zimbabwe specified in the *BSAA* (2007). Question 8 was aimed at getting the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers' suggestions on how the recommendations they would have made in Question 7 can be achieved. Table 5.25 shows the general recommendations that were given by the respondents and the plans of action suggested in accomplishing these recommendations.

Table 5.25: Recommendations on the management of multilingualism in the ZBC towards constructing an inclusive Zimbabwean nation

Broad Views	The ZBC should make sure that all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe are justifiably used on radio and television so as to reflect the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe.
Actual Responses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ZBC should decentralise its operations to other regions in the country; that is moving stations and programming from Harare and Bulawayo. (Group 2). • There is need to work on the ZBC signal in the places where it is not available, that is in Hwange, Plumtree and Beitbridge to reach the minority language speakers. (Group 2) • The Zimbabwean government should open up the airwaves to the foreign investors for them to set up radio and television stations in various parts of Zimbabwe on condition that they broadcast in the marginalised languages. (Group 1).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The recruitment of ZBC personnel should consider the first language speakers of the minority languages, not people with rudimentary knowledge of these languages. (Group 2)
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5.4.2.5 Presentation and analysis of findings from group interviews on the recommendations on the management of multilingualism in the ZBC towards constructing an inclusive Zimbabwean nation

The respondents in focus groups 1 and 2 made their own recommendations on the management of multilingualism and localisation of content on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the construction and representation of a multilingual and inclusive Zimbabwean nation. Groups 1 and 2 respondents unanimously recommended that the ZBC should ensure that all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe must be equitably used on radio and television so as to reflect the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe. In this regard, Group 2 suggested that the ZBC should decentralise its operations to the other provinces in Zimbabwe. This implies the moving of other broadcasting stations and programming from Harare and Bulawayo to the other provinces in the country. This suggestion seem to be based on the assumption that the dominance, marginalisation and exclusion of other languages in the ZBC is a reflection of the fact that ZBC studios and operations are basically located in Harare and to some extent Bulawayo. Therefore, decentralisation of the ZBC operations to the other provinces is seen as a panacea to the problem of Shona and Ndebele dominance. Subsumed in this argument is the fact that choosing a place is tantamount to choosing a people; therefore decentralisation of the ZBC's operations to the various geographical regions is presumed to allow the decentralised broadcasting stations to adopt the linguistic culture of their new locations. Ultimately, this will enhance the chances of including all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting. However, there is need to consider ZBC's capacity to expand its operations to the various regions considering its limited revenue. More so, this decentralisation of the ZBC operations to various geographical regions in Zimbabwe may not be the solution to English hegemony in the ZBC.

Group 2 also suggested that the ZBC signal be improved for it to be accessed in places like Hwange, Plumtree and Beitbridge where Nambya, Venda and Venda are spoken respectively. However, this respondent did not consider the availability of financial resources to bankroll

that project as well as the preparedness of the Zimbabwean government to implement such a project considering the ideological and political nature of the media (Althusser, 1971). In the same light, Group 1 suggested that the Zimbabwean government should open up the airwaves to the foreign investors for them to set up radio and television stations in various parts of Zimbabwe on condition that they broadcast in minority languages. However, this may be a pipedream considering the political economy of broadcasting in Zimbabwe. Group 2 which had Tonga and Nambya speakers also suggested that the recruitment of ZBC should consider the native speakers of the minority languages, not people with rudimentary knowledge of these languages. This is a demonstration of the hegemony of Shona and Ndebele in the Zimbabwean society at the expense of the other local languages, an argument that has been raised by Ndhlovu (2009). On the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in broadcasting, there is also need to consider the refeudalisation of the ZBC as the public sphere by political and economic interests as discussed in the next chapter.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented and analysed the research findings from the questionnaires, personal interviews and focus group discussions. Varied views of the research participants were analysed and presented in the framework of the research objectives and the theoretical underpinnings of this study. It was noted that a greater percentage of the respondents argued that the language issue was not given the prominence it deserves as the local content broadcasting conditions in the *BSA* (2001) translated into programming on the ZBC radio and television. For that reason, it was broadly argued by the respondents that the languages spoken in Zimbabwe are not equitably utilised on the ZBC radio and television stations and following the crafting and implementation local content broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001). According to the respondents, this did not change with the implementation of a multilingual approach to broadcasting which is specified in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007). It was unanimously agreed by the respondents that the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and programming do not construct, maintain and represent the multilingual character of the Zimbabwean nation. This is because of the observed linguistic hegemony, marginalisation and exclusion on the ZBC broadcasting. Therefore, a number of recommendations were made to the ZBC and the government by the respondents on the broadcasting language choices and practices so as to construct, maintain and represent an inclusive multilingual Zimbabwean

nation. This researcher argues that the respondents tended to decry the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television without considering other factors such as the effects of colonialism, the ideological and political nature of the media, the impact of technology and globalisation; and how the political and economic imperatives impact on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television and ultimately on the construction and representation of the Zimbabwean multilingual nation. Therefore, in the next chapter, the researcher discusses the research findings in Chapter 5 in relation to the critical theory outlined in Chapter 3 and the existing literature so as to critically interrogate the construction, maintenance and representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the researcher presented, interpreted and analysed the data collected using the research methods spelt out in Chapter 4. This is the penultimate chapter of the study, which discusses the research findings in relation to the critical theory outlined in Chapter 3 and the existing literature in the disciplines of language, media and nationalism. The findings of this research are discussed in the context of the central research question of this study, which is centred on the fairness of the spatial distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations, and how that impact on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation in the context of the local content broadcasting regulation subsumed in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the multilingual public service broadcasting apparent in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007). Therefore, the discussion in this chapter is pursued by examining the respondents' perceptions on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and how that impact on the representation of the multilingual Zimbabwean nation and locality. The discussion in this chapter is organised by way of research themes emerging from the research questions.

6.2 THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN THE ZBC BROADCASTING AFTER THE ENACTMENT OF THE *BROADCASTING SERVICES ACT* (2001)

This section discusses the handling of the language question on the ZBC radio and television stations after the enactment and implementation of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001), a Zimbabwean piece of legislation which is well known for its high local content requirements in broadcasting. The research findings discussed in this section are based on the responses to Question 4 in the questionnaire and Question 1 in the personal and group interviews with the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers. The question was, "What is your comment on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions specified in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001)?" This question was aimed at establishing the general feelings of the ZBC audience on the treatment of the language issue in the ZBC broadcasting following the enactment and implementation of the seventy-five percent local content broadcasting policy. This question

provided the researcher with the data on the respondents' observations and perceptions on the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation's reaction to language utilisation in its local content broadcasting after the implementation of the *BSA* (2001) which has an "excessive high local content quotas for all broadcasters" (Moyo, 2005). This researcher deems it necessary to consider the language choices and practices in the ZBC local content broadcasting for the reason that language is part and parcel of localisation (Napoli, 2001, Mda, 2010). Therefore, this researcher is particularly interested in the position and status of the indigenous African languages on the ZBC radio and television stations as the local content broadcasting policy translated into programming.

The common view which emerged from the respondents concerns the inappropriate handling of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television stations as shown by the limited use of the indigenous African languages and the predominant use of the English language. This means that, the respondents considered the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting to be incongruous to the idea of the localisation of the broadcasting content. This observation was made by 72% of the questionnaire respondents and as well as the two focus group discussions. Interviewee 1 and Interviewee 4 also strongly argued that, the language issue was not prioritised in the localisation of content on the ZBC radio and television stations. While the role and place of the English language and the indigenous African languages in the localisation of the ZBC content is discussed in Section 6.3, this section is preoccupied with the issues and context which possibly outshined the language question in the ZBC local content. According to 23% of the ZBC audience, Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 4, as the local content broadcasting policy in the *BSA* (2001) translated into programming; the language issue was overshadowed by partisan and political imperatives apparent on the ZBC radio and television stations. 13% of the ZBC employees also affirmed that though there was increased number of local programmes in local languages, they were largely political and partisan in nature. This means that, as the local content broadcasting policy in the *BSA* (2001) translated into ZBC radio and television programming, the content degenerated into a political, ideological and elitist agenda. This substantiates Moyo's (2004) claim that, the local content quota in Zimbabwean broadcasting is "...unique and worrisome and is coloured by the self-interest of the ruling party whose desire was to perpetuate its stay in power." Furthermore, the ZBC local content has been deplored in a wide scholarship as government propaganda (Manhando-Makore, 2001); the appropriation of the broadcasting

space with elitist views and political propaganda (Windrich, 2010); and as meant to achieve exclusively political ends (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).

The foregoing discussion is a demonstration that the ZBC as a public sphere which is expected to broadcast in indigenous African languages to enhance people's participation (Magwa, 2008) has been transformed and shaped by the state interests (Habermas, 1989). Therefore, this study observes that, though language is a critical component of localisation (Napoli, 2001; Mda, 2010); in this case it was outshined by the national politics. Moyo (2005) illustrates that, productions by some local artists such as Leonard Zhakata and Thomas Mapfumo who were critical to the Mugabe regime have had their productions censored or rejected. Therefore, this study observes that the banning of another local content in a local language is a demonstration that the political imperatives are primary in the shaping of the ZBC as public sphere. This exposé validates Althusser's (1971) classification of the media as ideological state apparatuses. This demonstrates the ideological nature of the ZBC as an institution which possibly undermines its pursuit of other missions such as raising the status of local languages and constructing a distinguishable multilingual national identity.

However, though the local content broadcasting policy was criticised by a number of Zimbabwean scholars, it must be noted that the idea of localising broadcasting content on the ZBC was a permissible response considering the domineering tendencies and the interference of the western countries in the Zimbabwean affairs through their broadcasting networks such as the BBC and the CNN. In this regard, Phillipson demonstrates the arrogance of the USA when he quotes George W. Bush as having said "Our nation is chosen by God and commissioned by history to be the model of the world" (Phillipson, 2010: 77). This shows that, the local content broadcasting policy in Zimbabwe was a reaction to the onslaught by the western nations after fast track land reform programme (Chiumbu, 2004) and not necessarily the localisation of broadcasting content based on the Zimbabwean cultural aspects such as language. Be that as it may, the local content broadcasting policy in Zimbabwe is not the first of its kind; rather it resembles those in the United States of America, Canada and Australia (Moyo, 2006).

Considering the observation by the respondents and the arguments by the aforementioned scholars, it can be envisaged that the language choices and practices in broadcasting may have been outdone by the national and global political factors. This is confirmed by Interviewee 2 who further argued that, it is imperative to consider the context in which the

BSA (2001) was crafted. He argued that, "...this Act was crafted at a time when Zimbabwe was at the mercy of its ideological enemies from the west." According to Interviewee 4, this handling of the language issue in the localisation of content was inevitable considering that "...just like any Zimbabwean policy which came after the year 2000, the seventy-five local content broadcasting policy must be treated with suspicion because of the broader economic and political context in which it was crafted. This argument refers to the post-2000s political contestations in Zimbabwe which resulted from the formation of a strong opposition party, the MDC which challenged the long standing ZANU (PF) hegemony and the negative portrayal of the country of Zimbabwe by the western countries (Moyo, 2006 and Chiumbu, 2004).

The preceding paragraph demonstrates that though language is central to the localisation of broadcasting content, it was overshadowed by certain strategic and political interests. Thus, the ZBC has been transformed or refeudalised by the state (Habermas, 1989; Susen, 2011). Therefore, this study has demonstrated that the language choices and practices in the ZBC cannot be explained outside the national and global politics. This confirms Ives's (2004) call to move away from what he calls a Neogrammarian tradition of "viewing language as a collection of words, sounds, and phrases" which makes it difficult to answer "...important questions of how language and different languages function within society, politics and culture (Ives, 2004: 73). This researcher acknowledges that, if the mass media are chief institutions of the public sphere (Bentivegna, 2002) where access to the public sphere is guaranteed to all citizens (Habermas, 1989); the use of indigenous African languages in broadcasting is noble. However, this study argues that it is absolutely insufficient for scholars in the field of languages to simply identify and lament the marginalisation and exclusion of the African languages in broadcasting (Magwa, 2008; Ndhlovu, 2009) without critically interrogating the broader political and economic conditions which shape the language choices in the ZBC and hinder the African leadership from completely implementing policies of this nature.

Therefore, this study admits that, as the seventy-five percent local content requirements in the *BSA* (2001) translated into programming, the language question was not properly handled. This observation is confirmed by the continuance of the English hegemony and marginalisation of indigenous African languages on the ZBC radio and television stations. Be that as it may, this study subscribes to the notion that, the language of broadcasting is a

vital aspect which must have been prioritised in the ZBC local content broadcasting. For that reason, the high local content requirements in broadcasting subsumed in the *BSA* (2001) should have seen a significant increase in the utilisation of the indigenous African languages and reduced English hegemony on the ZBC radio and television stations, thereby enhancing the communicative and informative functions of public service broadcasting in Zimbabwe. However, this researcher observes that, though the use of indigenous African languages in radio and television is imperative in the localisation of broadcasting content, it is not the primary factor in the shaping of the public sphere in ZBC, but the content itself. Instead, the local content broadcasting policy in the ZBC broadcasting was first and foremost an ideological and political project which was meant to thwart the political hegemony of western countries in the context of the land reform programme. Hence, the local content broadcasting policy is a revelation of the political contestations between Zimbabwe and its western adversaries in the post-2000 period. For that reason, though the language of broadcasting is critical in the localisation of broadcasting content, this consideration was overshadowed by the national strategic and political imperatives for which the policy was crafted. Therefore, this study argues that, it is absolutely insufficient for scholars in the field of languages to simply identify and lament the marginalisation and exclusion of the African languages in the ZBC local content broadcasting without considering the political context in which the policy was crafted.

6.3 THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, INDIGENOUS AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND THE LOCALISATION OF THE ZBC BROADCASTING CONTENT

This section discusses the responses from the respondents on the place and role of language (particularly the English language and the indigenous African languages) in the localisation of the ZBC content in the context of the *BSA* (2001). The discussion is based on the responses to Question 1 and Question 4 in the personal and group interviews with the academics and the ZBC audience respectively. The question was, “What is your comment on the treatment of the language issue on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions specified in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001)?” This question provided information on the respondents’ perceptions on the ZBC’s implementation of the seventy-five local content broadcasting policy particularly on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations. Question 5 in the questionnaire for ZBC audience and Question 2 in the personal interviews was, “Do you think language is an

important consideration in local content broadcasting?” With this question, the researcher established the respondents’ opinions on the position and place of the English language and indigenous African languages in the localisation of the ZBC broadcasting content.

On this particular issue, the research findings show that there are three schools of thought on the place and role of language in the localisation of the ZBC broadcasting content. The first school of thought holds that language is an important consideration in the localisation of broadcasting content. For that reason, the respondents in this school of thought strongly argued that the localisation of the ZBC broadcasting content must be demonstrated by the increased use of indigenous African languages. In this category of respondents, broadcasting content in the English language was categorically denounced as foreign material. This came from 74% of the ZBC listeners and viewers in the questionnaire responses; the two focus group discussions; as well as Interviewees 1, 2, 4, 5 and 8. As an illustration, respondents in Group 1 strongly agreed that local content must be broadcast in indigenous African languages while Group 2 raised concern on the dominance of English language on the ZBC radio and television stations. Interviewee 1 argued that the local content on ZBC radio and television must be broadcast in indigenous languages which are understood by the local people. This validates Lee’s (2005: 5) argument that, “language is the basis for human dignity and the social relationships, knowledge and information which rest its ability to question, debate and make decisions.” This demonstrates the importance of using indigenous African languages in the public service broadcasting so as to enhance its communicative and informative functions.

More so, Interviewee 2 argued that, the ZBC local content broadcasting is “far from being local because of the dominance of the English language ...English is not a local language...” Interviewee 5 categorically said, “...*kana tichida kusimbasaradza nyaya yelocal content inofanira kuuya nemitauro yedu...*” (If we are serious about local content broadcasting, we should seriously consider the use of local languages...). These arguments espouses the views by wa Thiongo (1986); Mutasa (2006); Magwa and Mutasa (2007); Vambe (2006) who consider the indigenous African languages as having a role and functional responsibility in the African society. According to Charamba (2012), these are essentialist scholars who are informed by the Sapir-Whorf linguistic determinist theory, as shown by their celebration of indigenous languages as “the centripetal forces in post-independent Africa’s activities of development and of nation building while foreign languages are the centrifugal forces in

those activities.” (Charamba, 2012: 30). The argument by these essentialist scholars is that English is an imposed colonial language which carries colonial culture, an argument which is also held by Fanon (1967). However, this researcher holds that the continued dominance of English in the ZBC many years after independence, particularly after the enactment of the *BSA* (2001) with its high local content requirements, is a reflection that there are certain political, economic and technological forces which sustain the hegemony of English.

This researcher argues that, after advocating the inclusion of indigenous African languages in the ZBC broadcasting, scholars must try and understand the political economy of broadcasting in Zimbabwe. That is “how different methods of financing and organizing cultural production have traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations within the public domain” (Murdock and Golding, 1997: 15). In this regard, Albarran (2002: 300) argues that the media industries function in a dual-product marketplace, meaning that the media firms produce or supply information and entertainment products that are consumed or demanded by audiences and, in most cases, advertisers. What this means is that, the media are not altruistic institutions, instead they are in business and therefore they try as much as they can to strategically position their content so as to maximize potential revenues from the advertisers and audience. This arrangement has supported the dominance of English in the ZBC. In this case, the ZBC as a public sphere which must broadcast in indigenous African languages to enhance people’s participation (Magwa, 2008) has been transformed and is shaped by the market, (Habermas, 1989).

The other matter which has been missed by what Charamba calls the essentialist scholars is that, the content broadcast on the ZBC radio and television in indigenous African languages such as the urban grooves is difficult to categorise as local content considering the themes and beats in this music genre. This concern was also raised by Interviewee 1 when he argued that the “...urban grooves music in local languages is associated with foreign beats, themes and dances which are not home grown”. This can be explained in the context of Tom McPhail’s electronic colonisation theory which maintains that the “foreign produced, created or manufactured cultural products have the ability to influence, or possibly displace indigenous cultural productions...” (McPhail, 2002: 5). This is an indication that, the ZBC local content cannot be solely defined on the basis of languages used, but the focus must be on the content itself.

The second school of thought holds that language is not a pertinent issue in the localisation of broadcasting content on ZBC radio and television stations. According to these respondents, any language can be used to broadcast local content on the ZBC radio and television stations. This means that, the ZBC content broadcast in the English language can be without doubt categorised as local content. This view came from 36% of the ZBC listeners and viewers in questionnaire responses, Interviewee 6, Interviewee 7 and Interviewee 13. In fact, 12% of the questionnaire respondents strongly claimed that English is a local language. The reason why they consider English to be a local language is that it is the official language and the language of education in Zimbabwe. This is what Phillipson (1992: 6) regards as the “functional load carried by English” which makes these respondents to consider it as a local language. This school of thought resonates Achebe’s (1975, 1988) approval of English though it is in the writing of African literature. However, this study subscribes to the argument that, referring “English as a ‘universal language’ is to conceal the fact that, the use of English serves the interest of some much better than others...” (Phillipson, 2010:28). This argument implies that the appreciation of English in an African country like Zimbabwe is not uniform.

However, Interviewee 6’s endorsement of the use of English in the ZBC local content broadcasting is not a genuine call, but rather it is a demonstration of his discontentment with the nature of the ZBC content. He argued that:

...we should not worry about the languages of broadcasting at the moment but we should worry ourselves with what is celebrated on ZBC...if what is being celebrated is western, let the western language be used to capture that...it is better that way...local languages only become important in carrying the local content...

The argument demonstrates that Interviewee 6’s concern is on the content broadcast on the ZBC radio and television to the Zimbabweans and not the instrument (language) which is used in carrying the content. This means that, the language of broadcasting is not the starting point in the localisation of broadcasting content, rather the need to broadcast in indigenous African languages only becomes important in carrying what can be said to be unadulterated local content. This implies that the local content on the ZBC radio and television is problematical. The argument extends the concern raised by Moyo (2005) when he said, broadcasting institutions have been hijacked by the elites who have turned them into what Curran (2000:45) has termed “engines of indoctrination”. In this case, when the ZBC is supposed to be a public sphere which must broadcast in indigenous African languages to

enhance people's participation (Magwa, 2008), they have been transformed and shaped by the interests of the state (Habermas, 1989). Therefore, using indigenous African languages to broadcast elitist and exclusive content complicates the process of localisation. For that reason, Interviewee 6 concluded that "if what is communicated is not for the people, you rather use English to confuse them, and those whose languages are not in use in the ZBC radio or television broadcasting are privileged enough because they are not getting the nonsense..." Against this background, this study argues that, though it is imperative for scholars to be concerned with status of indigenous African languages in the ZBC broadcasting content, it is also important to consider the significance of the content to the local people.

While the foregoing discussed the two extreme perspectives on the role and place of the English language and the indigenous African languages in the localisation of broadcasting content on the ZBC radio and television; the third perspective is glocalisation. In this regard, Interviewee 7 implored the ZBC to strike what he referred to as the "middle ground between using English and local languages". Interviewee 7 insinuates that while globalisation is inevitable and cannot be evaded, the localisation of broadcasting is important. This researcher considers this view to be practically the same with what Robertson (1995) calls glocalisation. According to Bastardas-Boada (2012: 32) glocalisation denotes an inescapable circumstance where "new world relations have been forged and strengthened exponentially at increasingly broader scales in many sectors of human activity, life continues to be, unavoidably, at one and the same time eminently 'local'..." This set-up calls for the need for cultural accommodation where there is a balance between local cultural interests or needs and global culture. Appropriately, as argued by Interviewee 7, in the 'glocal world', the localisation of content in the ZBC broadcasting must be sensitive to both the global needs by accommodating the English language, and the local needs by accommodating the indigenous African languages on the radio and television stations. While this appears to be a credible argument; this seems to justify the dominant position occupied by the English language (Phillipson, 1992, 2010). This is because under glocalisation:

the languages of groups with greater political...and techno-economic power find that today they have the possibility of exercising their dominion well beyond their traditional areas of influence. By contrast, smaller demographic groups and those without a state are not so competitive in the new 'glocal' space and, moreover, are on the receiving end of the potential dis-re-

organizational impacts emanating from the larger or more powerful groups. Bastardas-Boada (2012:37).

Therefore, if “language is an important constituent of hegemony” (Ives, 2004:82) and the English language is an “essential cornerstone of the global capitalist system” (Phillipson, 1992:10), a laissez-faire approach to language use in the ZBC local content broadcasting towards balancing the local and global linguistic needs is tantamount to the legitimation of the dominance of English in the ZBC. This further validates this researchers’ argument that the language choices and practices in the ZBC local content broadcasting cannot be explained outside the national and world political economy since the modern nation state exists within a broad economic and political structure which Wallerstein (2000) calls a “world system.”

Question 1 in the questionnaire for the ZBC employees was, “What are the major contributions of the local content broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) to the development of the indigenous African languages through the ZBC radio and television stations? This was also Question 2 in the personal interviews with the university lecturers and the ZBC personnel. This question provided the researcher with the information from the respondents on the observations on the contribution of the ZBC local content to the promotion and development of the indigenous African languages. That is, judging the ZBC’s commitment to the promotion of these languages in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions.

Regarding the contribution of the ZBC local content broadcasting to the development of indigenous African languages, 80% of the ZBC respondents argued that the ZBC local content broadcasting contributed meaningfully to the promotion of local languages through various programmes on radio and television. The respondents substantiated this claim by insisting that the local content broadcasting on the ZBC stations led to the birth of the urban grooves music genre in local languages and the subsequent increase in the number of programmes in local languages broadcast on the ZBC television. This view was reiterated by Interviewee 13 who argued that “... the seventy-five percent local content policy promoted the local musicians through allocating them significant air play on the ZBC broadcasting stations...” These musicians include among others, Rocky, Decibel, Stunner, Plaxedes Wenyika, Snipper, Winky D, and Jah Praiser. This confirms the arguments by Chari, (2009), Viriri et al’s (2011) and Manase (2012) that the urban grooves music genre gained prominence and acceptance after the seventy-five percent local content broadcasting policy. However, though most urban grooves songs are sung in African languages which are Shona

and Ndebele giving it a local flavour (Viriri, et al, 2011), it employs the western ideas as reflected by the dress code of the artists, their tone, dances, and their lyrics which are distinctively western (Sithwala, 2013). Viriri, et al (2011) concludes that the urban grooves lyrics promote Western culture and ideologies, although they are expressed in indigenous languages. This undermines the endeavour to foster a local culture which is unique to Zimbabwe. This demonstrates that what may be celebrated as local content in the ZBC is in actual fact reflecting the western cultural hegemony. This is substantiated by 20% of the ZBC employees who observed that the major attractions in the ZBC local content programming are either of Asian, South African or Nigerian origin and are conveyed in English. This observation validates McPhail's (2002: 5) assertion that "foreign produced, created or manufactured cultural products have the ability to influence, or possibly displace indigenous cultural productions..." He argues that the heavy domination of media messages results in a new form of colonialism which is electronic and cultural. Therefore, on the commitment to localise the content in ZBC radio and television broadcasting in a bid to construct a distinctive national identity, using the electronic colonisation theory, this researcher argues that the imported media products and satellite television makes the harmonisation of multilingualism, localism and the nation in the ZBC broadcasting a tall order. Hence, this study argues that what is referred to as local content in the ZBC broadcasting is western content which is cosmetically 'coloured' with local languages.

This section has demonstrated that there are three schools of thought on the position and place of the English language and indigenous African languages in the localisation of the ZBC broadcasting content. The first school of thought holds that the ZBC local content must be broadcast in indigenous African languages and not in English. This argument is premised on the significance of the indigenous African languages in enhancing the communicative and informative functions of the ZBC. However, this researcher holds that the continued dominance of English in the ZBC many years after independence, particularly after the enactment of the *BSA* (2001) with its seventy-five percent local content requirements, is a reflection that there are certain factors which contribute to the hegemony of English and the exclusion and marginalisation of indigenous African languages. Therefore, this researcher argues that, advocating the inclusion of indigenous African languages in the ZBC local content broadcasting must be done with sound understanding of media economics which supports the dominance of English in broadcasting. This study established that the media organisations such as the ZBC are in business and they use languages which attract

advertisers and audience so as to maximise revenue. Nevertheless, this observation does not exonerate the hegemony of English in the ZBC broadcasting since the language is not appreciated uniformly in the Zimbabwean society.

This study has also established that the language of broadcasting is not the starting point in the localisation of broadcasting content, rather the need to broadcast in indigenous African languages only becomes important in carrying what can be said to be unadulterated local content. Against this background, this study argues that, though it is imperative for scholars to be concerned with status of indigenous African languages in the ZBC broadcasting content, it is also important to consider the significance of the content to the local people and not the instrument of carrying the content. Otherwise, what is referred to as local content in the ZBC broadcasting is basically western content which has been cosmetically ‘coloured’ with the indigenous African languages. While, the argument for glocalisation has been seen as the panacea to the quagmire in choosing either indigenous African languages or English as languages of broadcasting ZBC local content; such a laissez-faire approach to language use justifies and perpetuates English hegemony and the marginalisation of indigenous African languages in the ZBC against the backdrop of media economics and political economy of the media. Therefore, the exclusion and marginalisation of indigenous African languages and the hegemony of English language in the ZBC local content broadcasting cannot be understood and explained outside the national and global political economy of the media and the media economics.

6.4 MULTILINGUAL BROADCASTING POLICY AND LANGUAGE USE IN THE ZBC

Question 3 for the interviewees was, “The Seventh Schedule of the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act, 2007 Act No. 19 of 2007* outlines that, the broadcasting service operated by a public broadcaster shall make programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe; reflect both the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe; and strive to be of high quality in all the languages served. In view of this excerpt, do you consider a multilingual approach to broadcasting as a workable policy towards improving the status of African languages?” This question allowed the researcher to get information from the respondents on the efficacy of multilingual broadcasting subsumed in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act (2007)* as the policy translated into programming on the ZBC radio and television stations.

There are varied views on the need and practicality of multilingual broadcasting in the ZBC broadcasting. According to Interviewee 8 and 11 the idea of broadcasting in all languages the languages spoken in Zimbabwe, is noble and ideal, but difficult to implement or to achieve. The reason given by this interviewee is that the African nation-states were not created following ethnic boundaries, such that the African states are characterised by the multiplicity of languages. This demonstrates that this interviewee considers multilingualism as a challenge in broadcasting. This argument concurs with Slabbert et al (2007: 339), who outlines the challenges which confronts the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) as it strives to equitably broadcast programmes in all the eleven official languages. According to Slabbert et al (2007), the first challenge is the constitutional mandate to cater for the eleven official languages in an even-handed way. The second challenge deals with the limited broadcast time available to fit in all programmes in all eleven official languages. The same can be said about the ZBC, where it is obliged as a public service broadcaster as stipulated in the *BSAA* (2007) to broadcast in all languages spoken in Zimbabwe so as to reflect the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe. However, the ZBC does not have enough broadcasting space to equitably cover all the languages in its broadcasting. This interviewee and Slabbert (2007) seem to be reading from the political economy perspective. According to Murdock and Golding (1997: 15) the critical political economy of communication “sets out to show how different methods of financing and organizing cultural production have traceable consequences for the range of...representations within the public domain and for the audiences’ access to them”. Therefore, this researcher argues that multilingual broadcasting in the ZBC is a project which requires meaningful funding and organisation so as to expand the broadcasting space to accommodate all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe.

Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 5 condemned the provisions on language utilisation in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) for being vague and lacking clarity. The statement in question reads: “...the public broadcaster should make programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe” (*BSAA*, 2007). According to Interviewee 2 the *BSAA* (2007) lacks specificity on what the Act considers to be “languages spoken in Zimbabwe.” He also notes the vagueness of the phrase “languages commonly used in Zimbabwe”. Interviewee 2 argued that, “... though it seems that English, Shona and Ndebele are languages which are commonly used in Zimbabwe; a language like Tonga is also commonly used in Binga.” This demonstrates the imprecision of the word ‘commonly’. Interviewee 5, argued that ‘all’ and ‘commonly’ must have been qualified by

specifying the languages. This confirms the observation that the Canadian Broadcasting Policy (Boardman and Vining, 1996:49) and the South African Constitution (Slabbert, 2007) precisely outline the languages to be used in broadcasting in the two respective countries. Otherwise that lack of clarity leaves room for the manipulation of the policy in favour of the dominant languages. This is what Badejo (1989: 52) calls the *laissez-faire* attitude which is typical of most African governments which they must change “if Africa is to liberate itself from cultural imperialism and shape its own destiny” (Bokamba and Tlou, 1977: 49).

Interviews 1, 3, 5 and 14 categorically argued that the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *BSAA* (2007) was poorly implemented by the ZBC. This is because of the observable stratification of languages in the ZBC broadcasting which is typified by English, Shona, Ndebele and other languages. More so, it is worth noting that quality programming was not achieved in all the languages; as well as the lack of equity in the distribution of languages on radio and television stations and programming. Apparent in arguments by the interviewees is that, on the ZBC radio and television, English, Shona and Ndebele are dominant. There is no fair treatment of the languages from different linguistic communities in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations and programming implying that the ZBC failed to reflect the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe. Interviewee 5 observed that the crafting of broadcasting policies in Zimbabwe was not backed by meaningful implementation strategy. This concurs with Groves (1990) who argued that the success of radio and television in achieving its task depends on the particular situation facing a language which may include the availability of school instructions on the language and the availability of teachers and teaching resources. Therefore, in this study it is argued that the distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television cannot be explained without considering the political and economic factors which determine language choice in the broadcasting context.

Question 7 for the ZBC listeners and viewers was “Do you think a multilingual approach to public service broadcasting is the solution to the representation of multilingualism in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations? Give reasons for your answer.’ This question was intended to ascertain the respondents’ perceptions on the multilingual broadcasting policy apparent in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2001) and its implementation on the ZBC radio and television stations. Table 5.8 in Chapter 5, shows that, there are two schools of thought which emerged from the ZBC audience’s responses in the questionnaires and the focus group discussions. The first school of thought maintains that

multilingual broadcasting on the ZBC broadcasting stations is a reasonable approach towards the representation of the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe (held by 72% of the respondents). The respondents who supported the idea of promoting all languages on the ZBC radio and television stations extend Guyot's (2007) view that the presence of a linguistic minority in the media is a legitimate claim for the media as integral parts of everyday life in a democracy. What this means is that every individual in Zimbabwe has got a right to receive information in his/her own native language. This is a reiteration of what is in the UNESCO's (1996) *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* which emphasises the right of individuals to use their own languages both in private and in public forums, thus the language rights concept (May, 2008). Therefore, this suggests that the minority languages must be given equal space and prominence like that given to English, Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting.

However, though the idea of upholding individual linguistic rights through the ZBC public service broadcasting is noble; the availability of financial resources to sponsor multilingual broadcasting need to be considered since the media are not philanthropic institutions but are in business (Albarran, 2002). Nyamnjoh (2005) supports this when he says that, the media are more interested in profits than the promotion of diversity and plurality. This is substantiated by Table 5.14 in Chapter 5 which shows that 33% of the ZBC employees noted that the broadcasting unit does not have the necessary resources to satisfy the desire to represent all the languages equitably. This implies that the limited representation of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe could be an indication of the lack of resources to bankroll the multilingual broadcasting project. To buttress the challenges of multilingual broadcasting, 5% of the ZBC employees the ZBC regarded multilingual broadcasting as an expensive policy.

The second school of thought held by 28% of the respondents regarded the recognition of multilingualism in ZBC broadcasting as being retrogressive and divisive. According to 8% of the respondents, putting much emphasis on linguistic differences divides the people of Zimbabwe. Therefore, they recommended the use of a neutral language, the English language since it is considered to bring linguistic communities together. This concurs with Mama (2001) who regards 'broken English' as a homogenising and unifying language. Phaahla (2006) also argues that the proponents of multilingualism and those who advocate the use local languages have never suggested doing away with the international language. However, this researcher observes that the knowledge of English in Zimbabwe is not uniform. In this regard Phillipson (1992:283) asserts that English does not do what it is claimed to do; rather,

this language is used for “elite formation, and preservation of intranational and international links between elites” (Annamalai, 1986:9).

Question 4 in the questionnaire for the ZBC employees was, “To what extent does the ZBC manage to implement the multilingual broadcasting policy specified in the *BSAA* (2007)? This question was intended to get the ZBC employees’ perceptions on the implementation of multilingual broadcasting on the ZBC radio and television basing on their experiences. Table 5.14 in Chapter 5 shows that 100% of the respondents strongly defended ZBC’s efforts in implementing the multilingual broadcasting policy by arguing that the ZBC managed to represent the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe. The general argument given by these respondents is that at least there is time and space allocated to every language on both radio and television stations and programming. The respondents claimed that the available assortment of the ZBC radio stations demonstrates the linguistic diverse nature of Zimbabwe. This argument suggests that the fact that the ZBC has got different radio stations which broadcast in various languages and various programmes in different languages on the ZBC TV is a symbol of Zimbabwean multilingualism. However, Table 5.8 in Chapter 5 shows that 44% of the ZBC audience observed that English is the most dominant language on the ZBC radio and television broadcasting stations, while 35% observed Shona and Ndebele hegemony, a discovery which is supported by Magwa (2008) and Ndhlovu (2009) respectively. Whereas English seem to be functioning as a universal language, it must be noted that “the idea of a universal language, created outside a people’s daily lives is bound to neglect and pass over their experiences” (Ives, 2004:59).

This study maintains that the multilingual broadcasting policy subsumed in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) is a noble guiding principle to language utilisation in the ZBC public service broadcasting for the reason that the presence of a linguistic minority in the media is a legitimate claim for the media as integral parts of everyday life in a democracy. The utilisation of all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting would allow the public broadcaster to reflect the multilingual and multicultural character of Zimbabwe. The multilingual broadcasting policy would also enable the ZBC to uphold the individual linguistic rights of the Zimbabwean citizens. However, though the multilingual broadcasting policy is noble and ideal, it is difficult to implement and to achieve in the context of competing indigenous African languages and the English language. This is because of the observable stratification of languages in the ZBC broadcasting which is

typified by the hegemony of some languages at the expense of the other languages. Though the idea of upholding individual linguistic rights through the ZBC public service broadcasting is noble; the availability of financial resources to sponsor multilingual broadcasting need to be considered since the media are not philanthropic institutions but business entities. Therefore, this researcher argues that multilingual broadcasting in the ZBC broadcasting is an expensive project which requires substantial funding to expand the broadcasting space to accommodate all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe. Therefore, this study argues that the distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations cannot be explained without considering the economic factors which determine the language choices and practices in broadcasting.

6.5 LANGUAGE USE IN THE ZBC BROADCASTING, MULTILINGUALISM AND THE NATION-BUILDING

Question 8 in the questionnaire for the ZBC audience was, “In view of the local content broadcasting requirements in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the idea of using all languages in public service broadcasting specified in the *BSSA* (2007), how do the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations represent the nation of Zimbabwe?” This was also Question 5 for the group interviews and Question 7 for the personal interviews. This question was intended to gather the respondents’ judgements on the ZBC’s language choices and practices in the context of the *BSA* (2001) and the *BSAA* (2007) and how they impact on the depiction of the Zimbabwean nation. Table 5.10 in Chapter 5 shows that there are four concerns from the questionnaire responses from the ZBC audience which demonstrate the exclusive utilisation of languages in Zimbabwe on ZBC radio and television and how that impact on the representation of the nation.

The role of broadcasting in nation-building is indisputable. Interviewee 2 emphasised the centrality of broadcasting in the construction of national identities when he said “...the media regardless of their size, form or colour; they participate in national identity politics.” Therefore, in this case, the ZBC broadcasting is the platform in which the nation of Zimbabwe can be defined and imagined. This is supported by Billing (1995) who maintains that the media are central in reproducing and maintaining nationalism. Basing on the reasoning that the media carry language, they operate through language and they develop language (Tom, 2007); and language is a critical determinant of national construction (Vambe, 2006; Orman, 2008; Young, 2011) this researcher observes that media research in

Zimbabwe has excluded the question of language and nation building; while language research has emphasised language and nation-building outside the media. Therefore, in this section, the researcher discusses the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their impact on the representation of the Zimbabwean nation. Dunn and Boas (2013:1) argue that people have always been seeking the attachment of belonging to something. This ‘something’ can be manifested in land, religion, flag, an institution or something else. In this study, the researcher interrogates how the attachment of belonging by the Zimbabweans manifests in the respondents’ feelings on the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting.

Interview 3 and 11 maintain that there is no univocality in the representation of the Zimbabwean nation in the ZBC broadcasting. Interviewee 6 supported this observation when he said, “...the problem is that you are talking about a nation when Zimbabwe is not a nation...rather talk of nation building or nationalism, we are struggling to build a nation...” His view is that Zimbabwe has not yet achieved a level of nationhood. According to Interviewee 3 the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television represents “...a bastardised version of the nation...” His argument is based on the observation that other languages are predominantly used while others are marginalised and excluded on the ZBC radio and television. This confirms the problematic nature of Zimbabwean nationalism (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).

However, Interviewee 3 seems to equate linguistic nationalism to total nationalism. In this regard, Interviewee 6 argued that “in equating language to nationalism there is danger in celebrating linguistic nationalism because we are going to have many nationalisms in the country...for example Shona nationalism, Tonga nationalism...” The indication is that language can be divisive in nation building if it is given too much emphasis. According to Interviewee 6, this can be resolved by celebrating a single set of homogenous national culture and the history of the people. He said “in Africa there is no country that has achieved nationalism because of foreign intrusion which is unprecedented.” Interviewee 6 exhibits that the global forces make it difficult for postcolonial African states to forge distinguishable nations. This is a reflection of the nature of world politics, where “most of the decisions which affect the millions of people are made outside their countries, without their knowledge, much less their consent” (Muto, 1993: 156).

This study observes that media research in Zimbabwe has excluded the handling of the language choices and practices in relation to nation building in Zimbabwe; while language research in language studies has emphasised on the contribution of the indigenous African languages to nation-building without critically looking at the media in Zimbabwe in the context of the multilingual broadcasting policy in the Broadcasting Service Amendment Act (2007). This study argues that though the language of broadcasting is a critical subject in the Zimbabwean nation projected in the ZBC; the harmonisation of multilingualism and nation building in the ZBC is complicated by the fragility of Zimbabwean linguistic nationalism in the context of one public service broadcaster and the pervasive political and economic influence of the Western countries which favour the use of English in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation.

6.6 ENGLISH, SHONA, NDEBELE AND ZEZURU HEGEMONY IN THE ZBC

This section discusses the research findings from the respondents on the spatial distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations. Question 6 (a) in the questionnaire was “How equitable is the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions specified in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007)?” and Question 6 (b) was “Illustrate your answer by giving examples from the ZBC radio and television stations and programming.” These questions helped the researcher to find out the perceptions of the ZBC audience on the equity of the spatial distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations after the crafting and implementation of the *BSA* (2001) and the *BSAA* (2007). This allowed the researcher to consider the fairness of the treatment of the Zimbabwean languages in ZBC broadcasting. As discussed in the subsequent sub-sections, the ZBC typifies the diglossic situations which favour Shona, English and Ndebele in various environments at the expense of the minority languages (Moyo, 2006).

As illustrated in Table 5.8 in the preceding chapter, 100% of the ZBC audience unanimously agreed that the distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming is not logical. This interpretation is based on the observation that among the languages spoken in Zimbabwe, there are some languages which occupy more space or enjoy more prominence on ZBC radio and television stations than the others. The

same observation is made by the two focus groups; 47% of the ZBC employees, as well as Interviewee 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14 and 15. However, these respondents noticed varied levels of language dominance on the ZBC radio and television stations. This language dominance is referred to as linguistic hegemony (Suarez, 2002). As shown in the subsequent paragraphs, the first group of respondents raised concern on English hegemony over the local languages in the ZBC broadcasting; the second group of respondents was concerned with Shona and Ndebele hegemony over the other local languages; the third group noticed Shona hegemony over Ndebele; and the fourth set of respondents inevitably denounced the hegemony of the Zeruru dialect in the Shona broadcasts on ZBC radio and television.

Interviewees 12 and 13 argue that the ZBC managed to fairly and reasonably allocate all the languages broadcasting space. Interviewee 12 argues that "...the ZBC has got an equitable package catering for all languages to the satisfaction of all the citizens, either you find yourself on *Spot FM*, *National FM*, *Power FM* or *Radio Zimbabwe*." Interviewee 12 and Interviewee 13 argued that the nature and structure of ZBC radio takes into cognisance the diversity of its listeners on the basis of languages spoken. Their argument is based on the fact that the ZBC has got different broadcasting platforms that were crafted to pursue different objectives in different languages. These are *Power FM*, youth radio which broadcasts in English; *Spot FM* also an English speaking platform which is basically an adult contemporary station and is meant for deeper analysis of issues relating to nation building; *Radio Zimbabwe* which is known as "the mass heritage station" broadcasts in two main languages- Shona and Ndebele, taking into cognisance that the speakers of the other national languages are conversant in either of the two regional languages because of the territorial demarcation of Zimbabwe into Shona and Ndebele speaking; *National FM*, a national station which broadcasts in nineteen national languages including Shona and Ndebele; as well as the *Voice of Zimbabwe* which is an international platform, which broadcasts in English for the international audience. On ZBC television, these interviewees argued that television currently takes the approach of three dominant languages (English, Shona and Ndebele) assuming that whatever language that one can speak in Zimbabwe, you must be conversant with at least one of the dominant languages. Expectedly, these two interviewees who are top ZBC employees defended the spatial distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations. This is a case of linguistic hegemony which is achieved when dominant groups create a consensus by convincing others to accept their language norms and usage as standard or pragmatic (Suarez, 2002: 514). However, they ignore blatant linguistic hegemony in the ZBC radio and

television as observed by the ZBC audience, university lecturers and the other ZBC employees as discussed in the subsequent sub-sections in this section.

Magwa (2008) identified English as the most dominant language in the ZBC, a language which is also a hegemonic language in a globalising world (Wright, 2004). More so, Ndhlovu (2009) argues that Ndebele and Shona are the hegemonic languages in Zimbabwe which have contributed to the marginalisation of the minority languages. This arrangement is distinguishable and confirms what is on the ZBC radio stations where English language is used in three stations (*Power FM*, *Voice of Zimbabwe*, and *Spot FM*); Shona and Ndebele have got one allocated radio station (*Radio Zimbabwe*) while the rest of the other languages are broadcast on one radio station, *National FM* where Shona and Ndebele are also found.. This researcher calls this the stratification of linguistic hegemonies in the ZBC broadcasting. This validates Guyot's (2007) assertion that many countries are still reluctant to accommodate linguistic minorities. This is reflected by the maintenance of a strongly hierarchical organisation of languages in the ZBC. However, if the ZBC is to be a well functioning public sphere where access for minority voices is essential (Ferree et al, 2002), it is imperative to discuss the distribution of the Zimbabwean languages on the ZBC radio and television stations. This is done in the subsequent sub-sections.

This study observes that some of the ZBC employees defended the spatial distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations, thereby conveniently failing to notice the blatant linguistic hegemony in the ZBC radio and television as observed by the ZBC audience, university lecturers and the other ZBC employees. However, this study argues that the space and prominence that is given to languages on the ZBC radio and television stations reflect the political and economic power of their speakers. The same space and prominence given to languages in the ZBC broadcasting means a lot to the attachment that speakers of the languages have to the nation projected in the ZBC broadcasting. It is important therefore, to discuss the nature and factors which supports the hegemony and marginalisation of the respective languages and the Zezuru dialect on the ZBC radio and television stations.

6.6.1 ENGLISH HEGEMONY IN THE ZBC BROADCASTING

The first group of respondents raised concern on the dominance of English in the ZBC broadcasting at the expense of the indigenous African languages. Table 5.8 in Chapter 5 shows that 44% of the respondents observed that English is the most dominant language on ZBC radio and television broadcasting. The most cited illustrations of its dominance include

the fact that it has been allocated three radio stations out of the available five. According to these respondents, the dominance of English is also observable on the ZBC television. 47% of the ZBC employees also claimed that English is the dominant language on ZBC radio and television. Table 5.22 in Chapter 5 shows that Group 1 and 2 concurred that English is the dominant language on the ZBC radio and television as reflected by the time allocated to the language and the types of programmes which are done in English. This language situation was also observed by Interviewee 1. The detection of English hegemony in the Zimbabwean media is not completely new in Zimbabwean scholarship. Scholars such as Mutasa (2006) and Magwa (2008) have observed that.

However, this study discusses the political economy of broadcasting in Zimbabwe which perpetuates English hegemony on the ZBC radio and television stations. According to Phillipson (1992), English has a dominant position in science, technology, medicine and the mass media. This demonstrates that English hegemony has spread to almost all the public domains. This is supported by Crystal (2003) who argues that English to appear as a global language for the reason that it is the language of international communication, of science and technology, of religion and ideology, of trade and commerce in the world. This shows that English is connected with all the important public domains such that the ZBC has got no choice but to use it. This is validated by the claim by the President of South Korea who exclaimed that, “learn English or face being left behind” (Mutasa, 2004:121). This is what is called hegemony by consent. The other reason why English is the dominant language in broadcasting is that English has been “technicalised and professionalised” (Phillipson, 1992: 87) as the language of broadcasting.

The other reason why English is a dominant language in the ZBC is that, broadcasting in Zimbabwe is a colonial creation. This is supported by Zaffiro (2002), who argues that at independence the young nation of Zimbabwe became pseudo heirs of the outgoing Rhodesian system where there was a mere substitution for the Zs for the Rs; in this case, Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) to the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). Moyo (2004:12) calls this transformation, “change without change”. For that the reason, post-independence broadcasting is a mere reflection of the colonial broadcasting structure. Therefore, English hegemony in the ZBC is a colonial legacy just like the ZBC itself which was transformed from the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation. English is also the language of business in the ZBC since the media industries function in a dual-product marketplace (Albarran, 2002: 300), meaning that they produce or supply information and entertainment

products that are consumed or demanded by audiences and advertisers. What this means is that the media are not altruistic institutions, they are in business and therefore they try to strategically position their content so as to maximize potential revenues. More so, though the ZBC made efforts to implement the seventy-five percent local content, its local content is still influenced by the products of the dominant media firms which increasingly view themselves as global entities (McChesney (2001:3) since these global media systems also have significant cultural and political implications (McChesney, 2001: 12). More so, the ideological orientations of the global media firms support the hegemony of western countries in Zimbabwe. This is the reason why 20% of the ZBC employees observed that the major attractions in the ZBC local content programming are either of Asian, South African or Nigerian origin and are conveyed in English.

On the other hand there are other respondents who did not see anything wrong with the English hegemony in the ZBC broadcasting. In this regard Interviewees number 7, 12 and 13 observe English hegemony in the ZBC broadcasting; however, they did not see any problem with that arrangement. According to Interviewee 7, “English, even to the most patriotic people in Zimbabwe, they know that English is a very good language”. This view concurs with (Ndhlovu, 2011), who argues that although the Zimbabwean political discourse during the period 2000-2008 is epitomised by the “no to everything British but their language” scenario, nothing is said against the English language which is the language of the British they vilify. According to him, “English is an asset” and:

...using English is being pragmatic. People do not eat or leave on loyalty to certain languages... if you want to say your small language is equally important, you have to demonstrate it by allowing that language to function the way you want it, not blaming other languages.

This means that, English has been equated with progress and prosperity. Interviewee 7's argument is a clear vindication of the English hegemony in the ZBC broadcasting. In the same like manner, Interviewee 12 strongly acknowledged and accepted the dominance of English. Interviewee 12 conceitedly said:

Kana wakaverenga ukanotenga chirumbi...kana chinhu chatengwa ngachishandisiwe, hazvina zvazvinoreva kuti wapedza mari yavabereki nemakore mazhinji uchitenga ndimi wapedza kuitenga woisa musherefu...kushandiswa kwendimi yechirumbi kunobva pakuti izvo pasi rino chirumbi inyaya yekuti ndovakatanga mberi nanhasi ndoyava language of business, commerce and global interaction.

(If you are educated, it is like you purchased English. If you buy something, utilise it, it does not make sense to invest a lot of time and money in something and then you snub it...the use of English reflects that the owners of the language are pacesetters, as a result their language is now the language of business, commerce, and global interaction.)

Furthermore, Interviewee 13 vindicated the dominance of English in the ZBC for the reasons that (a) English is the language of education in Zimbabwe; (b) English is the lingua franca which brings all the speakers of different languages in Zimbabwe together; (c) English is the language of technology (d) the language of modernisation; (e) English integrates Zimbabwe into the international community and the global world; (e) ZBC television is now on the Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) and (g) "...our own languages are not well developed to be used in all the domains such as business, education and broadcasting...". Because of these reasons, Interviewee 13 categorically said English in broadcasting is good for building the nation of Zimbabwe. This confirms what Phillipson (1992:6) calls the "functional load carried by English" which makes it dominant to non-exhaustive list of public domains.

However, these interviewees fail to realise that the same English is an essential cornerstone of the global capitalist system (Phillipson, 1992: 10) since language is an important constituent of hegemony (Ives, 2004:82). This researcher observes that the interviewees' exoneration of English can be explained as a product of what Althusser (1971) calls ideological interpellation or what Gramsci calls hegemony by consent (Dobie, 2012). This is because these interviewees have willingly accepted the dominance of English and ultimately are now working as what Gramsci calls organic intellectuals (Ives, 2004) in supporting the hegemony of English in Zimbabwe. This is a reflection that, English is now dominating in the ZBC by consent of the dominated. It can be argued that, Interviewee 12 and 13 are organic intellectuals or Gramscian scholars who supports the dominance of English on ZBC radio and television as top managers who are part and parcel of the decision making process at the broadcasting institution. This validates Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2013:5) that:

...one of the strategies that have sustained the hegemony of the Euro-American-constructed world order is its ability to make African intellectuals and academics socially located in Africa and on the oppressed side to think and speak epistemically and linguistically like the Euro-American intellectuals and academics on the dominant side.

Interviewee 12 and 13 are called state actors supporting English hegemony, while interviewee 7 who works in Australia and supports English hegemony in the ZBC broadcasting is an inter-state actor. According to Preiswerk (1978) interstate actors are

individuals who operate internationally and disseminating their ideas. Otherwise the stripping of the Africans of their languages in the ZBC broadcasting is a travesty and disempowering since “a man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language” Fanon (1967: 38).

Table 5.10 in Chapter 5 shows that 83% of the ZBC audience argued that the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming symbolises Zimbabwe as an English speaking nation. The same view also came out of the two focus group discussions. The respondents reasoned that this is demonstrated by the observation that English has got three dedicated radio stations out of the available five; and also English is the dominant language on ZBC television. They also observed that most programmes of national significance such as the national budget presentation are conducted in English. The implication is that, the fact that English occupies more space in the ZBC broadcasting is a demonstration that it is a central national language. While this might appear to be a plausible argument; however, the dominance of English in Zimbabwean broadcasting may not mean that it is the national language; rather it has got different dynamics which are facilitated by factors such as the colonial history, the impact of globalisation as well as the dictates of media economics and technology. Otherwise, the predominance of English in the ZBC broadcasting have little to do with nationalistic or identification imperatives in the Zimbabwean broadcasting.

The foregoing demonstrates that English hegemony in the ZBC broadcasting is a reality. However, this study is inventively interested in the political economy of broadcasting in Zimbabwe which perpetuates English hegemony on the ZBC radio and television stations. This study established that the dominance of English on the ZBC radio and television stations is an indication of what Phillipson (1992) calls the functional load of the English language as shown by its dominance in the other public domains. The other reason why English is a dominant language in the ZBC is that, broadcasting in Zimbabwe is a colonial creation which has been made the language of technology and the language of the proficient Zimbabweans. This study suggests that English is a language of business which supports the ZBC in attracting and maintaining its clientele who are the audiences and advertisers. On the other hand, this study maintains that the dominance of English in the ZBC is profoundly influenced by the relentless hegemony of Western countries in Zimbabwe which is necessitated by the new media technologies, satellite television, and the global media firms which supply media products to the African broadcasting firms. The dominance of English in the ZBC

broadcasting is also supported by the academics and the ZBC personnel who defend the dominance of English in the public service broadcaster. This study argues that the predominance of English in the ZBC broadcasting may have little to do with nationalistic or identification imperatives in the Zimbabwean broadcasting, but is an indication of the local and global media market forces which favour the use of this language.

6.6.2 SHONA AND NDEBELE HEGEMONY IN THE ZBC BROADCASTING

The second set of respondents raised concern on the dominance of Shona and Ndebele on the ZBC radio and television at the expense of the other minority languages. As shown in Table 5.8 in Chapter 5, this was noticed by 35% of the television viewers and radio listeners; 47% of the ZBC employees; focus groups 1 and 2; This observation is in line with Ndhlovu's (2009) argument that Shona and Ndebele are the killer languages in Zimbabwe which threatens the existence of the other local languages. To validate this observation, the respondents noted that Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages which are used on ZBC television; Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages with a dedicated radio station which is *Radio Zimbabwe*; and that Shona and Ndebele are also found on *National FM*, a radio station which is dedicated for minority languages, a clear indication of the hegemonic tendencies of Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting. While the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting is said to be detrimental to the other local minority languages, it must be understood from a historical point of view where the colonial regime demarcated the then Rhodesia into the Shona and Ndebele speaking regions (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). In the post-independent Zimbabwe this has been promoted by the language policy in the *Education Act of Zimbabwe 1987* as amended in 1990 (Thondhlana, 2005; Peresu and Masuku, 2002).

Therefore, the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in broadcasting must be put in its proper historical context. The post-independent Zimbabwean government has deliberately neglected the language issue because of their elitist leadership and the fear of the unknown (Chimhundu, 1997). More so, since the media industries function in a dual-product marketplace aiming to serve the interests of both audiences and advertisers (Albarran, 2002); Shona and Ndebele have got a wide listenership which makes them vital languages for the ZBC in revenue generation. On this premise, it can be argued that the ZBC as a public sphere which must broadcast in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe (BSAA, 2007) to enhance

people's participation (Magwa, 2008) has been transformed and is shaped by the state and the market (Habermas, 1989).

While the responses in the questionnaires and personal interviews found fault in the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC, Group 1 did not see any problem with the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC for the reason that the speakers of the smaller languages are supposed to be conversant with either of these two languages. Group 2 argued that the speakers of the marginalised languages in Zimbabwe have been co-opted into either Shona or Ndebele ethnic identities. All these observations further demonstrate the entrenched Shona and Ndebele hegemony in the Zimbabwean society at the expense of the other local languages, an argument that has been raised by Ndhlovu (2009). Interviewee 9 also does not consider Shona and Ndebele use in the ZBC as a case of linguistic domination in Zimbabwean broadcasting; rather he argues that these two languages serve a convenient purpose in the context of multilingualism. In this case, Shona and Ndebele are the languages of wider communication in the ZBC broadcasting. Interviewee 9 and the respondents in the two focus group discussions see the cultural engineering of according Shona and Ndebele this role as good practice in Zimbabwe to strategically adopt a culturally engineered bigger national project. This validates the argument that the overall effect of media (radio and television in this context) tends to undermine than support minority identities in the sense that mainstream media accelerate language shift and assimilation of minority communities (Tom, 2007). This is a case of blatant linguistic dominance since language is an important constituent of hegemony (Ives, 2004). However, the quest for media in one's own language has been and continues to be an ambition shared by many minority language communities (Jones, 2007).

This study concurs with Ndhlovu (2009) on the observation that hegemonic languages are not always foreign languages. Other indigenous African languages are hegemonic and they contribute to the marginalisation of the minority languages in Zimbabwe. Similarly, this study detected the overbearing dominance of Shona and Ndebele on the ZBC radio and television at the expense of the other minority languages. This study argues that the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting must be understood from a historical point of view where the colonial regime demarcated the then Rhodesia into the Shona and Ndebele speaking regions. These languages have been promoted by the language policy in the *Education Act* of Zimbabwe 1987 as amended in 1990. From the political economy perspective, Shona and Ndebele have got a wide listenership and viewership which

make them vital languages for the ZBC in revenue generation through attracting advertisers and audiences. Therefore, the researcher argues that the ZBC as a public sphere which must broadcast in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe to enhance people's participation has been transformed and is shaped by the historical factors and the market interests thereby maintaining the hegemony of Ndebele and Shona on the ZBC radio and television stations.

6.6.3 SHONA HEGEMONY ON THE ZBC

Though, Shona and Ndebele are considered to be the dominant indigenous African languages on the ZBC radio and television stations, the third set of respondents detected the dominance of Shona on the ZBC radio and television stations at the expense of Ndebele. As shown in Table 5.8 in Chapter 5, this was noted by 15% of the ZBC listeners and viewers when they observed that Shona has got more programmes of national significance on the ZBC television and radio stations than those in Ndebele. These programmes include 'Toringepi?' (Where shall we face?), 'National Pride', 'Zvavanhu' (of the people); and 'Mai Chisamba Show' among others. To buttress the same point, 5% of the ZBC audience noted that it has become common sense that Ndebele news always comes after the Shona news. In this regard, Interviewee 2 argued that a programme of national significance such as 'Zvavanhu' (of the people) which is aimed at "... championing and creating nationalistic cadres through Shona speaking participants...Zimbabweanness and Shonanness are inseparable..." This demonstrates that the dominance of Shona over Ndebele is observable on ZBC radio and television. This view echoes Gramscian concept of hegemony and the success of one linguistic form over the other (Ives, 2004).

However, there is need to go beyond observing the schema and interrogate the factors which necessitate this linguistic arrangement which naturalises the hegemony of Shona in ZBC broadcasting. The hegemony of Shona in Zimbabwe was also observed by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) where he demonstrates the Shona supremacy and the marginalisation of Ndebele language in the Zimbabwean national project after independence. However, the problem with Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2009) analysis is that he presupposes that Zimbabwe is comprised of two languages when there are many languages (Hachipola, 1998; Magwa, 2008; Ndhlovu, 2009). However, it must be noted that this radical Ndebele politics and cultural nationalism is traced to the Ndebele/Shona uprisings in 1982 (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). Although the foregoing has demonstrated that the dominance of Shona in the ZBC broadcasting is blamed on internal politics, an economic dimension can be explored. In view of the argument that, the media

industries function in a dual-product marketplace, meaning that it is driven by the interests of both the audience and the advertisers in order to maximise revenue (Albarran, 2002), the dominance of Shona in the ZBC broadcasting is a response to the demands of the market since Shona has got far more speakers than Ndebele. Therefore, while, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) explains Shona hegemony in Zimbabwe as a political construct alone, his arguments cannot be used to explain the economic dimension to the languages choices and practices which favour Shona on the ZBC radio and television stations. This is supported by Interviewee 9's argument that "...people of Zimbabwe must know that some of the programmes which they complain about not having versions in other languages are funded and controlled externally and not by the ZBC funds."

The foregoing discussion has shown that between the two main languages in the ZBC broadcasting, Shona occupies a superior position than Ndebele. This is indicated by the fact that Shona has got more programmes of national significance on the ZBC television and radio stations than those in Ndebele. More so, programmes in Shona always come first followed by the Ndebele versions of those programmes. This is explained by the concept of hegemony where the success of one linguistic form over the other is obvious. This study does not end at observing the hegemony of Shona over Ndebele on the ZBC radio and television stations; rather it goes further to interrogate the factors which necessitate this linguistic arrangement which naturalises the hegemony of Shona over Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting. This study argues that the dominance of Shona in the ZBC broadcasting can be explained from a political economy dimension where the Ndebele speakers are outnumbered by the Shona speakers. As a result, the ZBC as part of the media industry is driven by the interests of both the audience and the advertisers in order to maximise revenue. Thus, the dominance of Shona in the ZBC broadcasting is a response to the demands of the market given that Shona has got far more speakers than Ndebele.

6.6.4 ZEZURU IN THE ZBC BROADCASTING: A CASE OF 'MARGINALISATION BY INCLUSION'

This subsection discusses the concerns of the respondents on the hegemony of the Zezuru dialect in the Shona language which is broadcast on ZBC radio and television. This concern was raised in response to Question 6 which was, "How equitable is the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions specified in the

Broadcasting Services Act (2001) and the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007)?” This was Question 4 in the interviews with the academics.

Table 5.10 in Chapter 5 shows that 5% of the questionnaire responses from the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers whose first language was Shona found problems with the ‘Shona’ which is broadcast on the ZBC radio and television stations for the reason that it is essentially the Zezuru dialect at the expense of the other dialect of Shona. The respondents believed the ZBC Shona broadcasts excluded the speakers of other dialects of Shona in the national project since broadcasting is central to the reproduction and maintenance of nationalism (Billing, 1995). While Interviewee 9, did not see sense in this observation, it is imperative to note that the distinctions between languages and dialects are determined by linguistic as well as socio-political factors. This is supported by Calvet’s (1974:54) argument that “a dialect is never anything other than a defeated language, and a language is a dialect which has succeeded politically”. For that reason, Interviewee 4, Ndau speaker argued that when they talk of Shona as part of the seventy-five percent local content, there is exclusion of other languages...” Interviewee 4 was strongly bothered by the marginalisation of the Eastern dialects of Shona (Ndau and Manyika) in the ZBC broadcasting, while promoting Zezuru dialect as the ‘national standard dialect’.

Though, Shona is a conglomeration of Zezuru, Korekore, Karanga, Ndau and Manyika dialects (Magwa, 1999, 2002), the respondents challenged the so called standard Shona language for its shortcomings on the representation of other dialects. In sub-section 5.4.1.1 in Chapter 5, Interviewee 1 and Interviewee 4 gave instances where the other dialects of Shona particularly Manyika were used on radio and television to achieve humour and derision. What this means is that, the local content programming on ZBC radio and television, treats Shona as a homogenous linguistic group without appreciating heterogeneities within this language. These arguments by the respondents are based on the argument that the exclusion of dialects in the ZBC broadcasting is tantamount to the exclusion of the speakers in the national project. More so, any language variety that gains prestige and access to the public domains such as the media enjoys better chances of survival (Crystal, 2000).

The observations made by the respondents demonstrate the entrenched Zezuru dialect hegemony in the Shona language. This researcher calls this a case of ‘intra-linguistic hegemony’ where the Zezuru dialect has been naturalised as the standard Shona language.

This scenario is confirmed by Magwa (1999) and Doke (2005) who demonstrate that the standardisation of the Shona language was based on Zezuru as the central dialect. That is the dominance of Zezuru in the Shona broadcasts on the ZBC radio and television is a manifestation of the repercussions of the cultural engineering process of the unification of the Shona dialects which was initiated by Professor Clement Doke. However, the outcry on the shortcomings of Shona on the ZBC radio and television stations extends Magwa's (2002:1) argument that the current standard Shona which is based on the 1967 orthography is defective for the reason that it "does not cater for the dialectal variations" in the Shona language. Therefore, what Magwa (2002) calls 'defective Shona' can be said to have been interpellated through the ideological state apparatuses of education (Althusser, 1971) in Zimbabwe and now manifests itself in another ideological state apparatus of the Zimbabwean broadcasting, the ZBC. Therefore, the view on the lack of representativeness of Shona on the ZBC radio and television is a revival of the long standing debate on the so called standard Shona considering that the standardisation of Shona has been demonised as "fraudulent" (Moyo, 2006:86).

According to the respondents, the marginalisation of the Shona dialects in the Shona language, which Interviewee 4 referred to as "marginalisation by inclusion...where you are presumably included in order to be marginalised" is maintained by the ZBC journalists and presenters who deliberately use the dialects of Shona particularly Manyika, Karanga and Korekore when they want to achieve humour. The ZBC journalists and presenters function as what Antonio Gramsci refers to as organic intellectuals (Ives, 2004). This is because the ZBC presenters and journalist work also as 'salesman' of the Zezuru dialect to the nation of Zimbabwe. As an illustration, Interviewee 1 narrated a comic story that was broadcast on National FM by the former 'Studio 263' actor-cum-presenter; the late Nevernay Chinyanga (popularly known as Muvengwa) in the 2000s which was meant to ridicule the Manyika people from Manicaland. He said:

...Yakange iri nguva yehondo, apo vana mukoma vaiva papungwe mune rimwe dunhu reZimbabwe, semazuva ose vachiimba nziyo inonzi 'Neiko neiko musina murare'. Zvino zvakazoonekwa kuti pange pane vaiita discord zvikanzi nanamukoma umwe neumwe ngaaimbe ega, pavakasvika panaSaManyika akabva ati "ngenyiko ngenyiko musina murare" vanhu vakabva vaziva kuti ndipo pange pane discord...

(It was during the liberation struggle, in one of the villages in Zimbabwe. The liberation fighters were leading people in a song and it was discovered

that there was some discord. Therefore, each and every individual was asked to sing on his/her own while they were listening. When it was the turn for the Manyika person (person who speaks the Manyika dialect of Shona in eastern parts of Zimbabwe) he sang with a funny tune. Therefore, it was realised that this person was causing the discord)

According to Interviewee 1, this illustration of a joke on national radio gives a very negative impression of people who are proud of their language. It appears like the presenter was saying this one is not a language. In the context of this research, this implies that this presenter in fact said the Manyika people bring ‘discord’ into the nation of Zimbabwe.

However, it can be argued that the respondents must be reminded that it is stipulated in the *BSAA* (2007) that a public broadcaster broadcast in languages and not dialects. More so, the focus on dialects can lead to national fragmentation, whereas a common language without emphasis on dialects leads to greater unity and equality among the population (Pennycook (2000). In the same view, Hinton (2001) argues that a common language is often perceived as a political strength which increases the unity of the population. The respondents assume that dialects are always in competition when they are not. In this regard, the Karanga people from Masvingo have accepted their own peculiarity and have appropriated their own language to demonstrate pride in their dialect. Hence, the invention of statements such as “*wezhira, wezhara, wezheve*” (of the road, of hunger and of the ears- in distinctively Karanga dialect) as a demonstration of the pride they have in their dialect. However, in view of the argument that language is inextricable of politics and an important constituent of hegemony (Ives, 2004), blatant features of Zezuru hegemony in the Shona language on the ZBC radio and television must be disparaged since there is evidence that local media may celebrate dialects which are stigmatized in the wider speech community (Richardson and Meinhof, 1998; Burger, 2005).

Though the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) stipulates that a public broadcaster must broadcast in all *languages* and not *dialects*, this researcher observes that the exclusion and marginalisation of other language varieties dubbed dialects by a cultural engineering process of the unification of the Shona dialects which was initiated by Professor Clement Doke manifest as a problem on the ZBC radio and television stations and programmes. As a result of the so called standard Shona, the Zezuru dialect has gained prestige and access into the media and therefore it enjoys prominence. This researcher calls this a case of ‘intra-linguistic hegemony’ where the Zezuru dialect has been naturalised as the standard Shona

language. The flawed and fraudulent Shona which has been interpellated through the education sector in Zimbabwe and now manifests itself yet another ideological state apparatus of the Zimbabwean broadcasting. Therefore, this study argues that the other dialects of Shona are included in the Shona language only to be excluded on the ZBC radio and television. The ZBC journalists and presenters who use Karanga, Ndau, Manyika or Korekore dialects of Shona to achieve derision are the organic intellectuals who function as agents for the ‘*zezururisation*’ of the Zimbabwean nation. This is the standard Shona which has got the capacity to attract the advertisers and the audience for the ZBC thereby generating the much needed revenue for its survival.

6.7 LANGUAGE SHOULD TAKE PRECEDENCE/BE A PRIORITY IN THE ZBC LOCAL CONTENT BROADCAST

While the rest of the respondents in this study lobbied for changes in the Zimbabwean broadcasting which will improve the language use in the ZBC towards according more space to the indigenous African languages and representing the multilingual character of Zimbabwe, Interviewees 6 and 7 had other ideas. According to Interviewee 6, the language of broadcasting is not a priority at the moment in the localisation of the ZBC broadcasting content. To him, language is only a carrier of the content and therefore it should not be the starting point. He argued that:

...at the moment let them use English so as to confuse the people, because the message is neo-colonial, the agenda is neo-colonial... let English dominate until we have people centred values in broadcasting. We should not put our languages to bad use.

This demonstrates that the interviewee’s concern is on the content which needs to be localised and not the language of broadcasting. This extends Nyamnjoh’s (2005:2) argument that culturally the media are victims of imposed hierarchy of national and world cultures and also the cultural industries that have opted for routinisation, standardisation and homogenisation of media content. This also validates Chinweizu’s (1987:33) observation that while “Africa’s independence struggle has returned measure of autonomy, to African hands. But the winning of that autonomy left still unaccomplished out total liberation from western political, economic and cultural hegemony”. This implies that to focus on language of broadcasting in the localisation of content will result in the ‘colouring’ of foreign content and take it as local content, which is a sham. Hence Interviewee 6 argued that “in Africa there is no country that has achieved nationalism because of foreign intrusion which is

unprecedented.” This argument echoes President Robert Mugabe’s arguments in his speech at the 68th Session of the UN General Assembly (2013) where he fervently lambasted western interference, intrusion and exploitation of African countries.

On the other hand, Interviewee 7 insisted that he is not worried about the languages that are used on the ZBC radio and television stations because “...the level of relevance has shifted from the nation-state to a bigger picture of things...people no longer watch ZBC TV, or listen to the ZBC radio stations.” This argument suggests that the ZBC has lost its relevance in the global context and the information age since people are now exposed to other regional and global broadcasting stations. Interviewee 7 also implies that the nation-state has lost its relevance because of globalisation. However, Interviewee 7 does not consider that all nation-states are not equitable players in the global village, such that what may be called globalised world might be a representation of the dominant nations and their languages. More so, celebrating regional and global media is failing to appreciate the impact of global capitalism on the African languages and that the global media have always been perceived of representing and reflecting American interests (McChesney, 2001). Nyamnjoh (2005:3) sums it when he says “Africa may be in the world, but few Africans are yet of the world”.

This researcher admits that the language of broadcasting is an important issue in the localisation of ZBC radio and television broadcasting content, and therefore broadcasting in indigenous African languages is obligatory if the informative, communicative and symbolic functions of the public service broadcasting are to be achieved. However, in this study it is argued that language should not take precedence in the ZBC local content broadcasting. Rather, the priority must be given to broadcasting acceptable Zimbabwean local content instead of ‘colouring’ foreign content with indigenous African languages and take it as local content; this is basically simulation. This argument is based on the observation that, the ZBC local content broadcasts in indigenous local languages such as music mostly mimic the western cultures and media content. This is what McPhail (2002) calls electronic colonialism. The argument that the ZBC has lost its relevance in the global context and the information age since people are now exposed to other regional and global broadcasting stations is misplaced. Interviewee 7 does not consider that all nation-states are not equitable players in the global village, such that what may be called globalised world might be a representation of the dominant nations and their languages. Furthermore, celebrating regional and global media is failing to appreciate the impact of global capitalism on the indigenous African languages.

6.8 THE WAY FORWARD: HARNESSING MULTILINGUALISM, LOCALISM AND THE NATION IN THE ZBC

The penultimate question for all the respondents was, “What language choices and practices do you recommend to the ZBC, in constructing a distinguishable Zimbabwean national identity through broadcasting in the context of the local content broadcasting policy in the *BSA* (2001) and the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *BSAA* (2007)? The final question was, “In view of the recommendations which you gave in the previous question, how do you think that can be achieved?” These questions were intended to get recommendations by the respondents on the language choices and practices in Zimbabwean broadcasting and the plans of action suggested in achieving those recommendations in the context of the *BSA* (2001) and the *BSAA* (2007).

Table 5.11 in Chapter 5 demonstrates that 100% of the respondents recommended that the ZBC must make attempts to promote all languages spoken in Zimbabwe on its radio and television stations so as to reflect the multilingual nature of the Zimbabwean nation. Groups 1 and 2 respondents also unanimously recommended that the ZBC should ensure that all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe must be equitably used on radio and television so as to reflect the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe. This reasoning seems to maintain Guyot’s (2007) argument that the status of languages can be raised by their presence on television. Furthermore, the respondents made their own suggestions on the plans of action that can be adopted in order to improve the use of indigenous African languages in Zimbabwean broadcasting.

This researcher admits that the idea of including all the indigenous African languages spoken in Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting is noble considering the informative, communicative and symbolic functions of broadcasting and the idea of reflecting the multilingual nature of the Zimbabwean nation. It is also important in raising the status of the indigenous African languages on the ZBC radio and television stations. However, this researcher argues that it is imperative to consider the factors which support the hegemony of English, Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting if the equitable utilisation of languages is to be realised. The suggestions from the respondents towards improving the language situation in the ZBC are discussed in the subsequent sub-sections.

6.8.1 THE DECENTRALISATION OF THE ZBC RADIO AND TELEVISION STATIONS

To ensure that all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe are equitably represented on radio and television so as to reflect the multilingual character of Zimbabwe, the respondents recommended that the ZBC must expand its broadcasting space to accommodate all the languages spoken in the country. Table 5.11 in Chapter 5 shows that 32% of the ZBC radio listeners and television viewers argued that the ZBC must create more public service broadcasting stations to facilitate broadcasting in different languages. Similarly, focus group 2 and Interviewee 1, 2 and 5 suggested the decentralisation of the ZBC broadcasting stations to all the provinces in Zimbabwe to enhance the ZBC's chances of representing different linguistic groups in the various provinces across the country. For instance, the ZBC radio and television stations can be decentralised to places such as Hwange where Nambya is spoken, Binga where Tonga is spoken and Chipinge where Ndau is spoken (Interviewee 2). The argument for this decentralisation is to allow for all the linguistic communities in the provinces in Zimbabwe to have at least a television or radio station which they can identify with. Interviewee 4 emphasised the need for decentralisation of broadcasting when he said:

...nothing hurts like when the ZBC was unbundled, relocating *Power FM* to Gweru, *Spot FM* to Bulawayo, *National FM* and *Radio Zimbabwe* remained in Harare and noting for the other provinces, like Matebeleland North and South, Masvingo, Manicaland among others....so people in these provinces may say we are not Zimbabweans since we do not deserve any radio stations...

Subsumed in this argument is the fact that choosing a place is tantamount to choosing a people. Therefore, the decentralisation of the ZBC's operations to the various provinces is presumed to enhance the chances of including all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting. However, these respondents do not consider that the media are ideological and political institutions which cannot be democratised keenly in a country where the government is afraid of its people's voices (Moyo, 2005). More so there is need to consider the preparedness of the government to the democratisation of broadcasting considering the ideological nature of the media (Althusser, 1971, Žižek, 2003, Moyo, 2006). From a political economy perspective, it is important to consider the availability of funds to bankroll a project of that nature, considering Interviewee 13's discovery that the ZBC has failed to digitalise and refurbish the Montrose Studios in Bulawayo because of financial constraints.

In this study, the researcher acknowledges that the current arrangement where the ZBC is headquartered in Harare, the capital city where most broadcasting is done with the exception of the *Voice of Zimbabwe* in Gweru and the Montrose Studios in Bulawayo; appears to favour the people who reside in these places. The decentralisation of the ZBC radio and television activities to the other places will positively enhance the ZBC's chances of including all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe in its radio and television stations and programming by expanding the its broadcasting space. However, this researcher argues that the ideological and political character of broadcasting makes it difficult for the government to devote itself to such a commitment. More so, this is an expensive venture which requires a huge capital base. Therefore, though the decentralisation of the ZBC radio and television stations will definitely expand the broadcasting space for the languages spoken in Zimbabwe, there is need to consider the political economy of broadcasting in Zimbabwe.

6.8.2 THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ZBC'S COMMITMENT TO THE PROMOTION OF THE INDIGENOUS AFRICAN LANGUAGES

In Table 5.11 in Chapter 5, 31% of the ZBC audience implored the government of Zimbabwe to fund the ZBC for the purposes of promoting the indigenous African languages. Table 5.17 also shows that 46% of the ZBC employees believe that the ZBC can improve its representation of languages on radio and television if more funds and other resources could be availed. However, this jeopardises the public service broadcaster's mandate to broadcast in the public interest (Scannel, 1989) if it is to receive government funding. 11% of the respondents implored the ZBC to demonstrate pride in African languages by giving them more space on radio and television for it to have a national character. This view implies that the ZBC must consider broadcasting in indigenous African languages as a priority for nationalistic purposes. This view was also echoed by Interviewee 4 when he said "the ZBC should strive to be a true public sphere, which represents all the subgroups in the country and not belittling them..." Interviewee 6 also suggested that the ZBC should cease to be elitist and instead broadcast in all languages. However, these respondents must note that, the ZBC is not a philanthropic organisation; rather it survives with the revenue generated from advertisers and audience to finance its operations (Albarran, 2002). Therefore, there is need to attract advertisers and the need to reach a wide audience will eventually determine the languages choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television.

This researcher subscribes to the idea of improving the funding of the ZBC for the purposes of promoting the indigenous African languages. However, basing on the political economy perspective, allowing the government to fund the ZBC is tantamount to giving it the mandate to control the content of broadcasting, thereby jeopardising the public service broadcaster's mandate to broadcast in the public interest. More so, it is being over-ambitious to think that the ZBC will demonstrate its pride in indigenous African languages by giving them more space on radio and television for it to have a national character, without considering the interests of the advertisers and audiences who provide the revenue for its sustenance. Thus, this study argues that the political economy of broadcasting and the media economics influence the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting.

6.8.3 THE INTRODUCTION OF COMMUNITY BROADCASTING IN ZIMBABWE

Table 5.11 shows that 17% of the ZBC audience as well as Interviewee 5 and 11 advocated for the introduction of community radio and television broadcasting stations in Zimbabwe to cater for the multiplicity of ethnic and linguistic communities in Zimbabwe. This indicates that the respondents consider community broadcasting as a panacea to linguistic hegemony in the ZBC and making sure that all the Zimbabwean languages are accorded fair broadcasting space. This idea is supported by Fraser (1994: 57) who observes that community broadcasting provides the minority groups with 'alternative publics' or 'subaltern counter-publics' thereby moving away from the inequalities of the public sphere.

In this regard, Kasoma (2002) argues that that the availability of community radio among the three tier broadcasting system will help people celebrate their own culture. He gives the Zambian example where there are community radio stations which broadcast in the regional languages and reflecting regional cultures. These are *Chikaya* community radio station which broadcasts in two indigenous languages Tumbuka and Chewa; *Radio Maranatha* in Kabwe which broadcasts in Lenje, Bemba and Tonga; Radio Mkushi which broadcasts in Lala and Swaka; while *Mano* in Kasama broadcasts in Bemba and English. This is also confirmed by (Moyo, 2006) maintains that Zambia has made significant inroads in the democratisation of broadcasting. Presumably, by using indigenous languages, the community feels closer to the radio stations since they use languages that are spoken and understood by them. Thus community radio promotes the development of local languages and cultures in the communities they operate since language is a carrier of culture (wa Thiongo, 1981). However, it must be noted that it is not the mandate of the ZBC to lead the exercise of

introducing community broadcasting. More so, it is the state which remains central to determining broadcasting policy, but the Zimbabwean government has always been sceptical about community radio stations (Moyo, 2006). This buttresses the idea that the media are political and ideological institutions (Althusser, 1971).

In this study it is argued that certainly the introduction of community radio and television stations in Zimbabwe will inevitably provide enough broadcasting space for the multiplicity of languages in Zimbabwe. However, this has proven to be a pipedream considering that the government of Zimbabwe has been reluctant to grant licences for community radio stations despite calls from the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and civic organisations for the setting up of the community radio stations. This demonstrates how the state interests in broadcasting can hinder national projects which can raise the status of indigenous African languages in broadcasting.

6.8.4 THE ZBC'S RECRUITMENT OF MINORITY LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

Table 5.17 in Chapter 5 shows that, 46% of the ZBC employees argued that the ZBC must recruit personnel who are competent in the minority languages such as Nambya, Tonga, Sotho, among others. The same view also came from 4% of the ZBC audience and Group 2 respondents. These respondents observed that some of the ZBC current personnel who present programmes in the marginalised languages are more competent in either Shona or Ndebele which makes it difficult for them to direct or produce programmes in a language which they do not speak. This is a revelation of the hegemony of Shona and Ndebele in the Zimbabwean society at the expense of the other local languages, an argument that has been raised by Ndhlovu (2009). More so, in post-independent Zimbabwe, Shona and Ndebele have been promoted by the language policy in the *Education Act of Zimbabwe 1987* as amended in 1990 (Thondhlana, 2005; Peresuh and Masuku, 2002). In this study, it is acknowledged that, the ZBC should endeavour to employ more native speakers of the minority languages in Zimbabwe so as to increase and improve the programmes done in these minority languages. However, this should start with the raising of the status of the minority languages in schools and other public domains to the level of Shona and Ndebele.

6.8.5 THE NEED TO REFURBISH THE ZBC INFRASTRUCTURE

To make sure that all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe are accorded enough space in ZBC broadcasting, Interviewee 13 suggested that the digitalisation exercise of the ZBC be expedited. This is expected to create more channels thereby increasing the broadcasting space for the utilisation of the many languages in broadcasting. Interviewee 13 also implored the people of Zimbabwe to pay their radio and television licence fees so as to improve the cash flow in the organisation. However, Interviewee 13 observed that the ZBC for long have had plans to refurbish the Montrose studios in Bulawayo and the decentralisation of the broadcasting stations to the other provinces but the funds are simply not available. This is a revelation that though the ZBC might have policies and commitment to expand the number of its channels and expand to places outside Bulawayo and Harare, the limited funds from the government and licences fees as well as the economic problems bedeviling Zimbabwe are the major problems which militate against the growth of the ZBC. Group 2 also suggested that the ZBC signal be improved for it to be accessed in places like Hwange, Plumtree and Beitbridge where Nambya, Venda and Venda are spoken respectively.

This is an indication that the financing, control and ownership patterns of the ZBC impact on the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television stations and ultimately on the national identity of Zimbabwe. In the same light, Group 1 suggested that the Zimbabwean government should open up the airwaves to the foreign investors for them to set up radio and television stations in various parts of Zimbabwe on condition that they broadcast in minority languages. This may be a pipedream considering that the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the *Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act* (2002) restrict foreign ownership of the media. The ZBC's lack of funding was recently exposed by its failure to pay workers in as many months (Daily News, 1st October 2013). This leaves out the ZBC relying on the state and advertising for revenue and this limits their ability to fulfil its mandate as public broadcaster since the broadcasting content will be dictated by the corporate advertisers (Scannel, 1999) and the state to the detriment of the public interest and the right of citizens to receive a diverse range of information (Moyo, 2006) in their languages.

This study admits that, the refurbishment of the ZBC infrastructure, which includes the completion of the digitalisation process and working on the ZBC signal in places where it is not accessible, is a positive development towards expanding the broadcasting space for the languages spoken in Zimbabwe. However, these are expensive projects which require a lot of

money and may not be prioritised in a country which is facing unrelenting economic problems. This is an indication that the financing, control and ownership patterns of the ZBC impact on the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television stations and ultimately on the national identity of Zimbabwe.

6.8.6 LANGUAGE HARMONISATION AS A PANACEA TO MULTILINGUALISM IN ZIMBABWE

Interviewee 1 acknowledged that, it is very difficult to forge an inclusive Zimbabwean nation through the ZBC in the context of multilingualism. According to this interviewee, the solution to building the nation of Zimbabwe is the harmonisation of seemingly mutual intelligible languages in Zimbabwe, into one language. For that reason, he suggested the harmonisation of Zimbabwean languages as the panacea to the problem of multilingualism since he considered it "...to have centrifugal forces of uniting people into a nation." This is supported by Prah (1998) who argues that African languages need to be harmonised. However, while this language harmonisation may be considered to be a unifying force, it may be even more divisive than having many languages. This is confirmed by Mazrui and Mazrui (1998: 198) who argue that African languages can be "a powerful force for a new humanity within a world of tremendous diversity" rather than one that divides a people.

Although, language harmonisation appears to lessen needless variations within the nation, this has got its own challenges. In language harmonisation, this interviewee does not consider the issue of linguistic hegemony where other languages dominate other languages, such that other people may feel excluded in the product of the harmonisation project; a condition which was discussed in subsection 6.5.4 in this chapter where there respondents expressed discontent in the so called standard Shona. In any case this means that the language would be created for the people, instead of people modifying their own languages. Therefore, in this study language harmonisation is not considered as an option in the mediation of multilingualism, localisation of content and nation building in the ZBC broadcasting.

6.8.7 LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE MEDIA REFORM

Interviewee 3 and 8 suggested that there is need for a thorough broadcasting policy reform which will open up other forms of broadcasting over and above public service broadcasting so as to expand the space to accommodate more languages. He argued that:

...there are other options to be explored, rather than worrying ourselves with the ZBC and its weaknesses. We should go for policies that allow for the plurality of broadcasting stations of different types, be it commercial, national, public, or community broadcasting...

This implies that, Interviewee 3 sees the reformation of the language policy of the media as the starting point of broadcasting which truly represents the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe. He envisages broadcasting policies which permit the pluralisation of different types of broadcasting stations which include commercial and community broadcasting. The challenges associated with broadcasting policy reform were discussed in subsection 6.9.3. Similarly, Interviewee 8 also advocated for the crafting of broadcasting policies which are specific on language use. These policies must avoid ambiguity and generalisations on the language choices in provisions on languages issues such as “*all languages commonly used in Zimbabwe*” (BSAA, 2009) which may leave room for manipulation in implementation. As an illustration, the Canadian Broadcasting Policy is clear on the languages used in broadcasting (Boardman and Vining, 1996: 49), as well as the South African Constitution which precisely outlines the languages to be used in broadcasting (Slabbert, 2007).

However, the existence of a well articulated policy on language use in the Zimbabwean broadcasting does not guarantee the improvement of the language situation in the ZBC. This must be backed with meaningful implementation strategies if the status of the African languages is to be improved in broadcasting. With reference to ethics, Karikari (1996: 150) illustrates that “having a code of ethics is not synonymous with being ethical in practice, nor does it lead to the development of ethical conscience.” Furthermore, policymaking remains an executive-driven exercise such that “broadcasting policy reform [in Zimbabwe] has been a case of ‘musical chairs’ where the creation and reformulation of policies has further strengthened the government stronghold over the broadcasting sector (Moyo, 2006:13).

This researcher concedes that the reformation of the language policy of the media is necessary towards improving the language situation on the ZBC radio and television stations. In this regard, a ‘reformed’ language policy of the media in Zimbabwe must have clear provisions on language use in broadcasting activities. The broadcasting policy in general must open up other forms of broadcasting over and above public service broadcasting in order to expand the broadcasting space for the indigenous African languages. However, language policy of the media must be backed up with meaningful implementation strategies if the status of the indigenous African languages is to be improved in the public service

broadcasting. Otherwise, an ostensibly comprehensible language policy of the media can still be overridden by the political and economic interests in the ZBC.

6.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the researcher has discussed the findings of this study. The discussion of the findings was done in relation to the critical theory outlined in Chapter 3 and the existing literature in the areas of language, broadcasting and nationalism. The discussion critically interrogated how the aspects of multilingualism, the localisation of content and nation building are mediated in the ZBC through language choices and practices on radio and television after the implementation of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007). Although the findings of this study were generally consistent with the previous studies in the area of language, this study noted some contradictions, under-specifications and to some extent non-specifications of issues thereby suggesting their inadequacies in the area under investigation. The findings discussed in this chapter have shown that the presence of indigenous African languages on the ZBC radio and television stations is a legitimate claim, given that broadcasting is a site in which national identities are constructed and contested. However, this study holds that it is inadequate to identify the exclusion and marginalisation of the indigenous African languages and English hegemony on the ZBC radio and television, without exploring the historical, economic, technological and political factors which determine the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting. These factors include among others, the colonial heritage in the Zimbabwean broadcasting, media economics favouring languages which attract advertisers and audience, the influence of the global media and advertising, satellite television, and the political economy of the media in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the mediation of multilingualism, localisation and the nation of Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting is convoluted by the national and global politics and economics. In the following chapter, the researcher provides a summary, conclusion and recommendations based on the findings of this study.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter discussed the research findings which are presented in Chapter 5 of this study. The discussion was done in relation to the critical theory outlined in Chapter 3 and the existing literature so as to critically interrogate the construction, maintenance and representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices in the ZBC after the implementation of the local content broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007). This chapter offers a conclusive discussion of the major issues raised in the study. The chapter explains the contributions which were made by this study to the field of language studies, specifically to the sustained language policy and planning debate in Zimbabwe with regards to the handling of multilingualism, the localism issue and nation building in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation. The first part of this chapter briefly summarises the findings of the study and reflects on theory and methodology of this study. The summary of the study is then followed by the conclusions which were made in this study. Ultimately, based on the research findings and arguments raised in the thesis, the chapter provides the suggestions for further research and other recommendations.

7.2. SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

This study explored, from the perspective of critical theory, the mediation of multilingualism, localism and the nation in the ZBC radio and television broadcasting after the promulgation and implementation of the local content and multilingual broadcasting policies subsumed in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) respectively. Chapter 1 of this study, which is the introductory chapter exhibits that the study is a cross-examination of the language policy issues in Zimbabwe, with particular reference to language policy of the media. The Zimbabwe language planning and policy making process is characterised by a non-committal approach and the lack of precision on the language usage in the language policy outcomes. Let alone, the implementation of the commitments made in some of the piecemeal guiding principles and documents on language utilisation in Zimbabwe has fallen short of the desired expectations particularly on implementation. This has attracted the attention of the Zimbabwean scholars who include

among others, Mutasa (2006), Magwa and Mutasa (2007), Magwa (2008), Makanda (2011) and Charamba (2012).

However, this researcher observed that the Zimbabwean scholars have given much attention to the language policies in the education sector. Ultimately the ensuing debates in the works of these scholars put much emphasis on the language choices and practices in field of education. Therefore, this study is premised on the observation that hitherto, scanty considerations has been given to the language policy of the media in Zimbabwe particularly policy statements relating to language in *the Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) which outline the contentious seventy-five percent local content broadcasting policy and the multilingual broadcasting policy respectively. The justifications of these policies revolve around the issues of national identity construction. Against this background, this study innovatively explored the mediation of the aspects of multilingualism, localism and the Zimbabwean nation in the ZBC broadcasting as the *BSA* (2001) and *BSAA* (2007) translated into programming on the radio and television stations.

The study involved extensive research across the disciplines of language, the media and nationalism. Against this background, Chapter 2 of this study extensively reviewed the extant literature on the concepts of nation-building in Zimbabwe, language and nation-building, language use and the media; the media and nation-building, as well as linguistic hegemony, marginalisation and exclusion in Zimbabwe. Chapter 2 situated this study into its rightful conceptual and theoretical context. In this chapter, the study demonstrated that national identities are constructed and contested. It was also established that language is a determinant feature in nation-building and is critical to the functioning of the media. It was also established that the media are sites in which national identities are constructed and contested. This is a confirmation that there is a sophisticated connection between language, the media and nation building processes. It is in Chapter 2 of this study where the researcher demonstrated that the language question (multilingualism and localism) in the national question of Zimbabwe has not been explored in the media (in this case the ZBC), a site in which national identities are constructed and contested. Therefore, the map navigated by the researcher and the grey areas that are addressed by this study were clearly delineated in Chapter 2 of this study.

Chapter 2 of this study exposed that the process of nation-building revolves around the

practices of contestation, legitimation, hegemony, exclusion and the marginalisation of others in postcolonial Africa in the context of the globalisation. Against this backdrop, Chapter 3 of this study demonstrated that this study is entrenched within the neo-Marxist tradition. Nevertheless, owing to the various factors which impact on the operations of the media in general and broadcasting in particular which have an impact on the language choices, and the expansion of the Marxist thought, this study opted for an eclectic theoretical framework within a neo-Marxist tradition which is consistently referred to as critical theory.

Hence, this study is distinguished by its reverence to neo-Marxist themes which are archetype of critical theory which include Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, Louis Althusser's theory of ideology, Thomas McPhail's theory of electronic colonialism, Jürgen Habermas' public sphere concept, Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory, the concept of political economy, and the Africana critical theory. These neo-Marxist presumptions shaped this study in the examination of the language choices and practices on ZBC television and radio stations and the construction of the Zimbabwean national identity in the context of competing languages, the unrelenting dominant ideas in societies, rapid technological advancement and the digital divide, the transformation of the public sphere, the entrenched subjugation of the indigenous African languages and English supremacy, globalisation and the politics of ownership and control of the broadcasting industry in Zimbabwe and the world at large.

Chapter 4 of this study spelt out the research methodology that was utilised in this study. The chapter outlined the research paradigm that was adopted in carrying out this study, the research design of the study, the target population and the sampling techniques, the data collection methods; the data presentation and analysis plan for this study, and the ethical considerations that were observed during data collection and analysis in this study. Chapter 4 demonstrated that the qualitative research design was utilised in this study, since this study is situated within the interpretive research paradigm. For that reason, the viewpoints of the research participants were critical to the development of arguments in this study. As a result, the research methods that were used in this chapter were meant to capture the opinions, the views and experiences of the research participants. As a testimony to this avowal, this research employed the humanistic strategies of inquiry which are the case study, phenomenology, and historical research. To capture the opinions, the views and experiences of the research participants, this study adopted the explorative, explanative and evaluative dimensions of qualitative research. Data for this study was gathered from purposively

selected ZBC employees, university lecturers and the ZBC audience using the questionnaire and interview methods. The relevant records and documents were used in providing the data to validate and develop the arguments in this thesis. The reliability and validity of the research findings was achieved by prolonged engagement with the research participants, triangulation of methods and peer debriefing. In view of the ethical challenges that are faced in qualitative research, the researcher committed himself to conducting this research ethically as explained in Section 4.7 of this study.

Chapter five of this study presented and analysed the research findings gathered from the questionnaires, personal interviews and focus group discussions. Varied views from the research participants were analysed and presented in the framework of the research objectives and the theoretical underpinnings of this study. It was noted that a greater percentage of the respondents argued that the subject of language was not given the prominence it deserves as the local content broadcasting conditions in the *BSA (2001)* translated into programming on the ZBC radio and television stations. For that reason, it was broadly argued by the respondents that the languages spoken in Zimbabwe are not equitably utilised on the ZBC radio and television stations following the crafting and implementation of the local content broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)*.

According to the views of respondents presented in Chapter 5 of this study, marginalisation of the indigenous African languages did not change with the implementation of a multilingual approach to broadcasting which is specified in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act (2007)*. It was unanimously agreed by the respondents that the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and programming do not construct, maintain and represent the multilingual character of the Zimbabwean nation. This is because of the observed linguistic hegemony, marginalisation and exclusion on the ZBC radio and television stations. Therefore, a number of recommendations were made to the ZBC and the government of Zimbabwe towards the improvement of the status of indigenous African languages in Zimbabwean broadcasting in order to construct, maintain and represent an inclusive multilingual nation. This study established that the respondents tended to decry the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television without considering other factors such as the effects of colonialism, the ideological and political nature of the media, the impact of technology and globalisation, and how the political and economic imperatives impact on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and ultimately on the construction and representation of the Zimbabwean multilingual nation.

In Chapter 6, the researcher discussed the findings of this study. The discussion of the findings was done in relation to the critical theory outlined in Chapter 3 and the existing literature in the areas of language, broadcasting and nationalism. Basing on the research findings, the discussion critically interrogated how the aspects of multilingualism, the localisation of content and nation building are mediated in the ZBC broadcasting through language choices and practices on radio and television stations after the implementation of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007). Although the findings of this study were generally consistent with the previous studies in the area of language, this study noted some contradictions, under-specifications and to some extent non-specifications of issues thereby suggesting their inadequacies in the area under investigation.

The findings discussed in Chapter 6 demonstrate that the presence of indigenous African languages on the ZBC radio and television stations is a legitimate claim, given that broadcasting is a site in which national identities are constructed and contested. However, this study holds that it is inadequate to identify the exclusion and marginalisation of the indigenous African languages and English hegemony on the ZBC radio and television, without exploring the historical, economic and political factors which determine the language choices and practices in the ZBC broadcasting. These factors include among others, the colonial heritage in the Zimbabwean broadcasting, media economics favouring the languages which attract advertisers and the audience, the influence of the global media and advertising agencies, satellite television, and the political economy of the media in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the mediation of multilingualism, localisation and the nation of Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting is relentlessly convoluted by both the national and global politics and economics.

7.3 CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has critiqued the implementation of local content broadcasting policy subsumed in the *BSA* (2001) and the multilingual paradigm to language usage in the *BSSA* (2007) against the commitment of constructing a distinguishable Zimbabwe national identity on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of the insistent dominant ideas in societies, multilingualism, the digital divide, the transformation of the public sphere, globalisation, colonialism and Western domination in Africa, and the politics of ownership and control broadcasting in Zimbabwe. This purpose was pursued by analysing the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and programming. The findings presented

in Chapter 5 and the discussion in Chapter 6 provided the answers to the research objectives and questions of this study and conclusions were made and are presented in this subsection.

Concerning the handling of the language question on the ZBC radio and television stations after the enactment and implementation of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001), a piece of legislation in Zimbabwe which is well known for its high local content requirements in broadcasting, this study concurred with Napoli (2001), Mda (2010), Interviewee 1, 4, 5 and the two focus group discussions on the idea that local languages must be part and parcel of the local content in broadcasting. Therefore, the researcher was particularly interested in the position and status of the indigenous African languages on the ZBC radio and television stations as the local content broadcasting policy translated into programming. The research findings confirm that the language issue was not prioritised in the localisation of content on the ZBC radio and television stations (72% of the questionnaire respondents and as well as the two focus groups, Interviewee 1 and Interviewee 4). Therefore, this study established that, though language is central to the localisation of broadcasting content, the use of indigenous African languages was overshadowed by particular strategic and political interests in the ZBC local content. This implies that though the ZBC as a public sphere was supposed to have more programmes in indigenous African languages on radio and television stations, it was transformed by the interests of the state which turned the ZBC local content into government propaganda (Manhando-Makore, 2001; Windrich, 2003; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).

This study concludes that, as the seventy-five percent local content requirements in the *BSA* (2001) translated into programming, the language question was not properly handled. This observation is confirmed by the continuance of the English hegemony and marginalisation of indigenous African languages on the ZBC radio and television stations. The high local content requirements in broadcasting subsumed in the *BSA* (2001) should have seen a significant utilisation of the indigenous African languages and reduced English hegemony on the ZBC radio and television stations, thereby enhancing the communicative and informative functions of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation. However, this researcher observes that, though the use of indigenous African languages in radio and television is imperative in the localisation of broadcasting content, it is not the primary factor in the shaping of the public sphere in ZBC, but the content itself. Therefore, the local content broadcasting policy in the ZBC broadcasting was first and foremost an ideological and political project which was meant to thwart the political hegemony of Western countries in the context of the land reform

programme of the early 2000s. Hence, the local content broadcasting policy is a revelation of the political contestations between Zimbabwe and its Western adversaries in the post-2000 period. For that reason, though the language of broadcasting is critical in the localisation of broadcasting content, this consideration was overshadowed by the national strategic and political imperatives for which the policy was crafted. Therefore, this study argues that, it is absolutely insufficient for scholars in the field of languages to simply identify and lament the marginalisation and exclusion of the African languages in the ZBC local content broadcasting without considering the political context in which the policy was crafted. Therefore, this study demonstrates that the language choices and practices in the ZBC local content cannot be evocatively explained outside the national and global politics.

In Section 6.3 of Chapter 6, the study grappled with the position and place of the English language and indigenous African languages in the localisation of the ZBC broadcasting content. This study concludes that the continued dominance of English in the ZBC many years after independence, particularly after the enactment of the *BSA* (2001) with its seventy-five percent local content requirements is not desirable. However, this indicates the surmounting factors which support the hegemony of English and the exclusion and marginalisation of indigenous African languages on the ZBC radio and television stations regardless of the policies and commitments made towards raising the status of the indigenous African languages in the media. In this study, this researcher established that English hegemony is supported by the media economics in the sense that the media organisations such as the ZBC are business organisations which survive on the revenue generated from advertisers and the audience. Therefore, English is a language which attracts these advertisers and reaches a wide audience so as to maximise the revenue for their sustenance. However, this observation does not exonerate the hegemony of English in the ZBC broadcasting considering that the language is not uniformly mastered by the people in Zimbabwe. Though English is at times regarded as a neutral and unifying language in a multilingual context as claimed by 28% of the ZBC audience, this study contradicts Mama (2001) who considers English as a homogenising and unifying language. Rather, the study subscribes to Phillipson's (1992) assertion that English does not do what it is claimed to do; rather, this language is used for "elite formation, and preservation of intranational and international links between elites" (Annamalai, 1986:9).

Though the study observed that the use of indigenous African languages is a corner stone to the ZBC's communicative, informative and symbolic functions, it also established that the use of indigenous African languages in the ZBC local content programming must not be celebrated as epitomising the Zimbabwean local content. It was noted in this study that the ZBC local content bear a resemblance to western cultures due to what McPhail (2002) calls electronic colonialism. Therefore, on the commitment to localise the content on the ZBC radio and television broadcasting stations in a bid to construct a distinctive national identity, in view of the electronic colonisation theory, the study concludes that the imported media products and satellite television make the harmonisation of multilingualism, localism and the nation in the ZBC broadcasting difficult in the context of the rapid technological advancements. This is the reason why it has been argued in this study that what is referred to as local content in the ZBC broadcasting is basically Western content which has been cosmetically 'coloured' with the indigenous African languages. This is a confirmation that this study concurs with Charamba (2012) on the paradigm shift from linguistic determinism. Thus, this study argues that, though it is imperative for scholars to be concerned with status of indigenous African languages in the ZBC broadcasting content, it is also important to consider the significance of the content which is broadcast to the Zimbabweans using their own languages.

This study also established that the idea of striking a middle ground by using the indigenous African languages alongside the English language in what has been dubbed glocalisation (Bastardas-Boada, 2012), where the localisation of content in ZBC broadcasting must be sensitive to both the global needs by accommodating the English language, and the local needs by accommodating the indigenous African languages on the radio and television stations is not viable. This study concludes that although this appears to be a plausible argument, it justifies the dominant position occupied by the English language as already noted by Crystal (1997) and Phillipson (1992, 2010). This is because under glocalisation English remains a dominant language owing to the political, technological and economic power of its speakers. Hence this study argues that the *laissez faire* approach to language use in the ZBC local content broadcasting towards balancing the local and global linguistic needs is tantamount to the legitimisation of the dominance of English language in the ZBC. This further validates this researcher's argument that the language choices and practices in the ZBC local content broadcasting cannot be explained outside the national and world political

economy since the modern nation state exists within a broad economic and political structure which Wallerstein (2000) calls a “world system.”

This researcher admits that the language of broadcasting is an important issue in the localisation of ZBC radio and television broadcasting content, and therefore broadcasting in indigenous African languages is obligatory if the informative, communicative and symbolic functions of the public service broadcasting are to be achieved. This is discussed in section 6.7 in chapter 6 of this study. However, this study concludes that language should not take precedence in the ZBC local content broadcasting. Rather, the priority must be given to the content itself instead of ‘colouring’ the foreign content with indigenous African languages and take it as local content; this is basically simulation. This argument is based on the observation that, the ZBC local content broadcasts in indigenous local languages such as music mostly mimic the western cultures and media content (Viriri et al, 2011).

This study questioned and analysed the equity of the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the localism principle indicated by the high local content requirements in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and multilingual broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007). Though the responses from the ZBC employees in subsection 5.4.1.1 in Chapter 5 expectedly defended the spatial distribution of languages on the ZBC radio and television stations; this study established that they fail to notice blatant linguistic hegemonies in the ZBC radio and television something which was observed by the ZBC audience, university lecturers and the other ZBC employees as discussed in the subsections 6.6.1 to 6.6.4 in Chapter 6. This study concurred with Wright (2004) and Magwa (2008) on the dominance of English, and Ndhlovu (2009) on the dominance of Shona and Ndebele at the expense of the minority languages in Zimbabwe. However, this study further established the dominance of Shona over Ndebele and the dominance of the Zezuru dialect in the Shona language. As a result, the ZBC reflects the maintenance of a strongly hierarchical organisation of languages on its radio and television stations. The study discussed the factors which supports the hegemony and marginalisation of the respective languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations.

The study demonstrated in subsection 6.6.1 of Chapter 6 that, English hegemony in the ZBC broadcasting is a reality. Using the political economy perspective, this study established that the dominance of English on the ZBC radio and television stations is an indication of what

Phillipson (1992) calls the functional load of the English language as shown by its dominance in the other public domains. This study also established that English is the language of business which attracts audiences and advertisers for the ZBC. On the other hand, this study maintains that the dominance of English language in the ZBC is profoundly influenced by the relentless hegemony of western countries in Zimbabwe which is necessitated by the new media technologies, satellite television, and the global media firms which supply media products to the African broadcasting firms. The dominance of English in the ZBC broadcasting is also supported by the academics and the ZBC personnel who defend the dominance of English in the public service broadcaster. In Gramscian terms, these individuals are the organic intellectuals who act as the 'salesmen' of the English language to the people of Zimbabwe. Thus, this study concludes that the predominance of English in the ZBC broadcasting have nothing to do with nationalistic or identification imperatives in the Zimbabwean broadcasting, but is an indication of the local and global media market forces which favour the use of this language.

This study also agrees with Ndhlovu (2009) who argues that Shona and Ndebele are the killer languages in Zimbabwe which threatens the existence of the other local languages. As demonstrated in Table 5.8 in Chapter 5, 78% of the television viewers and radio listeners, 47% of the ZBC employees, focus groups 1 and 2 raised concern on the dominance of Shona and Ndebele on the ZBC radio and television at the expense of the minority languages. This is evidenced by the observation that Shona and Ndebele are the only two local languages with a dedicated radio station which is *Radio Zimbabwe*, and that Shona and Ndebele are also found on *National FM*, a radio station which is dedicated for minority languages, a clear indication of the hegemonic tendencies of Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting. This study argues that the dominance of Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting must be understood from a historical point of view where the colonial regime demarcated the then Rhodesia into the Shona and Ndebele speaking regions. This study established that Shona and Ndebele languages have been promoted by the language policy in the Education Act of Zimbabwe 1987 as amended in 1990. From the political economy perspective, this study holds that Shona and Ndebele have got a wide listenership which makes them vital languages for the ZBC for revenue generation through attracting advertisers and audiences. Therefore, the researcher argues that the ZBC as a public sphere which must broadcast in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe to enhance people's participation has been transformed and is

shaped by the historical factors and the market interests thereby maintaining the hegemony of Ndebele and Shona on the ZBC radio and television stations.

As explained in subsection 6.6.3 in Chapter 6, this study also established that though, Shona and Ndebele are considered to be the dominant indigenous African languages on the ZBC radio and television stations; there is marked dominance of Shona on the ZBC radio and television stations at the expense of Ndebele. As shown in Table 5.8 in Chapter 5, this was noted by 34% of the ZBC listeners and viewers when they observed that Shona has got more programmes of national significance on the ZBC television and radio stations than those in Ndebele. This view echoes the Gramscian concept of hegemony and the success of one linguistic form over the other (Ives, 2004). This study concluded that the dominance of Shona in the ZBC broadcasting can be explained from a political economy dimension where the Ndebele speakers are outnumbered by the Shona speakers. As a result, the ZBC as a media industry is driven by the interests of both the audience and the advertisers in order to maximise revenue. Thus, the dominance of Shona in the ZBC broadcasting is a response to the demands of the market given that Shona has got far more speakers than Ndebele.

In subsection 6.6.4 in Chapter 6, this study established that the ‘Shona’ which is broadcast on the ZBC radio and television stations is mainly the Zezuru dialect at the expense of the other dialect of Shona. This study concurs with Magwa (2002) on the problems of what he calls ‘defective Shona’, a brainchild of Professor C.M. Doke which is manifesting on the ZBC radio and television stations and programmes long after the adoption of the standard Shona. As a result of the so called standard Shona, with the Zezuru dialect as the norm, it has gained prestige and access into the ZBC broadcasting. The study also established that the ZBC journalists and presenters who use Karanga, Ndau (now a language according to the New Constitution of Zimbabwe of 2013), Manyika or Korekore dialects of Shona to achieve derision are the organic intellectuals who function as agents for the ‘*zerurisation*’ of the Zimbabwean nation. From a political economy perspective, this standard Shona has got the capacity to attract the advertisers and the audience for the ZBC thereby generating the much needed revenue for its survival.

The study was also aimed at examining the significance of a multilingual approach to broadcasting in the representation of the multilingual and multicultural character of Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting after the crafting and implementation of the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) which outlines the mandate of the public

service broadcaster to broadcast in all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe. This study established that the multilingual broadcasting policy subsumed in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) is a noble guiding principle to language utilisation in the ZBC public service broadcasting for the reason that the presence of all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television is a positive development in a democracy. The study also established that the utilisation of all Zimbabwean languages in the ZBC broadcasting would allow the public broadcaster to reflect the multilingual and multicultural character of the Zimbabwean nation. This policy would also enable the ZBC to uphold the individual linguistic rights of the Zimbabwean citizens.

However, this study recognised the sophistication in the implementation of multilingual broadcasting in the context of the competing indigenous African languages and the English language. The observable stratification of languages in the ZBC broadcasting which is typified by the hegemony some languages at the expense of the other languages as shown in Table 5.8 in chapter 5 is testimony to this avowal. The study established that the ZBC is not a charitable institution, but it is a business entity which uses languages which help it to generate revenue through attracting advertisers and a significant audience. Therefore, this study argues that the distribution of languages on ZBC radio and television cannot be explained without considering the economic factors which determine the language choices and practices in the ZBC.

This study also ascertained that the multilingual broadcasting policy in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* (2007) lacks specificity on the languages to be used on the ZBC radio and television stations. This observation was made by Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 5 who condemned the *BSAA* (2007) for lacking clarity when it says “*all languages spoken in Zimbabwe*” and “*languages commonly used in Zimbabwe*”. This study argues that lack of clarity leaves room for the manipulation of the policy in favour of the dominant languages. As a result, multilingual broadcasting on the ZBC radio and television stations was poorly implemented as shown by the different dimensions of linguistic hegemony as shown in Table 5.8 in Chapter 5 of this study.

The study sought to evaluate the representation of the Zimbabwean nation by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming. This study concurs with Billing (1995) who maintains that the media are central in reproducing and maintaining nationalism. The study also admits that the media

carry language, they operate through language and they develop language (Tom, 2007) and that language is a critical determinant of national identity construction (Vambe, 2006; Orman, 2008; Young, 2011). However, this researcher established that media research in Zimbabwe has excluded the question of language and nation building; while language research has emphasised language and nation-building outside the media.

On language utilisation on the ZBC radio and television stations and how that impact on the representation of the multilingual Zimbabwean nation; this study established that the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio stations and programming is marked by the dominance of other languages as well as the marginalisation and exclusion of other languages. This fragility of the Zimbabwean nation projected by the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations is substantiated with the data in Table 5.10 in Chapter 5. Therefore, this study concludes that celebrating linguistic nationalism in a multilingual society results in many nationalisms which divide the nation. Therefore, this study contends that though the language of broadcasting is a critical subject in the Zimbabwean nation projected in the ZBC; the harmonisation of multilingualism and nation building in the ZBC is complicated by the fragility of Zimbabwean linguistic nationalism in the context of the one public service broadcaster and the pervasive political and economic influence of the western countries which favour the use of English in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation.

On the way forward, towards harnessing multilingualism, localism and the nation of Zimbabwe in ZBC broadcasting, this study recognised that the ZBC must make concerted efforts to promote all the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on its radio and television stations so as to reflect the multilingual nature of the Zimbabwean nation. On this point, this study maintains Ned's (1995) argument that the status of languages can be raised by their presence on television. This shows that this researcher admits that the idea of including all the indigenous African languages spoken in Zimbabwe in the ZBC broadcasting is noble considering the informative, communicative and symbolic functions of broadcasting and the idea of reflecting the multilingual nature of the Zimbabwean nation. This study established that there are various plans of action that can be adopted in order to improve the status and use of indigenous African languages in Zimbabwean broadcasting. However, this study argues that it is imperative to consider the factors which support the hegemony of English,

Shona and Ndebele in the ZBC broadcasting if the utilisation of indigenous African languages is to be realised.

The study critiqued the recommendations of the respondents on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of multilingual broadcasting policy and the local content broadcasting policy towards embodying an inclusive multilingual Zimbabwean nation. Table 5.11 in Chapter 5 and section 6.8 in Chapter 6 of this study shows that, the study established the following as the possible ways of expanding the broadcasting space of the indigenous African languages thereby amicably handling localism and multilingualism in Zimbabwean broadcasting:

- (a) There is need of decentralising the ZBC radio and television stations into the various provinces in Zimbabwe thereby expanding the broadcasting space to accommodate all the languages spoken in the country. For instance, the ZBC radio and television stations can be decentralised to places such as Hwange where Nambya is spoken or Binga where Tonga is spoken.
- (b) The Government must demonstrate its commitment to the promotion of indigenous African languages by allocating funds and other resources to broadcasting.
- (c) The ZBC must express its commitment to the promotion of indigenous African languages by allocating more space to indigenous African languages.
- (d) There is need to introduce community radio and television broadcasting stations in Zimbabwe to cater for the multiplicity of ethnic and linguistic communities in Zimbabwe.
- (e) The ZBC must recruit personnel who are competent in the minority languages such as Nambya, Tonga and Sotho so as to improve the quality of the programmes in these languages.
- (f) There is need for the refurbishment of the ZBC infrastructure, including the completion of the ZBC digitalisation exercise. This is expected to improve the ZBC signal in places where it is weak and create more channels thereby expanding the broadcasting space for the many languages in Zimbabwe.
- (g) There is need for a thorough and explicit broadcasting policy reform which will open up other forms of broadcasting over and above public service broadcasting so as to expand the space to accommodate more languages. This should include the

reformation of the language policy of the media to come up with language policy of the media outcomes without ambiguities and generalisations.

This study concedes that these are plausible submissions towards the equitable utilisation of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe and dealing with English, Shona and Ndebele hegemony the ZBC in the context of the multilingual and local content broadcasting policies. However, this researcher established that the ideological and political character of broadcasting makes it difficult for the government to devote itself to such a commitment. More so, from the perspective of the media economics, multilingual and local content broadcasting policies are expensive undertakings which require a huge capital base. Though the decentralisation of the ZBC radio and television stations will definitely expand the broadcasting space for the languages spoken in Zimbabwe, this will depend with the readiness of the Zimbabwean government to democratise broadcasting considering that broadcasting is an ideological and political institution. This researcher subscribes to the idea of improving the funding of the ZBC for the purposes of promoting the indigenous African languages. However, basing on the political economy perspective, allowing the government to fund the ZBC is tantamount to giving it the mandate to control the content of broadcasting, thereby jeopardising the public service broadcaster's mandate to broadcast in the public interest. More so, it is being over-ambitious to think that the ZBC will demonstrate its pride in indigenous African languages by giving them more space on radio and television for it to have a national character, without considering the interests of the advertisers and audiences who provide the revenue for its sustenance.

In this study, it was established that certainly the introduction of community radio and television stations in Zimbabwe will inevitably provide enough broadcasting space for the multiplicity of languages in Zimbabwe. However, this has proven to be difficult in Zimbabwe considering that the government has been reluctant to grant licences for community radio stations despite calls from the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and civic organisations for the setting up of the community radio stations. This demonstrates how the state interests in broadcasting can hinder national projects which can raise the status of indigenous African languages in broadcasting.

In this study, it is acknowledged that, the ZBC should endeavour to employ more native speakers of the minority languages in Zimbabwe so as to increase and improve the programmes done in these minority languages. However, this should start with the raising of

the status of the minority languages in schools and other public domains to the level of Shona and Ndebele.

This study admits that, the refurbishment of the ZBC infrastructure, which includes the completion of the digitalisation process and working on the ZBC signal in places where it is not accessible, is a positive development towards expanding the broadcasting space for the languages spoken in Zimbabwe. However, these are expensive projects which require a lot of money and may not be prioritised in a country which is facing economic challenges which require prioritisation. This is an indication that the financing, control and ownership patterns of the ZBC impact on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations and ultimately on the national identity of Zimbabwe.

This researcher concedes that the reformation of the language policy of the media is necessary towards improving the language situation on the ZBC radio and television stations. In this regard, a 'reformed' language policy of the media in Zimbabwe must have clear provisions on language use in broadcasting activities. The broadcasting policy in general must open up other forms of broadcasting over and above public service broadcasting in order to expand the broadcasting space for the indigenous African languages. However, language policy of the media must be backed up with meaningful implementation strategies if the status of the indigenous African languages is to be improved in the public service broadcasting. Otherwise, an ostensibly comprehensible language policy of the media can still be overridden by the political and economic interests in the ZBC.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the research findings and the conclusions made in this study, this researcher recommends that the Zimbabwean scholars in particular and African scholars in general in the discipline of language studies must go beyond identifying and lamenting the marginalisation and exclusion of the indigenous African languages in various public domains and contexts and critically interrogate the factors and conditions which favour the use of English at the expense of the indigenous African languages. This study envisages that this approach is the starting point of meaningful arguments which can influence meaningful language policy outcomes instead of parroting.

Owing to the pervasive character of language, this study also recommends that scholars in the discipline of language, particularly those in the African Languages Departments at various

African universities must improve in their sophistication by adopting a multidisciplinary approach to the study of language. The scholars must come out of their departmental cocoons and have an appreciation of other disciplines such as economics, political theory, globalisation, nationalism and neo-liberalism among others in order to critically analyse how these areas affect language use in Africa. That is, how some concepts from other various disciplines influence language choices and practices in given domains.

This study also recommends that the communication policies of Zimbabwe, especially those directing the operations of the media such as the *Broadcasting Services Act* of 2001 and the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act* of 2007 must have clear provisions on language usage in the print and broadcasting media, thus a concise language policy for the media in Zimbabwe. The policy statements must avoid obscure words like ‘all languages, languages commonly used, officially recognised languages’ and go for precise terms such as ‘official languages’ or precisely listing the languages to be used. This will help avoid the marginalisation and exclusion of other languages at the implementation stage.

In view of Chapter 1, Section 6 of the new *Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe* (2013) which outlines the sixteen officially recognised languages, and implores the state to take into account the language preferences of the people and advance the use of all the languages used in Zimbabwe, this study recommends that all the subsequent language policies for the different public domains particularly the language policy of the media be aligned to the demands of this new constitution. Above all, the language policies of the media in Africa and in other public domains must be backed up with well thought implementation strategies to avoid a policy-practice gap. Otherwise, sound commitments towards the raising of indigenous African languages will remain unimplemented.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR LECTURERS IN THE LANGUAGES DEPARTMENTS

TO: THE INFORMANT

I am **Phillip Mpofu**, a PhD candidate in the Department of African Languages at the University of South Africa. In fulfilment of the requirements of this degree, I am carrying out a research with a title **Multilingualism, Localism and the Nation: Identity Politics in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation**. This study critiques the multilingual paradigm to language usage in the ZBC radio and television local content programming. It pursues this purpose by analysing the fairness of the language distribution in the available broadcasting space and its impact on the Zimbabwean nation and locality in the context of multilingualism, globalisation and the rapid technological advancements. Your experiences and opinion are of great importance to this research. May you kindly assist by responding to the questions that follow. Please be assured that the information gathered in this research shall be treated in confidence and used strictly for the purposes of this research.

THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is your general remark on the local content broadcasting conditions apparent in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) as the policy translated into ZBC programming?
2. What would you say had been the major contributions of the local content broadcasting policy in ZBC radio and television in raising and development of the local languages in Zimbabwe?
3. The Seventh Schedule of the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act*, 2007 Act No. 19 of 2007 outlines that, the broadcasting service operated by a public broadcaster shall make programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe, reflect both the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe, and strive to be of high quality in all the languages served. From this excerpt,

- (a) Are the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe?
 - (b) Does the ZBC broadcasting reflect the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe?
 - (c) Are all the languages served in high quality programmes?
4. Then what do you say about the nature of the spatial distribution and equity of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the available radio and television stations and their respective programmes?
 5. How 'local' is the ZBC local content programming basing on the language choices and practices on the distribution of the Zimbabwean languages in the available ZBC radio and television broadcasting space?
 6. Considering that language is a critical marker of national identity, and the ensuing argument for the high local content requirement in the *BSA* (2001) is the construction of a Zimbabwean national identity, what is your comment on the handling of the language question in the national question?
 7. What do you consider to be the success and failures of the multilingual approach to language usage in the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective programmes?
 8. Since it is acknowledged that English is a hegemonic language in a globalising world and Shona and Ndebele are hegemonic languages in Zimbabwe what is the position of the other local languages in the ZBC local content programming?
 9. How do the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television local content programming reflect the Zimbabwean national identity and locality?
 10. What are the challenges and prospects in African states, such as Zimbabwe in becoming nations in the context of multilingualism, or simply competing languages?
 11. What do you say about the authenticity or inclusivity of the Zimbabwean national identity and locality projected in the ZBC radio and television local content

programming looking at the language use patterns on since Zimbabwe is a multilingual nation?

12. Given that the process and state of globalisation is an unquestionable and inevitable reality, on the basis of language use and how does the ZBC respond to the challenge of foreign languages such as English, and what impact does that have the Zimbabwean locality and identity?
13. What language usage and choices would you recommend on ZBC radio and television stations and the respective local content programming in order to construct an inclusive Zimbabwean national identity that is what do you think the ZBC must do to forge a common national identity in a multilingual context?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE LECTURERS IN THE MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES DEPARTMENT

TO: THE INFORMANT

I am **Phillip Mpofo**, a PhD candidate in the Department of African Languages at the University of South Africa. In fulfilment of the requirements of this degree, I am carrying out a research with a title **Multilingualism, Localism and the Nation: Identity Politics in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation**. This study critiques the multilingual paradigm to language usage in the ZBC radio and television local content programming. It pursues this purpose by analysing the fairness of the language distribution in the available broadcasting space and its impact on the Zimbabwean nation and locality in the context of multilingualism, globalisation and the rapid technological advancements. Your experiences and opinion are of great importance to this research. May you kindly assist by responding to the questions that follow. Please be assured that the information gathered in this research shall be treated in confidence and used strictly for the purposes of this research.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. (a) With the illustration of the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) in Zimbabwe, what is the rationale, intricacies and politics of local content broadcasting?
What do you say about the ZBC local content broadcasting policy as it translated into programming?
2. The Seventh Schedule of the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act*, 2007 Act No. 19 of 2007 outlines that, the broadcasting service operated by a public broadcaster shall make programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe, reflect both the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe, and strive to be of high quality in all the languages served. From this excerpt,
 - (a) Are the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe?
 - (b) Does the ZBC broadcasting reflect the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe?
 - (c) Are all the languages served in high quality programmes?

3. What do you say about equity or fairness of the spatial distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the available ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programmes?
4. How 'local' is the ZBC local content programming basing on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television broadcasting space?
5. Considering that language is a critical marker of national identity, and the ensuing argument for the high local content requirement in the *BSA* (2001) is the construction of a Zimbabwean national identity, what is your comment on the handling of the language question in the national question?
6. What are the challenges and prospects in African states, such as Zimbabwe in becoming nations in the context of multilingualism, or simply competing languages through the public space of radio and television broadcasting?
7. What is your response to conceptions, perceptions and images that are being legitimised by the language choices and use patterns on ZBC radio stations and the respective programming about the Zimbabwean nation and locality?
8. What do you say about the authenticity or inclusivity of the Zimbabwean national identity and locality projected in the ZBC local content programming looking at the languages usage and practices on the available radio and television station?
9. Given that the process and state of globalisation is an unquestionable and inevitable reality, on the basis of language use and how does the ZBC respond to the challenge of foreign languages such as English, and what impact does that have the Zimbabwean locality and identity?
10. How do the financing, ownership and control patterns of the ZBC determine the language use patterns in the ZBC radio and television stations and also programming, or simply the political economy of broadcasting and language in Zimbabwe?
11. What are the challenges and prospects in African states, such as Zimbabwe in becoming nations in the context of multilingualism, or simply competing languages through radio and television broadcasting?
12. What language usage and choices would you recommend on ZBC radio and television stations and the respective local content programming in order to construct an inclusive Zimbabwean national identity?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE ZBC EMPLOYEES

TO: THE INFORMANT

I am **Phillip Mpofo**, a PhD candidate in the Department of African Languages at the University of South Africa. In fulfilment of the requirements of this degree, I am carrying out a research with a title **Multilingualism, Localism and the Nation: Identity Politics in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation**. This study critiques the multilingual paradigm to language usage in the ZBC radio and television local content programming. It pursues this purpose by analysing the fairness of the language distribution in the available broadcasting space and its impact on the Zimbabwean nation and locality in the context of multilingualism, globalisation and the rapid technological advancements. Your experiences and opinion are of great importance to this research. May you kindly assist by responding to the questions that follow. Please be assured that the information gathered in this research shall be treated in confidence and used strictly for the purposes of this research.

THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the successes and challenges of the local content broadcasting conditions set in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) as it translated into programming over the years?
2. What would you say had been the major contributions of the local content broadcasting policy in ZBC radio and television in raising and development of the local languages in Zimbabwe?
3. The Seventh Schedule of the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act, 2007 Act No. 19* of 2007 outlines that, the broadcasting service operated by a public broadcaster shall make programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe, reflect both the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe, and strive to be of high quality in all the languages served. From this excerpt,
 - (d) Are the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe?
 - (e) Does the ZBC broadcasting reflect the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe?

- (f) Are all the languages served in high quality programmes?
4. What do you say about the equity or fairness of the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective programmes?
 5. How 'local' is the ZBC local content programming basing on the language choices and spatial distribution of the languages in the available ZBC radio and television broadcasting space?
 6. Considering the language usage and prominence given to other languages, do you think the ZBC radio and television local content programming is constructing an inclusive national identity?
 7. Considering the fact that language is considered to be a maker of identity in a wide scholarship, what are the implications of the language choices and utilisation of these languages on ZBC radio and television stations and programmes on the national identity of Zimbabwe?
 8. Looking at the prominence given to English, Shona and Ndebele are there any deliberate attempts to exclude the minority languages in the national identity project championed by ZBC?
 9. Would you recommend any changes to language use patterns on ZBC radio and television stations and the respective local content programming in order to construct an inclusive Zimbabwean national identity?
 10. What do you think the ZBC must do to forge a common national identity in a multilingual context?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ZBC AUDIENCE

TO: THE INFORMANT

I am **Phillip Mpofo**, a PhD candidate in the Department of African Languages at the University of South Africa. In fulfilment of the requirements of this degree, I am carrying out a research with a title **Multilingualism, Localism and the Nation: Identity Politics in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation**. This study critiques the multilingual paradigm to language usage in the ZBC radio and television local content programming. It pursues this purpose by analysing the fairness of the language distribution in the available broadcasting space and its impact on the Zimbabwean nation and locality in the context of multilingualism, globalisation and the rapid technological advancements. Your experiences and opinion are of great importance to this research. May you kindly assist by responding to the questions that follow. Please be assured that the information gathered in this research shall be treated in confidence and used strictly for the purposes of this research.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is your take on the local content broadcasting policy of Zimbabwe evident in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) as it translated into programming?
2. In your point of view, on the basis of languages spoken in Zimbabwe, how would you define a Zimbabwean?
3. How do the language choices and practices on ZBC radio and television local content programming project the Zimbabwean national identity and locality?
4. Does ZBC radio and television broadcasting reflect both the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe?
5. What is the nature of the spatial distribution of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the available radio and television stations and their respective programmes?
6. What do you say about the equity or fairness of the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television?
7. How 'local' is the ZBC local content programming basing on the language choices and spatial distribution of the languages in the available ZBC radio and television broadcasting space?

8. Given that the study observes that, the Seventh Schedule of the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act, 2007 Act No. 19 of 2007* outlines that, the broadcasting service operated by a public broadcaster shall make programmes available to Zimbabweans in all the languages commonly used in Zimbabwe, reflect both the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of Zimbabwe, and strive to be of high quality in all the languages served. To what extent has the ZBC worked to achieve these commitments?
9. What is your take on the multilingual approach to language usage in the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective programmes?
10. Considering the language choices and prominence given to other languages, do you think the ZBC radio and television local content programming is constructing an inclusive national identity?
11. What do you think the ZBC must do to forge a common national identity in a multilingual context?
12. What language usage and choices would you recommend on ZBC radio and television stations and the respective local content programming in order to construct an inclusive Zimbabwean national identity in a multilingual context?

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE ZBC RADIO LISTENERS AND TELEVISION VIEWERS

TO: THE INFORMANT

I am **Phillip Mpofo**, a PhD candidate in the Department of African Languages at the University of South Africa. In fulfilment of the requirements of this degree, I am carrying out a research with a title **Multilingualism, Localism and the Nation: Identity Politics in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation**. This study critiques the multilingual paradigm to language usage in the ZBC radio and television local content programming. It pursues this purpose by analysing the fairness of the language distribution in the available broadcasting space and its impact on the Zimbabwean nation and locality in the context of multilingualism, globalisation and the rapid technological advancements. Your experiences and opinion are of great importance to this research. May you kindly assist by responding to the questions that follow. Please be assured that the information gathered in this research shall be treated in confidence and used strictly for the purposes of this research.

QUESTIONS

1: Biographical Information

(a) Gender.....

(b) Age Group

Less than 20yrs ____ 21-30yrs ____ 31...40yrs ____ 41-50yrs ____ 51-60yrs ____ More than 60yrs ____

2: What is your first language/mother tongue?

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3: (a) Which ZBC radio station do you generally prefer? *Spot FM, Radio Zimbabwe, Power FM, National FM or Voice of Zimbabwe*

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(b) Explain why?

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Question 4: What is your comment on the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations in the context of the local content broadcasting conditions specified in the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)*?

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5: Do you think language is an important consideration in local content broadcasting?

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6 (a): How equitable is the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming in the context of the local content broadcasting specified in the *Broadcasting Services Act (2001)* and multilingual broadcasting in the *Broadcasting Services Amendment Act (2007)*?

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(b) Illustrate your answer by giving examples from the ZBC radio and television stations and the respective programming

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7 (a): Do you think a multilingual approach to public service broadcasting is the rightful solution to the representation of multilingualism in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television station? **YES/NO**

7 (b): Give reasons for your answer.

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8: In view of the local content broadcasting requirements in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) and the idea of using all languages in public service broadcasting specified in the BSSA (2007), how do the language choices and practices on the ZBC radio and television stations represent nation of Zimbabwe?

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9: Give reasons to support your observations

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10: What language choices and practices do you recommend on ZBC radio and television stations and their respective programming?

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11: In view of the recommendations which you gave in Question 10, how do you think that can be achieved?

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APPENDIX F

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE ZBC EMPLOYEES

TO: THE INFORMANT

I am **Phillip Mpofu**, a PhD candidate in the Department of African Languages at the University of South Africa. In fulfilment of the requirements of this degree, I am carrying out a research with a title **Multilingualism, Localism and the Nation: Identity Politics in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation**. This study critiques the multilingual paradigm to language usage in the ZBC radio and television local content programming. It pursues this purpose by analysing the fairness of the language distribution in the available broadcasting space and its impact on the Zimbabwean nation and locality in the context of multilingualism, globalisation and the rapid technological advancements. Your experiences and opinion are of great importance to this research. May you kindly assist by responding to the questions that follow. Please be assured that the information gathered in this research shall be treated in confidence and used strictly for the purposes of this research.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1: What are the major contributions of the local content policy in the *Broadcasting Services Act* (2001) on the ZBC radio and television to the development of the indigenous Zimbabwean language?

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2: Considering the time allocated to the different languages spoken in Zimbabwe, what is your take on the fairness of the spatial distribution of languages spoken in Zimbabwe on the ZBC radio and television station and their respective programming?

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3: Give reasons for your answer.

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4: To what extent does the ZBC manage to implement the multilingual approach to public service broadcasting specified in the *BSAA* (2007)?

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5: What challenges are faced by the ZBC in implementing multilingual radio and television broadcasting?

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6: What must be done by the ZBC in order for it to represent the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe?

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7: In view of the recommendations which you gave in Question 6, how do you think that can be achieved?

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