

# MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



Faculty of Social Sciences

---

## DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

**“REPRESENTATION OF MINORITY LINGUISTIC GROUPS BY  
BROADCAST MEDIA IN ZIMBABWE: A CASE OF STAR FM  
PROGRAMME-MOTHER TONGUE MARCH”**

***TINASHE MAPURANGA  
R146544M***

**SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
OF THE BACHELORS OF SCIENCES HONOURS DEGREE IN MEDIA  
AND SOCIETY STUDIES**

**GWERU, ZIMBABWE**

**MAY 2018**



**APPROVAL FORM**

The undersigned certify that they have supervised the student, Tinashe Mapuranga’s dissertation entitled, “*Representation of Minority Linguistic Groups by Broadcast Media in Zimbabwe: A case of Star Fm programme-Mother Tongue March*” submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Media and Society Studies degree at Midlands State University.

.....

**SUPERVISOR**

.....

**DATE**

.....

**INTERNAL EXAMINER**

.....

**DATE**

.....

**EXTERNAL EXAMINER**

.....

**DATE**

**RELEASE FORM**

**NAME OF STUDENT:** Tinashe Mapuranga  
**REG NUMBER:** R146544M  
**DISSERTATION TITLE:** Representation of Minority Linguistic Groups by Broadcast Media in Zimbabwe: A case of Star Fm programme ‘Mother Tongue March’  
**DEGREE TITLE:** Media and Society Studies  
**YEAR THIS DEGREE WAS GRANTED:** 2018

Permission is hereby granted to the Midlands State University Library to produce single copies of this dissertation and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purpose only. The author does not reserve other publication rights and the dissertation nor may extensive extracts from it be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author’s written permission.

**SIGNED** .....

**PERMANENT ADDRESS** 11125, Nyatsime  
Harare

**DATE** .....

## **DEDICATIONS**

My study is dedicated to my parents who whom I believe can do everything and anything with their heads to achieve their goals.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I wish to extend my deepest gratitude to all those persons who were instrumental in assisting me with the successful completion of this study.

Firstly, I want to thank my supervisor Mr Shoko who has provided me with invaluable insights and constant guidance throughout the study. Without his patience, understanding and intuitive advice, this task may not have been completed.

The members of the staff at the Midlands State University Library have graciously rendered their services it was when required require, their cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Finally, for the support and guidance of my friends, colleagues and family members.

### **ABSTRACT**

The study focuses on the representation of minority linguistic groups by broadcast media in Zimbabwe paying particular attention to Star FM programme ‘Mother Tongue March (MTM)’. The research explores the role of Star FM in promoting local languages. The Public Sphere and the Democratic Participant theory were employed to provide a theoretical base for this research. The study made use of qualitative research method, which was complemented by the use of open-ended questionnaires and interviews to have more detailed information when collecting and analyzing data. The research found that Star FM is making efforts to accommodate everyone on the public sphere through the programme ‘Mother Tongue March’. However besides MTM, there are no other specific programs dedicated for indigenous languages. The study recommends Star FM to recruit presenters that speak different local languages. The government can also be recommended to come up with policies that can help improve the participation of minority linguistic groups on the media e.g students must be taught using local languages in the education sector.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

APPROVAL FORM .....	i
RELEASE FORM.....	ii
DEDICATIONS.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iv
ABSTRACT .....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
<b>CHAPTER I .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1. 2 Background of the Study .....	1
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	2
1.4 Main Research Question.....	3
1.4.1 Sub-Research Question.....	3
1.5 Research Objectives.....	3
1.6 Justification of the Study .....	3
1.7 Research Hypothesis.....	4
1.8 Delimitation of the Study.....	4
1.9 Limitations of the Study.....	5
Chapter Summary .....	5
<b>CHAPTER II.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	<b>6</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	6
2:2 Literature Review .....	6
2.2.1 Echoing Silent Voices.....	6
2.2.2 Role of Radio in Zimbabwe.....	9
2.2.3 The Role of Radio in Building Democratic Values .....	11
2.3 Theoretical Framework.....	13
2.3.1 The Public Sphere Concept.....	13



2.3.2 Democratic Participant Theory .....	16
2.4 Summary .....	18
<b>CHAPTER III .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>19</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	19
3.2 Research Methods.....	19
3.3 Methodology .....	20
3.3.1 Research Design.....	21
3.4 Population/Unit of Analysis.....	21
3.5 Sampling Methods .....	21
3.5.1 Purposive Sampling .....	21
3.6 Data Gathering instruments .....	22
3.6.1 Interviews.....	22
3.6.2 Questionnaires.....	23
3.7 Data Analysis .....	24
3.8 Reliability and Validity.....	24
3.9 Chapter Summary .....	24
<b>CHAPTER IV.....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>25</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	25
4.2 Historical Background .....	25
4.3 Mission Statement.....	26
4.4 Vision.....	26
4.5 Core Values.....	26
4.6 Political Economy.....	27
4.7 Organisational Structure .....	28
4.8 Funding Mechanism.....	29
4.9 Summary .....	31
<b>CHAPTER V .....</b>	<b>32</b>

<b>DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>32</b>
5.1 Introduction.....	32
5.2.1 Role of Star FM in Promoting Local Minority Languages.....	32
5.2.2 Coverage of Minority Linguistic Groups on Star FM .....	34
5.2.3 Strategies to improve the participation of minority linguistic groups on radio .....	37
5.2.4 Strategies that can be adopted by the Government to improve Participation of Minority Linguistic Groups .....	39
5.3 Summary.....	41
<b>CHAPTER VI.....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....</b>	<b>42</b>
6.1 Summary of Research.....	42
6.2 Summary of the Findings.....	42
6.3 Recommendations.....	42
6.3.1 Recommendations to Broadcasters .....	42
6.3.2 Recommendations to the Government.....	43
6.3.3 Recommendations to Media Expert Training Institutions.....	43
6.4 Areas for Further Study .....	43
6.5 Summary.....	44
REFERENCES .....	45

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction

This study is about the representation of minority linguistic groups by broadcast media in Zimbabwe, focusing on STAR FM program ‘mother tongue March’ the media plays a very significant role in our society today. Media workers are in essence interpreters of information. The media also has a bigger role to play in society since they allow people to know about the customs and arts of different communities. They are able to bring societies together by giving them a platform on the media to discuss issues of national interest. They also enable different minority linguistic groups to contribute to national discussions as well as offer dialogue between political leaders thereby contributing to the development of their country (McCombs & Shaw, 1993; Browne, 2008). According to Mcquail (1987) the media has the capacity to hold governments accountable, forcing them to explain their actions and decisions, all of which affect the people they represent. The mass media includes every broadcasting and narrowcasting medium such as television, radio etc. Since the media have a bigger role to play in society they must recognize the existence of minority linguistic groups.

It is important that radio stations send a signal on which minority linguistic group they represent. National broadcasters have a critical role to play in unifying a nation since they broadcast to a wider population. Zimbabwe has sixteen recognized languages which are: Shona, Ndebele, Tonga, Tswana, Kalanga, Venda, Koisan, Shangani, Ndau, Chibarwe, Nambya, Xhosa, Chewa, sign language, Sotho, and finally, English. Therefore national broadcasters must ensure that every one of those groups is represented. The character of mass communications makes it possible for the dissemination of information to a bigger and geographically dispersed audience, in real time. The speed of media should result in bringing people closer including the minority linguistic groups (Mabika, 2014).

#### 1.2 Background of the Study

Minority linguistic groups refer to those people who differ from the dominant group in a given society. These groups may be identified by their distinct practices such as way of dressing, language, beliefs and customs among other things (Baumann, 2004). This

research looks at language representation of these groups in the Zimbabwean media particularly radio broadcasting.

The Concept of minority representation has been at the centre of Zimbabwean politics, economy and social life. Zimbabwe consists of different minority linguistic groups with the Ndebele and Shona speaking mainly represented on the media. Various scholars have covered the political and economic marginalization of the minority linguistic groups. The issue of minority linguistic groups’ representation remains uncovered.

Zimbabwe is signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and article 27 of their covenant states that:

*‘In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.’*

Since Zimbabwe is signatory to these above mentioned covenants there is need to carry a research on the representation of minority linguistic groups. These international covenants advocates for freedom of expression in which everyone within Zimbabwe is able to make a contribution. This is an area that has not been covered by many scholars. This study is therefore going to focus on how the media has implemented the dictates of these covenants in a bid to ensure that every minority linguistic group in Zimbabwe has been afforded representation by broadcast media.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

This study seeks to establish the role of radio in the representation of minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe and come up with alternative solutions that can help improve representation of these groups. According to Magwa (2008) indigenous languages have received very little attention in terms of being used as media of instruction. Magwa further argues that one of the major problems being faced by minority groups around the world is the deprivation of the right to representation and self- determination.

## **1.4 Main Research Question**

What is the role of radio towards the representation of minority linguistic groups?

### **1.4.1 Sub-Research Question**

1. What is the role played by Star FM in the representation of minority linguistic groups?
2. What strategies can be adopted by the government to address the representation of minority linguistic groups by radio broadcasters?
3. What are the alternative options necessary to promote the participation of minority linguistic groups on Radio?

## **1.5 Research Objectives**

The Objectives of the research are to:

- Examine the role played by Star FM in the representation of minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe.
- Find out the steps that the government can make to address the representation of minority linguistic groups in the media
- Provide recommendations for guaranteeing the right to representation of minority linguistic groups.

## **1.6 Justification of the Study**

Scholars have mainly covered political issues affecting minority linguistic groups. There is still a lot to be covered with regard to their representation in radio broadcasting. Many African countries including Zimbabwe are still using the language of their former colonial masters as the dominant language within a population. Little progress has been made to promote indigenous languages. This study traces progress that has been made so far by national broadcasters particularly radio broadcasting in accommodating the various minority languages within Zimbabwe.

Most literature concentrated on identifying the sources and principles of self-determination as well as polarization and the reasons behind the backwardness of the

minority linguistic groups. The applicability of the principle of representation towards minority linguistic groups remains unexplored extensively. As such, the effectiveness of the Zimbabwean Constitution, which guarantees sixteen official languages, remains in obscurity. Intense study is required to analyze the extent to which the Radio Stations have responded to the supreme law with regard to the right of minority people representation.

The shortage of information on ethnic minorities explains their underrepresentation and the lack of diversified views in the country. The study will provide important information on the representation of minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe and come up with strategies to the government as well as policy makers to help improve the representation of minority groups in the media.

Furthermore, the study will serve as a voice to the silent ethnic minorities of this country and addresses their rights and significance in society because they are a significant part of our diversity as a nation.

### **1.7 Research Hypothesis**

In reality, there is underrepresentation of different minority linguistic groups both in terms of presence and in terms of content (Bird, 2004). According to Agnes Repplier, an American essayist, “Democracy forever teases us with the contrast between its ideals and its realities, between its heroic possibilities and its sorry achievements”. This quote also applies today. In contemporary Zimbabwe, representatives represent citizens. But the ideal of a true representative democracy where the elected assemblies mirror the population of a given country is inconsistent with reality.

The current Zimbabwean systems are far from effectively guaranteeing the rights of minority people to representation. There is still a lot to be done in order to improve the participation of minority linguistic groups in the broadcasting sector.

### **1.8 Delimitation of the Study**

In order to have an in-depth analysis of the subject under study the researcher analyzes the principle of representation and its application to minority linguistic groups focusing

on Star FM programme ‘Mother Tongue March’ (MTM). The study focuses on this newly licensed radio station to allow the analysis into the role that has been played by broadcasters in ensuring fair representation of minority linguistic groups.

### **1.9 Limitations of the Study**

Given that the subject of representation is linked to state polarization the researcher faced complexities in gathering data from various research stakeholders, as the issue politically and emotionally affects the parties in question. The researcher also faced limitations resulting from polarized information indicating partisan views of the Shona, Ndebele and the San as the parties in conflict. Some can adhere to the tact-blame game. The research is also restricted to STAR FM programme “The Mother Tongue March” (MTM) which seeks to celebrate the existence of sixteen local languages. Since the research is focusing on one radio station the results are likely to be generalized.

### **Chapter Summary**

This Chapter gave an introduction to the research topic. It highlighted definitions of important terms such ‘minority linguistic groups’ and ‘media representation’ as well as justification of the study. The chapter also carried research questions as well as the objectives. The next chapter focuses on the literature review.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This study will employ various scholars on minority languages. The study was mainly guided by three scholars namely, Muzondidya and Ndlove-Gatsheni 2014, Zhou (2014), Mabika (2014). These scholars assisted the researcher in identifying the gap that has not been covered with regard to the representation of minority groups in Zimbabwe.

#### **2:2 Literature Review**

##### **2.2.1 Echoing Silent Voices**

Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2014) in their publication *Echoing Silences* argues that whilst post-independence Zimbabwe has made efforts to come up with policies that encourage the representation of minority groups in the media, there is still serious ethnic polarization in the country. This is supported by Mano (2006) who argues that, the competence of radio stations to broadcast using local languages in Zimbabwe remains a fallacy. Ndlove (2004) postulates that, while radio is meant to cater for minority languages within Zimbabwe most of the programmes are dominated by majority languages such as English, Shona and Ndebele while minority linguistic languages are left out on important issues of national interest.

Many Scholars concur with this as they argue that, most local languages are likely to be phased out (Skuntnabb-Kangas, 1981; Brenzinger, 1992; Crystal, 2003; Salawu, 2006; Manyozo, 2009; Mabika, 2011). To these scholars minority linguistic groups are being marginalized and there is need for them to be recognized. The researcher denotes that, radio since it is ubiquitous should be utilized to echo the voice of these dying languages. This is supported by Ndaba (2008) who argues that, if exploited fully, radio can unite communities and break geographical boundaries in which, people communicate with each other on the public platform using local languages.

Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2014) further noted that, as with most post-colonial



African nationalist governments, which have come to be haunted by ethnicity, such as Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and most recently Kenya and South Africa, the postcolonial government of Zimbabwe has largely remained reluctant to engage ethnicity as an issue in both politics and the economy. In support of this, Mabika (2014) pointed out that, the government has failed to use its authority to safeguard the rights of minority linguistic groups to representation. To these scholars minorities have not been able to echo their voices due to the failure by the government to engage ethnic minority groups to participate in issues of common interest.

Magwa (2008) noted that, after the Zimbabwe government attained its independence in 1980, it decided to ignore local minority languages and concentrated on the already dominant languages of Shona and Ndebele. Shona and Ndebele were the only subjects taught at secondary school level in the country. These were the only local languages that received the first preference countrywide over other linguistic minority groups (Mabika, 2014). This therefore led to the marginalization of local languages in Zimbabwe.

Raymond (1995) further argues that, marginalization of Indigenous languages within the education system leads to declining numbers of minority language speakers. Mabika (2014) concurs with this as she argues that, local languages spoken in Zimbabwe by minority linguistic groups should be equitably acknowledged and used in the media, particularly the abundant radio broadcasting. Government run media outlets use only majority languages, excluding monolingual minority language speakers from accessing vital news and information (Mabika, 2014). This is particularly true since minority language speakers are stereo-typified as linguistic oddities and suffering from lack of knowledge of the dominant language. They are also constructed as backward rather than owners of another language, or multilingual skills (Magwa, 2008).

Furthermore, marginalization of minority linguistics is a result of approval of English as a world language, which poses serious threats to the existence of local minority languages in Zimbabwe (Ndhlovu, 2004; Salawu, 2006; Magwa, 2008; Rao, 2009). As argued by Maseko and Moyo (2013), stronger local languages such as Shona and Ndebele also contribute to the to the marginalization of local minority languages. They claim that,

since these dominant languages are recognised as national languages while those of minority groups are considered minor, hence have remained on the peripheries of the sociolinguistic environment and have not received any appreciation nationally. Critics have raised concerns with government's failure to formulate policies that safeguard the rights of minority linguistic groups to representation. This is supported by Magwa (2008) who argues that, if some languages are preferred at the expense of the others it is evident there is something amiss with the government policies.

McDougall (2010) is of the view that, the marginalization of linguistic minorities is often aggravated by numerous and complex factors. They are not marginalized on the public media and are often denied equal access to quality learning. Their marginalization may limit their participation in the public arena and as well limit their employment possibilities since they are overlooked. Also, these indigenous groups are commonly poorly represented in political structures and decision-making bodies and consequently have little control over decisions that affect them. Lacking a voice in shaping their own circumstances, they are vulnerable to mistreatment.

However, despite all the literature on representation of minority groups, very little research has been done on linguistic minority representation, specifically focusing on the broadcast media. Scarcity of information on broadcast media in Zimbabwe relating to the issue of minority linguistic groups representation shows that the issue has been largely neglected. The above literature is not sustainable in case of Zimbabwe since it places emphasis government's failures to safeguard the representation of these groups. Rather, ignoring diversity of information in the media is the problem. Instead, Zimbabwe can provide these marginalized groups with a platform to air their views and achieve stronger and justifiable unity if the media guarantee the right of indigenous people and their individual members to distinct language representation by expressing their views on radio programs.

This study will therefore go a step further in highlighting that, the problem of minority groups in Zimbabwe does not come from the government as suggested by some of the scholars above but the media as well since it is suppose to give minority groups the

platform to air their views. More so, participation of minority groups is a collaborative effort, which is not, restricted to the government only rather should include all the divisions of industry, education and the media. The government of Zimbabwe has particularly made strides to engage ethnicity as evidenced by the adoption of the 2013 Zimbabwean constitution, which recognizes all the sixteen languages that exist within the country.

### **2.2.2 Role of Radio in Zimbabwe**

Zhou (2014) in his publication *The Persistence of Extreme Poverty Among Ethnic Minorities in Zimbabwe* noted that Ideally, radio aims at providing information to every ethnic group within a community thereby influencing decision making by those in authorities. For Schramm (1949) the ubiquitous radio makes different minority linguistic groups aware of other parts as well as enabling leaders from these groups to have dialogue of national interest. Wood (2007) concurs with this as he noted that, radio has the capability of reviewing information, which are unknown to the general public. Furthermore, radio broadcasters since they provide information are considered principal institutions that can enable national leaders communicate with each other through a platform that allows them to air their diversified views hence it provides dialogue for national leaders, from which members of the public get a better understanding of their nation. This means that the media are able provide information of national interest to everyone within the country.

Minority languages are therefore important in order for radio broadcasters to effectively reach their audiences. This is supported by Mabika (2014) who noted that, minority linguistic groups interact by exchanging information in a language that is common to those groups. Hence effective communication can only take place if a language understood by every ethnic group is used. Language is central in a multilingual nation like Zimbabwe. Sonderling (2005) concurs with this, as he argued that, indigenous languages are important in all aspects of humanity, from interpersonal situations to communication through radio broadcasting. The particular role of news in our lives is therefore inextricably linked to the general role that language plays in society (Fourie,

2001). This is supported by Sonderling (2009) who postulates that, people create language, but it also constructs or reconstructs society. Hence the abundant radio broadcasting play an important role of spreading news and in molding all aspects of the audience’s way of thinking, and way of life (Mabika, 2014).

Media Development Investment Fund (2014) stated that, radio can easily be accessed by the public hence it enables indigenous groups to demand responsibility from their regimes. This is true, since it provides different minority linguistic groups with a platform to discuss national policy thereby keeping national interest and national achievements always before the public. Radio can as well help in providing visibility to isolated communities, disparate subcultures, self-centered individuals and groups, and separate developments into a truly national development. To Schramm (1949), the media plays a wider range of roles but most importantly it is there as a public arena where issues of common concern are discussed by different minority groups. This means that the media has the potential engage every minority linguistic group in issues relating to national development. Every one in Zimbabwe must participate in national discussions regardless of ethnicity.

Mabika (2014) further argues that, in most cases government action is influenced by how radio broadcasters and other media outlets report an issue. Radio broadcasting through sustained and consistent coverage can lead the government into more functional action by subjugating to the pressure of public opinion to pierce on those in authorities conscience because governments on their own can only do so much.

However, many scholars have neglected the issue of the role played by radio in the representation of minority linguistic groups. There is no research that has been carried out focusing on the role of radio towards representation of minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe. Zhou’s research is mainly centered on the importance of media in dealing with poverty alleviation. He therefore fails to highlight other important roles that can be played by radio in uplifting the status of minority linguistic groups e.g. engaging different minority groups in the country on the public media so that they can be able to express their opinions. This study will therefore help to cover the gap that has been widely

neglected relating to the issue of minority groups representation in Zimbabwe.

### **2.2.3 The Role of Radio in Building Democratic Values**

As argued by Rennie (2006), democracy refers to the intent to rule in the interests of the people for the common good. For Mojaye and Lamidi (2015), democracy embodies a set of those otherwise policymaking institutions that represent respect for the equal significance of all the people, and the fact that defenseless and deprived citizens can express their opinions through independent means is a substantial form of potential influence for non-privileged groups. This is supported by Huddock (1998) who noted that, radio enables the majority to make informed choices rather than acting out of ignorance or propaganda. The majority rule, as expressed through representation, consent and participation, plays a pivotal role in legitimating a democracy (Arblaster, 1987). This implies that the media must act as a public sphere where everyone can express their views. Minority linguistic groups must also be given the platform to air their views and be able to contribute to development in Zimbabwe.

Mojaye and Lamidi (2015) further argue that, radio broadcasters should allow enhancement of a public society and civic contribution in democratic process through broadcasting of social and political information. Hiddock (1998) concurs with this as he pointed out that the media serve a watchdog role by ensuring that nominated representatives maintain their promises of responsibility and carry out the wishes of those who elected them. The ubiquitous radio broadcasters if fully utilized has the potential of giving the minority linguistic groups freedom of expression since they are cut off from the mainstream of socio-political and economic development activities (Wantchekon, 2003). Every individual within Zimbabwe must be able to participate to the advancement of the country regardless of race or ethnicity.

While scholars consider radio to be a part of the public arena, it is well known that it overlaps other functional areas of fairness and control (Shahira, 1996; USAID, 1998). A good example is when support for radio broadcasting may produce results in government actions, particularly those related to devolution, anti-corruption, and public participation in the policy process (Sanford, 1990). The rule of law may be further established by

support for democratic radio stations that keeps a check on the judiciary, reports on the courts, and promotes a legal enabling environment suitable for press freedom (Clement, 1997). Radio broadcasters can play a significant role through transparent process towards free and fair elections, which gives candidates equal representation, and provide information without bias.

Radio can also play a crucial role in democratic transitions, the goal of media development generally should be to move the media from one that is directed or even overtly controlled by government or private interests to one that is more open and has a degree of editorial independence that serves the public interest (Sanford, 1990). Clement (1997) further argues that, If the media is to have any meaningful role in democracy, then the ultimate goal of media assistance should be to develop a range of diverse mediums and voices that are credible, and to create and strengthen a sector that promotes such outlets. This means that, creating an environment that allows minority linguistic groups to participate. This is supported by USAID (1998) who argues that, credible outlets enable citizens to have access to information that they need to make informed decisions and to participate in society. A media sector supportive of democracy would be one that has a degree of editorial independence, is financially viable, has diverse and plural voices, and serves the public interest (Huddock, 1998; Simon, 1998). This means that the media can promote public interest by representing a plurality of voices both through a greater number of outlets and through the diversity of views and voices reflected within one outlet.

Broadcasters can play a positive role in democracy only if there is an enabling environment that allows them to do so. They need the requisite skills for the kind of in-depth reporting that a new democracy requires, (Peters, 2003). National broadcasters should therefore give access to minority linguistic groups to express their ideas. Efforts to help the media should be directed towards the protection of press rights, enhancing media accountability, building media capacity and democratizing media access (Simon, 1992). All these are extrapolations on the media's role as virtual town hall or public square: by providing information and acting as a forum for public debate, radio play a catalytic role,

making reforms possible through the democratic process and in the end strengthening democratic institutions and making possible public participation, without which democracy is mere sham, (Holmes, 1991).

These scholars succeeded in bringing out the importance of radio in fostering democracy within a community. However their research is mainly centered on community radio stations. Very little has been done to carry out studies on national broadcasters in Zimbabwe. There is scarcity of information on the role of media in promoting democracy in Zimbabwe, which makes this study relevant. Democratic values entail civility justice, mutual respect and open mindedness, through which debate and critical examination of issues lead to a fuller understanding of issues and a more reflective set of references, (Unegbu, 2003).

### **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

The researcher will be guided by two theories namely public sphere and the democratic participant theory. The harmonization of the two theories gives a deep analysis of the representation of minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe by broadcast media using STAR FM programme ‘Mother Tongue March’ (MTM) as a case study.

#### **2.3.1 The Public Sphere Concept**

The theory was propounded by Habermas (1962). For him, the public sphere is a space where ordinary people came to discuss issues of national interest, a space that mediates between people and the state. Charles and Rohwer (2015) postulates that, the public sphere is a space where people came to discuss with each other, and sometimes with authorities, issues of common interest. These gatherings were not only concerned about discourse but also allowed the ordinary people to use their logic to influence decisions in their country. As Habermas (1962) notes, the medium of this political confrontation was people’s public use of their reason. These ordinary people didn’t simply participate but did so both directly and critically.

The ideal public sphere originally took place in refreshment centers and equality was key to the public sphere (Warner, 199). This meant that, the arguments of the participants

were similarly treated and scrutinized as no one was above the other. Universal access to all the citizens was crucial hence the researcher argues that, public sphere concept provides an ideal model, which leads to the universalistic possibility of a general public participation that includes minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe. This means that every minority linguistic group within a nation like Zimbabwe would participate in issues of national interest. The public sphere concept allowed every minority linguistic group to come and discuss issues of common concern since it was accessible to everyone. The researcher further noted that since Zimbabwe is a multilingual nation, this model could ensure regulatory bodies such as the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) issue broadcasting licenses with a view to benefiting such licenses to minority linguistic groups.

Furthermore the public sphere functioned as a platform where a rational public debate arose. This concept has the ability to influence decision-making by forming a critical consent, which produces a comprehensible public opinion, and by making the state answerable to its people (Kluge, 1981). The researcher concurs with this since the media must give every citizen a right to express their opinions including the various minority linguistic groups within Zimbabwe. More so, the sphere functioned as a place for counter-opinion; its members as part of a logical engaged group of people, stood in contraposition to the power of the state. The researcher further argues that, this model if adopted ensures that radio plays its role as a watchdog of the society by bringing citizens to discuss and criticize government policies.

Habermas (1972) pinpoints to the level of financial concentration and technical administrative co-ordination in media as a threat to the critical functions of a public sphere. He therefore argues that, due to the high level of concentration, regimes often decided to put the media under public control rather than private ownership. The media were put in the hands of ordinary people and were protected from interference by the public authority. This enabled the public to engage in rational critical debate hence this model if adopted enables different ethnic groups in Zimbabwe to contribute their ideas to the nation. Habermas's concept of the public sphere placed emphasis on citizen



participation to issues of public interest through radio programs.

Garnham (1986) compliments Habermas's concept by making reference to the idea of a free market against government control in his distinction of the public sphere from both state and market. The public sphere is relevant to contemporary societies such as Zimbabwe since the emergence of global markets as centers of private economic power undermines representation of minority linguistic groups and new public spheres and political institutions are needed for the control of the global polity and economy. Moreover, Garnham (1986) further argues that with the development of digital media radio broadcasters are undergoing changes so that they are more inclusive. The public sphere concept allows radio broadcasters to operate freely without any intervention from the state and the private owners. The researcher agrees with Garnham since the concept gives room to minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe to engage in open discussions on radio programs.

Fraser (1997) attempted to rethink Habermas' bourgeois public sphere concept. According to him, marginalized groups are excluded from the universal public sphere, and thus it was impossible to claim that one group would, in fact, be inclusive. Fraser was against the idea of a single public sphere since it failed to provide an arena for marginalized groups to discuss their issues. Habermas's public sphere concept would be put under the supervision of the dominant groups hence the subordinates would not be able to discuss their needs, objectives and strategies that could help take the nation forward. The researcher argues that if implemented this concept would allow plurality in the media sector since they will be multiple public arenas. This will enhance participation of different minority linguistic groups since the existence of multiple public spheres would be guaranteed.

Also, the public spheres allowed various minority groups to participate despite their cultural background. These spheres consisted of cultural institution such as the media and were encouraged to accommodate various people to come and express their opinions since they had to include every expressive model (Fraser, 1997). Living the media in the hands of a single seemingly all-inclusive public sphere results in the decline of these

diversified views of expression. In her conclusion Fraser argues that, there was need to have a critical political sociology of a form of public life in which multiple and equal publics participate.

The researcher can therefore note that, the public sphere provides a model of that enables ordinary people to be involved in issues of public interest through participation on radio programs. The concept can be inclusive as noted by Fraser (1997) to include all the marginalized groups within a multilingual nation like Zimbabwe.

### **2.3.2 Democratic Participant Theory**

The theory was propounded by McQuail (1972). It emerged due to the people's discontentment with libertarian theory and the social responsibility theory. The reason for discontentment was because of their failure to achieve social benefit expected of them. This theory therefore suggests horizontal kind of communication rather than top down communication. The theory also advocates equality between sender and receiver instead of one-way communication system. The Democratic Participant theory challenges commercialization and monopolization of privately owned media as well as reacts against the centralism and bureaucratization of media institutions, as pointed out by McQuail. The theory if adopted can work in Zimbabwe since it encourages inclusivity of different minority linguistic groups to participate in discussions of national interest. The theory allows radio to conserve and revive local languages by promoting the right to express feedback, right to use new technologies. The theory advocates for the government to provide funds, trainings for local journalists who are familiar with local languages to enable participation across all minority linguistic groups within Zimbabwe

This concept if adopted allows equality, inclusion and equal access to information which helps eliminate marginalization of minority linguistic groups. The theory complements the public sphere concept since it emphasizes on nationalism, and encourages citizen's participation in national affairs. This theory advocates for democracy and gives the media freedom to work with its local people.

The theory also stresses commitment to feedback in social political communication in

order to attain completed, communication circuit (Folarin, 1998). It also advocates equality between sender and receiver or what has been called association mode as against the command mode or superiority of the sender to the receiver in a one-way communication system. This model will work well in Zimbabwean context since the system recognizes that audiences are not a homogeneous groups but active participants in the media. All minority linguistic groups must be able to contribute to the production of media content provided by broadcasters.

The democratic participant theorist insisted that, the mass media have become too important to the general public hence should not be left in the hands of owners and operators. This is because such a monopoly may serve to deny the minority linguistic group their right to representation. The theory argues that every person has the right to access information regardless of cultural background as well as the right to give feedback and right to use the mass media for interaction (Paterman, 1979). This concept guarantees universal access of information to all the minority linguistic groups within Zimbabwe since everyone is allowed to participate. The media must be free from advertisements and government influence for it to carry out its role without any form of bias. If implemented, this theory advocates for every minority group within Zimbabwe to participate freely in public debates. This system gives freedom of expression to the audiences as guaranteed by the Windhoek Declaration of 1991.

The thrust of the theory lies in its insistence that there should be collaborative media in which various media outlets such as broadcasters and print media are inclusive to all minority linguistic groups. This helps to empower citizens to make informed choice of government leaders in order to achieve strong and healthy, pluralistic political discourse. The researcher concurs with this since the theory guarantees pluralism in the media sector and also encourages all the minority linguistic groups to participate. The communication process must not be affected by interference from those in the authorities (Curran, 1991; Livingstone, 1990; Morley, 1980). The mass media must promote the interest and needs of the audiences and shouldn't be justified to respect the interest of the government as well as market forces. This theory advocates for multiple broadcasters and their freedom in order for them to allow citizens to participate and give feedback, which makes it

relevant for this study.

#### **2.4 Summary**

This chapter looked at various scholars that have carried out research on the representation of minority groups. It revealed that, the research was to look at the literature review on representation of minority linguistic groups by broadcasters. It was also the purpose of this chapter to outline the ways of improving representation of minority groups by broadcast media in Zimbabwe.

## CHAPTER III

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed literature and discussed the theoretical framework of the study. In this Chapter, the researcher discusses the various methods employed in collecting, analyzing and presenting data. It goes on to present the research paradigm, sampling techniques, unit of analysis, instruments used to collect data, methods of data analysis and methods of data presentation. Research Methodology sets the path to be taken by the research in the course of gathering and presenting data for analysis.

#### 3.2 Research Methods

This research is located within the qualitative paradigm. The researcher made use of the qualitative approach due to its flexibility and also links together problems theories and methods. Yin (2011) argued that, qualitative approach is fluid since it makes use of many sources of information and does not rely on a single source. Use of local languages by broadcast media in the Zimbabwean context is quite a complex phenomenon that has not been thoroughly explored nor described thus making a qualitative design more suitable for this study. This method is best suited for this study since a detailed understanding is required and events can be seen in their proper context/more holistically (Stern, 1980). It is more helpful when looking at the representation of minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe since it is used to obtain the intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes, and emotions that are difficult to extract or learn about through more conventional research methods. Such methods will work in this study because issues to do with political phenomena, media representation require a deeper understanding of the people’s beliefs, culture and editorial policies etc.

Qualitative method helped the researcher to get detailed information from the participants, and included data generated through the use of interviews, focus groups, etc. It also helped the research to be quicker since the researcher used data from relatively

small samples of people. This method helped the researcher to get rich, in-depth detail since participants elaborated on what they mean as well as their perceptions had to be considered.

### **3.3 Methodology**

This study is intended to find the role of radio in promoting local languages, find strategies and develop a framework of these strategies that can help promote the use of local languages. This section covers aspects, which include the case study as well as research design in order to come up with authentic and reliable findings. Using a case study approach will further allow the researcher to utilise qualitative method to analyse data and test hypotheses in the study (Nunan, 1992).

The researcher made use of the ‘The Mother Tongue March’ (MTM) on STAR FM, which recognizes the existence of sixteen minority linguistics groups in Zimbabwe as a case study. This is because focus of the study is to answer why and how the issue of representation has been dealt with in Zimbabwe particularly on the recently licensed radio station. The case study method is therefore the most appropriate technique to use for this particular topic under study because it helps in answering the questions raised.

The researcher made use of a case study since it allowed him to focus within a bounded area and also have in-depth information, which helped in understanding the study (Creswell, 2002). Hence the case study technique helped to develop a broader understanding of the representation of minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe by looking at a programme broadcasted on STAR FM.

A case study enables the researcher to collect data from a small sample; in this case the researcher makes use of Star FM to get reliable information. This can be acquired through the use of interviews and open-ended questionnaires. The use of a case study also helps to review causes for certain behaviors through generalizing information acquired from the respondents within a specified area being covered.

### **3.3.1 Research Design**

Descriptive survey assisted the research to get the hidden through synthesis and analysis of data gathered. This design also necessitates gathering information from a large sample of targeted population, which enhances generalization of the results. In addition to the above descriptive survey are excellent vehicles for measurement of attitudes and orientation prevalent in a large population.

### **3.4 Population/Unit of Analysis**

The research will focus on Star FM programme during the month of March so as to highlight the role this radio station has played in promoted the use of local languages. This helps the researcher to have in-depth information on the extent of minority representation in Zimbabwe.

The population in this research consists of the presenters and audiences of Star FM. Focusing on these groups helps the researcher to have a clear understanding of the issue under study. It also helps the researcher to come up with authentic results since the research will only focus on individuals with a better understanding on the representation of minority linguistic groups in Zimbabwe.

### **3.5 Sampling Methods**

Sampling focuses on a particular group of people, which saves time as well as get accurate data. The researcher doesn't have to deal with a lot of information since it only focuses on a small group of people. In this study the researcher makes use of Purposive Sampling

#### **3.5.1 Purposive Sampling**

This research makes use of purposive sampling, which does not generalize results since it places weight on rigorous gathering of information. Purposive sampling places crucial importance on saturation e.g getting a complete understanding by continuing to sample until no latest useful information is obtained (Etikan et al, 2016). Creswell (2012) suggest that, when purposive sampling is used in qualitative research it means that the inquirer selects individuals because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research

problem and central phenomenon in the study. The likelihood of obtaining more comprehensive information from the representation of minority linguistic groups on Star FM during the month of MARCH helped in delivering answers to the study’s research problems instead of just making simple generalities.

This also assisted the researcher to select the appropriate and hypothetically result-bearing sample. This research focused on analyzing the representation of local languages during the month of March on Star FM, which means the researcher intentionally preferred this month of the year to help accomplish the inquiry's objectives. Patton (2015) states that, the ability of purposive sampling in selecting cases allows the researcher to collect useful information, which are relevant to the study. This provides an in-depth understanding of essential issues in the drive of analysis.

The researcher selected audiences based on a special knowledge of the research issue or capacity and willingness to participate in the research. This gives the researcher clear results as it takes only the population of concern to the study (Rossman, 2004).

The researcher saw it beneficial to use purposive sampling because it gives him the opportunity to choose programs relating to the issue of representation of minority groups in Zimbabwe. Hence the researcher made use of Star FM programme ‘Mother Tongue March’ which seeks to promote the use of local languages.

### **3.6 Data Gathering instruments**

Data gathering techniques refers to tools used to gather data. The researcher made use of questionnaires and interviews.

#### **3.6.1 Interviews**

The interview is largely recommended as a method of data collection in qualitative research (Leedy, 1993; Marshall and Rossman, 1999; Creswell, 2009). Interviews complemented the qualitative approach taken by the researcher for purposes of getting in-depth data and confidentiality (Oppenheim, 1982). Interviews play a bigger role in trying to get an insight into individual evaluation of specific material. Interviews will enable the



researcher to explore and uncover participants’ views as well as get large amounts of data quickly (Leedy, 1993; Marshall and Rossman; 1999; Creswell, 2012).

The researcher made use of an interview program to make the process easy and quick. Open questions were asked during the interview to allow the respondents to elaborate as well as allow them to clarify difficult questions. This helped the researcher to get more detailed information. To avoid losing important information the researcher recorded the interview as well as took notes down.

Interpersonal encounter with the interviewee, through the use of direct questioning is convenient considering the fact that it is fast and with an immediate and effective feedback rate. Hence use of an interview enabled the researcher to get immediate responses from different minority linguistics groups in Zimbabwe.

Face to face interview also enabled the researcher to have an opportunity to observe their facial reactions and other non-verbal gestures. This enables the researcher to judge the validity of information being given by the respondents through discomfort in body language. The researcher selected the interview since it offers prospects to establish ‘relationship between the interviewer and interviewee’. Unexpected information can be obtained from the respondents and there is a probability of continuously asking further.

### **3.6.2 Questionnaires**

The questionnaire is also highly recommended as a method of data collection in qualitative research (Leedy, 1993; Marshall and Rossman 1999; Creswell 2009). Where rich and personal data is sought, a word-based qualitative approach to designing a questionnaire is recommended (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). The research mainly consisted of open-ended questions to enable the researcher to solicit the views and opinions of the participants in a discreet way. Marshall and Rossman (1999) further assert that open-ended questions allow the participant’s perspective to unfold as the participant views it, not as the researcher views it. Open-ended questions permitted the researcher to uncover the views of participants as well as allowed participants to structure their reactions in ways that suit them best.

The questionnaires consisted of seven items in all. Questioners are easy and a quicker method since one can leave them for respondents to answer and come back to retrieve them (Ranjit, 2005).

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

Data collected was first grouped according to similar groups of respondents; secondly information was analyzed and classified depending on the similarity of responses to questions provided in the questionnaires or interviews.

The analysis of data firstly dealt with the description of the case based on the data collected via the different instruments. It is the author's contention that each research instrument be interpreted to gain insights into the issue under study. Finally, considering that this research is composed of one case study, it was necessary to search for pattern in the case. This enabled the researcher to develop a strong body of evidence from the case.

### **3.8 Reliability and Validity**

Most of the respondents were minority linguistic group representatives, editors, reporters and presenters. Some of the people were employees who had almost all the relevant information to the study. In this regard the validity of the research methods and instrument employed was assessed by conducting a pilot test before the actual research was conducted. It was observed that the validity of the research methodology was very high.

### **3.9 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has outlined the research design adopted. The survey design found appropriate and employed. The chapter also discussed research instruments, which were used in the study and also the collection procedures that the researcher employed. Lastly it was to outline how the collected data was presented and interpreted.

## CHAPTER IV

### ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Introduction

The researcher has so far highlighted the key tenants in the representation of minority groups by broadcast media in Zimbabwe. The researcher did this through citing works by other scholars, which are related to the study. Research methods and methodologies used in trying to come up with findings that will enable analysis to be done have been narrated too in the previous chapter. In this chapter the researcher will uncover the organizational structure of STAR FM Zimbabwe.

This chapter looks at the ownership and control patterns of the organization as well as the mission and vision of the organization and how the organization is achieving its mission in relation to its core values. It also covers how the organization is funded as well as its structure in terms of leadership.

#### 4.2 Historical Background

Star FM is the first commercial radio in Zimbabwe established in June 2012. In 2010, Zimpapers decided to venture into broadcasting. From the onset its ownership influenced Star FM editorial policy, which is interested in promoting government interest. It formed a Zimpapers Talk Radio, which was later on transformed into Star FM after auditions held at Alexander Sports Club in Harare, Zimbabwe to look for pioneer presenters. The zealous new presenters blended perfectly to form one of the most popular and diverse radio stations to be named STAR FM. After tireless preparations, training and heavy funding Star FM went live in the Star FM commands a huge following of about six million listeners across the globe including international listeners who stream live on the internet or through the Star FM application available on apple store or goggle store (ZAMPS, 2016.). The station is a wide spectrum station meaning that it broadcasts a variety of issues affecting a broad audience from the ages of 15 going onwards. Star FM plays 60% music while 40% is for talking.

The Station covers about 70% of the country and broadcasts in the three major languages

of the country, which are Shona, Ndebele and English while at the same time it recognizes the existence of the 16 Zimbabwe official languages as it dedicates the month of March to those languages.

#### **4.3 Mission Statement**

Star FM’s mission statement is interpreted in line with the goals of the country since it is directed from above they are consistent with the aspirations of the Country. This is because Star FM is owned by Zimpapers, which is directly controlled by the ministry of information. It seeks to promote ideas that are consistently in line with government policies. Star FM also seeks to offer broadcasting services of the highest quality at competitive prices that adds value to their customers, employees and shareholders. This is achieved by developing competent and motivated staff. Star FM has attempted over the years to develop its staff to be the best competent team in broadcasting. This is enhanced through annually and quarterly training workshops that keeps the employs efficient in the industry. Star FM also seeks to ensure that every minority linguistic groups within Zimbabwe is represented on the media spectrum as it dedicates the month of MARCH to local languages. This helps to ensure that government policies are well interpreted within the whole nation.

#### **4.4 Vision**

Star FM aims to promote government programmes as well as to be the leading Radio Station in AFRICA and beyond, creating loyalty for both advertisers and listeners in a very dynamic industry. It also seeks to maintain the ruling government’s hegemonic status through programmes that promote the interest of those in the authorities.

#### **4.5 Core Values**

Star FM seeks aims to promote the interest of the ruling government to help it maintain hold of power. It also aims to promote listener and client satisfaction, Good corporate governance, Equal opportunity employer, profitability, Quality products, Reliable and dependable”

#### **4.6 Political Economy**

According to Pinduala (2014) when the station was launched, George Charamba who was the minister of information at that time reportedly stated that the station was to be guided by issues of national interest encompassing issues to do with the liberation struggle, the Second Chimurenga that brought forth the independence of the country in its operations. This dented expectations that the station would provide information alternative to the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation's content. This implied that, the broadcaster was going to promote the interests of the ruling government.

The ZANU-PF government has always used its stake in Zimpapers to ensure that programs broadcasted by STAR FM are in consonant with its interests. To achieve this goal, the ZANU-PF government makes sure that whoever it appoints the General Manager for STAR FM is a dedicated ruling party cadre or is sympathetic to its ideals.

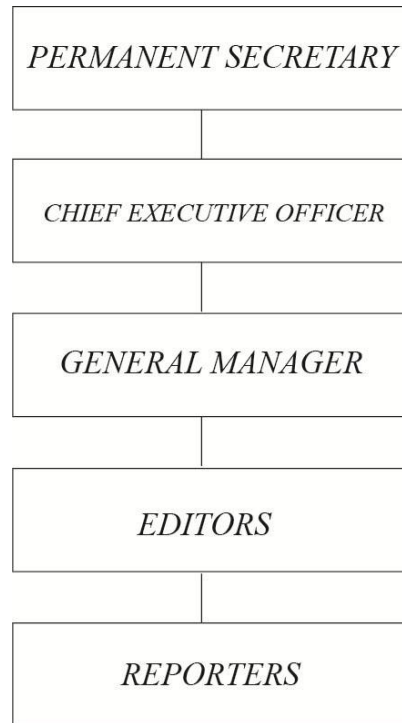
The government appoints persons whose track record shows unequivocal support for the ruling party as noted by (Saunders 1999, Rusike 1990 and Mukasa 2003). Mukasa (2003) asserts that editors for State controlled media like STAR FM, which are under the Zimpapers group “were socialized to be ideological handmaidens of the ruling coalition” with “the bulk of the news in the state media tending to be stories that paint a consistently positive image of the country’s leadership”. The researcher argues that the Ministry of Information oversees STAR FM editorial policy, which has seen influencing its content in favor of the government. It appointed the general manager for STAR FM and for other community broadcasters under the Zimpapers stable who unequivocally serve the interests of the ZANU-PF government. This is a confirmation of Rusike (1990)’s assertions that: “Zimpapers is effectively under the daily control of the Ministry of Information. Zimbabweans should accept that Zimpapers is owned and controlled by government and serve government interests”. The Zimpapers editorial charter is also clear about the ownership of STAR FM and other broadcasters under the stable.

Ownership and control are the important factors to be considered in political economy. In this case, from what has been presented above it is clear to see that Zimpapers is highly concerned with media products that ensure that the regime it falls under is favorably

portrayed, as argued by (Curran and Gurevitch, 2000). STAR FM therefore can be referred to as the public relations department for the government in which they promote the interest of the ruling party. This has influence to the issue under study since STAR FM is more interested in promoting the ideals of the ZANU PF government compromising its role as a watchdog of the society in which various minority linguistic groups must be represented. According to McChesney (2008), the political economy of the mass media determines media content and ideology.

#### **4.7 Organisational Structure**

##### **STAR FM ORGANOGRAM**



The organogram highlights the presence of a Minister of Information who is responsible for appointing the Group Executive Manager (CEO). The CEO is responsible for appointing the General Manager (GM) for STAR FM. This therefore shows that the GM is a political appointee who is supposed to safeguard the interest of the ruling party. Comfort Mbofana is the General Manager for STAR FM and reports directly to Pikirayi Dekete who is the group Chief Executive officer.

In the newsroom, after writing their stories reporters submit them to the News Editor through a system called Atex. The system shows the path that a story would have taken from the time it was written by the reporter up to a time it is broadcasted on radio. The editors are supposed to ensure that all the news articles are in the interest of the ruling party. Some of the stories, which are not in line with the editorial policy of the group, are rejected.

According to the Zimpapers editorial policy and code of ethics, editors must always consider the national interest and public benefit when editing STAR FM news and other broadcasters under the stable. The editorial policy for broadcasters under the Zimpapers stable like Star FM gives editors absolute powers over what to broadcast although, as already alluded to by Rusike (1990), editors take instructions from the Ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services. The Zimpapers code of ethics also speaks on the role of STAR FM news editor as it does on all others managing broadcasters under the stable. On editor's code of conduct, it reads:

*Editors are responsible for applying the general policy of the company as well as this code to their newsroom. They should read this code and apply it in tandem with the editorial charter of independence that they have signed.*

The Editors and Managers at STAR FM report directly to the Deputy General Manager (DPM). They are supposed to ensure everything reported on air is in line with the Zimpapers group editorial policy. The researcher argues that since the appointees at STAR FM in influential position is not professional but political it leads to biased reportage in favor of the ruling government.

#### **4.8 Funding Mechanism**

Unlike other state owned stations, which are funded by the government, Star FM generates its revenue from advertisers. At its beginning Star Fm was funded by its parent company Zimpapers. However when it started to make profit as a business Star FM was left to survive on its own that is taking its expenses such as paying bills, taxes, salaries as well as any other expense any business faces. Star FM is funded by commercials.

However it should be noted that, the government still hold control over the broadcaster since it is led by political personal that were appointed to influential positions by the government.

Star FM is a commercial radio station. According to Warner (2009) radio commercials can be categorized into jingles, testimonials, drama, humor as well as straight information. As traditionally known radio is the medium of Africa, which means that over, 90% of Africans have an access to the radio. Hence a radio station tends to commercialize their airtime. However there has been a shift in customer’s attitudes towards radio commercials since World War 11 (Cheung, Harker and Harker, 2008). Radio commercials have also suffered as well. STAR FM’s survival depends on advertisements. Most broadcasters have to attract advertising in order to cover the costs of production.

According to Ardono and Horkheimer (1975) the mass media are just like any other industry because they are profit oriented and they are champions in cultivating a consumerist society. The media industry therefore does not recognise people as citizens, rather people/citizens are regarded as consumers, which they sell in the dual market they function in. Star FM, therefore, is more interested in profit making which has greater impact on its content as they always seek to impress the advertisers. As Golding and Murdoch (1990) put it advertisers are latter day licensing authorities selectively funding some media organisation at the expense of others. For Gripsrud (2000) the media, which are the arenas and actors of the public sphere, have become commercial enterprises.

Media funding is central to understanding their role in society. Critical Political Economy of the Media provides a clear, comprehensive and insightful introduction to the political economic analysis of contemporary media. Murdock and Golding (1973) define the political economy of mass communication as an understanding of the “basic features that underpin and shape the economic context and political consequences of mass communications. They argue it is necessary to see mass media organizations as first and foremost profit-based businesses producing commodities. Media businesses are just like every other capitalist business. But, they are also quite distinct from other industries



because of the nature of the commodities they produce: Their products are also ideas objectified into “cultural” products (e.g. radio shows, news stories, music).

The researcher can therefore argue that because of the influence of advertisers on media content the issue of representation is not innocent since the media construct reality. The media has the power to dictate which representation of ethnic minorities are chosen and circulated in the public to impress those who fund them. The media report on specific communities everyday but have become more of political actors. As a result of advertisers they are now embedded in the construction of reality. They are always influenced by market and political forces as highlighted above.

#### **4.9 Summary**

This chapter explored the organisational structures of Star FM. There was a discussion on the tenants of productions and how they influence the construction of reality in broadcasting. This chapter also explored the organisational structure of Star FM, reviewing its mission, vision and core values and how they relate to this study. The Chapter also discussed the concept of political economy and how it influences the reconstruction of reality in favor of those who owns the means of production. The next chapter presents and analyses the data that has been collected in this study.

## CHAPTER V

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore media experts and audiences’ views on the role of radio in promoting representation of minority linguistic groups by broadcast media in Zimbabwe. This section of the study focuses on analyzing responses drawn from data collected from Star FM presenters and audiences.

The study made use of questionnaires and interviews to come with the findings. In this chapter the researcher presents, analyses and discusses findings of the study. The findings are presented thematically. Data was gathered through interviews and Questionnaires that were answered by editors of Star FM and its audiences respectively.

#### 5.2.1 Role of Star FM in Promoting Local Minority Languages

Item two of the questionnaire required the respondents to explain the role of Star FM in promoting local languages. Most interviewees’ participants who preferred the station said they see Star FM as informative and educational. Hence the respondents generalized the results to say that Star FM as a media outlet plays three important functions, which are informing, educating and entertaining. The respondents agreed with Mabika (2014)’s assertion that the media functions to deliver information as well as a platform to facilitate dialogue for different minority linguistic groups. In other words, the media as disseminators of news have the mandate of broadcasting to everyone within Zimbabwe. The research further found that, their role should be that of providing a platform that allows every minority linguistic group to participate by using a common language.

This was supported by one of the respondents who said that: *“people interact by exchanging information in a language understood by the people involved in the communication process. Therefore, effective communication can only take place if a common language is used. So the decision by Star FM to dedicate the month of March to local languages helps to enhance social cohesion, which facilitates the preservation of African cultures.”*

The research therefore contends that, Star FM has made strides to represent minority linguistic groups since they dedicate the whole month to local languages. This is because language is important to the communication process hence if a media outlet is to disseminate information effectively it must make use of indigenous languages. The audiences can only be reached if a common language is used. As such, the language used by Star FM in its broadcasting determines its listenership strength as well as ability to reach audiences. Use of a common language enables every citizen within Zimbabwe to participate on the public spectrum.

One of the respondents said that: *“Language is important and central in all aspects of our lives, from face-to-face situations to communication through the mass media for that reason Star FM’s dedication of the month of March to interact with minority linguistic groups through the media, particularly radio, enhances the effectiveness of mass communication.”*

Most of media organizations in Zimbabwe make use of English as the main language. However Star FM has been making strides to include everyone in their programming. English language has been used across the world as the main language at the expense of indigenous languages. Star FM’s efforts to improve local languages should therefore be acknowledged as highlighted by its audiences.

The research also contends that; Star FM has made efforts at grass roots level for rural development. It has been able to bring different minority linguistic groups with different cultural backgrounds, demographics, and literacy to the public forum to air their views through the ‘Mother Tongue March’. When interviewed on the same question Star FM reporter said that, the station was to improve the livelihood of local people.

*“It is crucial to note the Importance of sharing information locally and the opening up of wider information networks for farmers in Zimbabwe with reference to vernacular radio programs, Star FM has been effective in improving the sharing of agricultural information by remote rural farming communities since it’s a national broadcaster that covers at least 70% of the populace. In this regard Star FM provides a set of*

*participatory communication techniques that support agricultural extension efforts by using local languages through MTM to communicate directly with farmers and listeners’ groups”*

The above response shows some of the roles that can be played by radio hence the need for it to be inclusive in its reporting. Broadcasters should allow citizens to participate in producing their programs. By doing so the media enables communities to develop their livelihood and also help the government in policy formulation through discussions of national interest on the public forum.

### **5.2.2 Coverage of Minority Linguistic Groups on Star FM**

Item one of the questionnaires requested Star FM editors to list minority languages that Star FM broadcasted during the ‘Mother Tongue March’. The respondents generalized the results to say that all the sixteen languages were covered and some of these languages included Tonga, Karanga, Shangans, Venda, Ndau etc. Star FM audiences also responded on the same question by saying their language was covered during this month.

Radio as a public sphere should be able to accommodate everyone within Zimbabwe. The use of indigenous language especially on radio broadcasting should be encouraged since radio is easily accessible to audiences and covers a wider range of an area (Mufwene, 2002; Manyozo, 2009). The research found that Star FM was able to cover all the sixteen languages during the ‘Mother Tongue March’. The researcher argues, the media particularly broadcasters in Zimbabwe has made efforts to include every one on their public discussions. Below on Fig 1 are some of the announcement that were made through Star FM’ s twitter handle to show the language they were going to Broadcast using during that day.

Fig 1



Asked on the same question in an interview one of the radio station presenters said, “*Star FM covers 70 percent of the population hence the need to put in place programs that are inclusive to all. The ‘Mother Tongue March’ helps to ensure every citizen in Zimbabwe is provided not only with information but is also able to participate on national discussions. All the sixteen languages are infused during this month so as to promote diversified view as required by the International covenants such as the Windhoek Declaration of 1991*”

Item two of the questionnaire required the respondents to indicate the amount of time dedicated to local languages during this month. Most of the respondents said that, the whole month was dedicated to local languages. This therefore means that Star FM only broadcast using local language during the month of March.

Notably one of Star FM news reporters when asked on the same question in an interview said that “*MTM recognizes the existence of local languages in Zimbabwe and the program runs for a month. So each day of this month is dedicated to a certain language that is in our constitution until all the languages has been covered. During every five minutes of a every program the presenter must use an indigenous language that has been infused during that day*”

Item four of the questionnaires requested the respondents to provide the ways in which minority linguistic groups participated during the ‘Mother Tongue March’. Most of the respondents said they participated through invitations to a programme where they aired

their views. They also, highlighted that other people participated through phone-ins as well as experts on languages were invited to different programmes during this month. The researcher argues that the Mother Tongue March enabled people to democratically participate in national discussions since everyone was invited to participate during this period.

Item seven of the questionnaire asked the respondents if there were other programs outside the ‘Mother Tongue March’ that promotes the use of local languages. However most of the respondents said that, MTM was the only recognized programme on this radio station that sought to promote local languages.

However it is remarkable to point that Star FM schedule, though mostly presented in minority linguistic languages during the ‘Mother Tongue March’, nevertheless disappoints since it still makes use of English during this month. It is also disappointing to acknowledge to the fact that, during this programme presenters switch to English since they have little knowledge with some of the local languages Mazuruse and Mberi (2012). More so, since the program only runs for a month, the time stills falls short of ensuring representation of minority linguistic groups. One of Star FM presenters said that:

*“At the moment we do not have specific programs besides MTM that promote use of these languages. Most of the programs that cover these languages are phone-ins such as Zimbabwe Election Debates that is hosted by Rhuvheneko Parirenyatwa every Tuesday night. However, Star FM is in the process of recruiting presenters who are able to speak these languages.”*

The researcher can conclude that, Star FM covers local languages during the ‘Mother Tongue March’ (MTM). However there is still a lot to be done to improve their representation since there are no other specific programs dedicated for these languages. They are only covered during the month of March and Star FM needs to come up with other programs, which represents minority linguistic groups.

### 5.2.3 Strategies to improve the participation of minority linguistic groups on radio

Item five of the questionnaire requested the respondents to provide ways that can improve participation of minority linguistic groups. Most of the audience who were interviewed said, radio helps to ensure visibility of different minority linguistic groups and helps to empower them to contribute to issues of national interest on the public forum. They said that empowerment is a multi-dimensional social and political process that helps minority linguistic groups gain control of their own lives. This can be achieved through fair and unbiased information representing a plurality of opinions thereby enabling these minority linguistic groups to participate in national discussions.

Radio can be accessed by every minority group and should be placed under public authority that is it should be owned and controlled by the public. This will enable every individual to participate on public debates. The people themselves make their own programmes, which is in line with Mcquail’s democratic participant views. This promotes diversity of local opinions within the country and as well strengthens local languages. It also helps implement the ideas of the public sphere theorist in which everyone will be able to participate in national discussions. One of the respondents said that:

*“Star FM has been able to give listeners a voice with which to respond to programming and to create programming content. The ‘Mother Tongue March has been a programme that has helped to empower minority linguistics to participate in discussions of national interest by allowing locals to create their own programs”*

Also some of the audiences said that minority linguistic groups could be empowered by improving their level of education, which will enable them to participate in national discussions. In other words they will be able to raise a voice in important issues within Zimbabwe. Of significant one of the Interviewee said that:

*“Education as an empowering tool help people to change the conditions of their lives by taking action while having knowledge and skills of a trade that will make them competitive in particular programming. Empowering dominant culture in taking action to do something about representation as their own concern, as well”*

The study also found out that, in order for the entire minority linguistic groups to be represented it was important to empower them. There is need for them to be educated on their rights and privileges so that they can be able to make important decisions when selecting political leaders and as well contribute to public debates. They can be empowered by opening media outlets in their communities, which is directly under their ownership and be able to participate in programming. Asked in an interview one of the respondents said that:

*'It would help using people's experience and knowledge, tapping and channeling their energy, intelligence and capacity positively. Community mobilization leads to empowerment and volunteer efforts that are based on bottom up efforts, allowing communities to identify and formulate their priorities. Empowerment starts from the individual who needs to trust in his/her capacities. People, who have not gone through formal education, often totally underestimate how much they know, just because they don't speak English language and can't write it down in the same way as the ones with an academic background. People, who have contributed to identifying problems and developing priorities, feel more responsible for the delivery and sustainability of the solutions developed. Empowerment leads to ownership and increases accountability, as people are more interested in the delivery of results that they have themselves contributed to identifying.'*

The respondents also said that, minority linguistic groups should be equipped with skills and knowledge that enables them to operate their own broadcasting stations and be able to represent themselves on the public arena. In this way, they will both be able to be represented or start up their own local community radio stations.

One of the respondents said that: *"In order to empower their mental capacity, education is the main key to eradicate marginalization, therefore the key is ensuring an inclusive education system at all levels and long learning. Empowering linguistic to develop their talents, creativity, and mental and physical abilities, in other words their fullest potential. This will enable them to grow into reputable presenters on radio hence representing their communities"*



The research also found out that, minority linguistic groups could be empowered by allowing them to be part of the solution, we could move from abstract thought into real action by providing individuals, families, and communities with what they need to succeed. Some of the participants highlighted the need to give minority linguistic groups their suggestions to the problem they are facing concerning the issue under study. One of the respondents said that:

*“Minority groups should be given a chance to say their opinions that might help solve this issue of representation. The decision for a person living in Harare may be drastically different than that of a person living in the San Community, but, by allowing access to the decision making process, the persons affected by policy and action would have an ability to have an input into what is needed. There is need to give them a voice first before coming to a conclusion. Amongst these groups you realize there are opinion leaders who should be able to represent them”*

Empowering people to achieve representation from broadcast media imply developing programmes that address the needs and interest of indigenous people. Government policies should be clearer and consistently covered using vernacular languages. This will enable minority linguistic groups to contribute their ideas. Minority groups must be given an opportunity to independently express themselves and be able to contribute to issues of national interest through easy access to media information. They must be able to use public institutions such as the media for them to participate in national issues.

#### **5.2.4 Strategies that can be adopted by the Government to improve Participation of Minority Linguistic Groups**

Item six of the questionnaire required the respondents to state strategies that can be adopted by the government to improve the participation of minority linguistic groups. The respondents said that there was need to increase visibility and awareness of local languages. Most of these respondents highlighted the need for local languages spoken in Zimbabwe by minority linguistic groups to be recognized in government institutions and the education sector so as to improve their visibility. Indigenous groups must be able to access information in their vernacular languages. The government must enact regulations

that are favorable to local languages and avoid the dominance of these language by foreign once such as English.

One of the respondents said, *“there is need to educate journalists on these languages. Journalists must be able to provide information in different tongues. This will help to improve the level of diversity in the country as well as improve cultural awareness of other groups in the country. This can be done by promoting integrated learning of national languages in vocational education and training. These elements along with media professionals adhering to the highest ethical and professional standards designed by practioners serve as a watchdog, civil societies engage with authorities and decision makers, information free flows through and between communities.”*

The respondents also highlighted the need for the government to come up with regulations that can help improve the participation of minority linguistic groups. The research found that, in order for minority groups to be represented on the media there must be a legal and regulatory environment that allows for open and pluralistic media sector to emerge. The government must enact laws that ensure access to information by every minority linguistic groups within the country. This can be done through the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe in which the licensing requirements will be that a station broadcast in all the vernacular languages in Zimbabwe.

Asked in an interview one of Star FM presenters said, *“There is need for government to come up with regulations that helps improve the participation of these minority linguistics. Radio should be a public sphere where diversified view are expressed hence the need to broadcast in our mother tongue languages. The regulation environment must therefore ensure that these diversified views can be realized. The government comes up with these regulations. Training will be offered to Government officials and state civil servants and information disseminated on the linguistic rights and the authorities' obligations to serve audiences in their own mother tongue”*

Some of the respondents highlighted the need for the government to issue community radio station licenses. There is need for pluralities in the media sector where broadcasters

are established at community level which can help to promote participation of these groups. The respondents also highlighted the need for the government to issue licenses to National Broadcasters such as Star FM so that they can establish sister stations at Community level.

One of the respondents said, *“The government should issue out as many licenses as possible especially at community level. Communities should be given an opportunity to produce their own programs and since Star FM is a national broadcaster they must also be able to create sister companies that solely represents the views of the community.”*

Issuing community licenses will help achieve Mcquail’s aims of democratic participation of local citizen participation. All the minority linguistic groups should be able to participate on the public discourse. And If they are to own their own radio station, they will be able to produce their own programs that can help achieve democracy in Zimbabwe.

### **5.3 Summary**

In this chapter the major themes that emerged from data collected from the different categories of respondents have been analyzed and discussed. These included the role of radio in promoting minority linguistic languages; ways that can help improve the participation of these groups in the media, strategies that can be adopted by the government to promote participation of minority linguistic groups in the media etc.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Summary of Research**

This research sought to explore the representation of minority linguistic groups by the broadcast media in Zimbabwe. The study focused on revealing how Star FM covered minority linguistic groups during the ‘Mother Tongue March’ (MTM). Literature on the representation of minority linguistic groups assisted to put the study into context.

#### **6.2 Summary of the Findings**

The research found out that Star FM mainly covers minority linguistic languages during the month of March every year. This is done by infusing a certain language on a daily basis during MTM. All the sixteen languages spoken in Zimbabwe were therefore covered during this month. However, the researcher concluded that there is still a lot to be done by broadcast media with regards to covering local languages. Star FM only covers these languages during the month of March and there are no other specific programs dedicated for these languages.

#### **6.3 Recommendations**

##### **6.3.1 Recommendations to Broadcasters**

Broadcasters in Zimbabwe should adopt Harbermas’s concept of the public sphere. This system allows broadcasters to include all minority linguistic groups to come and discuss issues of national interest. The concept promotes the idea of inclusivity in which minority linguistic groups are given a room to participate on national discussions.

The concept also promotes democracy within a nation like Zimbabwe by giving every minority linguistic group a platform to air their views. The public sphere also enables the media to play its role in informing, educating and entertaining effectively by broadcasting using local languages. In order for the media to carry these roles, it has to use a language that is understood by local people hence this system if adopted will enable the communication circuit to be completed in which the audiences are active participants and

gives feedback.

### **6.3.2 Recommendations to the Government**

The government should increase visibility and awareness of local languages by issuing licenses to minority linguistic languages. The Government is supposed to use its political power to safeguard the sovereignty of the people. This can be done by coming up with a local content policy and prevent dominance of local languages by foreign ones such as English or a few indigenous languages such as Shona and Ndebele. The government should recognize and use these languages in education, government documentation and the media, particularly radio broadcasting. This will enable different communities to access government documents in their languages, schools will teach the dominant languages spoken in those communities, and indigenous language radio stations in these areas will also utilize the local languages understood by the majority for broadcasting.

The government should come up with regulations that can help improve the participation of minority linguistic groups. This can be done through the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe in which licenses will be issued with the intention of benefiting local languages. The government should therefore issue community radio station licenses that are run by local people so as to improve their participation in national discussion. This will also enable communities to run their own radio stations and be able to produce their own programmes. This will promote plurality in the media where broadcasters are established at community level, which can help to promote participation of these groups.

### **6.3.3 Recommendations to Media Expert Training Institutions**

Media experts should be taught on local languages. This will enable them to deliver information using languages that is understood by indigenous people. In other words they will be able to raise a voice in important issues within Zimbabwe using languages that is understood by everyone in the country.

### **6.4 Areas for Further Study**

This study is confined to the representation of minority linguistic groups by broadcast media focusing on Star FM program ‘Mother Tongue March’. However there are areas

that still need to be covered such as the representation of these minority linguistic groups by the print media. It’s an area that has been neglected by scholars. Also another area is the use of the digital media by indigenous people in Zimbabwe paying particular attention to twitter. It’s another area that has long been neglected and needs to be covered.

### **6.5 Summary**

This Chapter summed up the study by presenting a summary of the findings obtained from the research. This chapter also offered recommendations to both broadcasters and the government that can help promote local languages. It also provided suggestions for future studies.

## REFERENCES

- Arblaster, A. (1987) *Democracy, Milton, Keynes*: Open University Press
- Baumann, N. (2004) *Culture and Management*, london: Routledge
- Creswell J W (1993), *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, New York: SAGE Publications
- Curran, J (1986) *Bending Reality: the state of the media*, London: Pluto
- Curran, J. and Gurevitch, M. (2000) *Mass Media and Society*, New York: Oxford University Press
- Curran, J (1991) *rethinking the media as a public sphere*, London: Routledge
- Denzin, N., K. and Lincoln, Y. (2003) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc
- Fourie, PJ. 2001. *Globalisation, the information superhighway, and development*, Lansdowne: Juta
- Fraser, N. (1993) *Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy*, Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/466240>, accessed on 06 May 2018
- Fuentes-Rohwer, L. and Charles, G., E. (2015) *Habermas, The Public Sphere, and the Creation of a Racial Counterpublic*, available at <https://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/facpub/2575>, accessed of 01 May 2017
- Garnham, P (1986) *The media and the public sphere*. leicester: Leicester University Press
- Garnham, P (1986) *Media, Culture & Society. Sage Journals*. 8 (2), p139-141
- Habermas, J. (1962) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into*

*a Category of Bourgeois Society*, German: The MIT Press

Habermas, J. (1988). *Legitimation crisis*, Cambridge: Polity

Habermas, J. (1989) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society*. Trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991

Holmes, S. (1991) *Liberal constraints on private power?*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Kluge, A., (2012) *On Film and the Public Sphere*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

Leedy, P. D., & Ormrod, J. E. (2005). *Practical Research Planning and Design*, New Jersey: Pearson Merrill Prentice Hall.

Mabika M, (2014) *A Tale of Failure: Indigenous Language Radio Broadcasting in Zimbabwe*, South Africa: University of Venda

Magwa, W. (2008). *Planning for the Future: Exploring Possibilities of Using Indigenous African Languages as Languages of Instruction in Education - The Zimbabwean Experience*, Harare: UNISA

Magwa, W. (2010) *The Language Question in the Constitution Reform Process in Zimbabwe: A Closer Look at Linguistic Policies Outlined in the Kariba Draft Document*. Zimbabwe International Journal of Language and Culture, 1 (1), 7-18

Mano, W. (2006). *African Public Service Radio versus National Languages: Mixed Responses to Radio Zimbabwe's Bilingual*, Lagos: Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization (CBAAC)

Manyozo, L. (2009). *Mobilizing Rural and Community Radio in Africa*, *Ecquid Novi: African Journal Studies* , 30 (1), 1-23

Maseko, B., & Moyo, M (2013) *Minority Language Revitalisation in Zimbabwe-*



*Fundamental Considerations for Tonga Language in the Zambezi Valley*. Online Journal of Arts and Humanities, 2(10), 248-259

McCombs, M., E. And Shaw, D., L. (1993). *The Evolution of Agenda Setting Research: Twenty-five years in the Market place*. Journal of Communication, 43 (2), 58 -67

McQuail, D. (1987) *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, London: Sage

Mojaye E., M, Lamidi I., K (2015) *The role of Community Media in Building Democratic Values in Nigeria*, Nigeria: Adekunle Ajasin University

Muzondidya, J., Gatsheni S., N (2014) *Echoing Silences': Ethnicity in post-colonial Zimbabwe, 1980-2007*

Ndhlovu, F. (2008) *Language and African Development: Theoretical Reflections on the Place of Languages in African Studies*, Nordic Journal of African Studies, 17 (2), 137-151.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. (2009) *Do Zimbabwean' exist? Trajectories of nationalism, national identity formation and crisis in a post-colonial State*, Oxford and Bern: Peter Lang AG

Pateman, C. (1973) *Participation and Democratic Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press

Pateman, C. (1979) *The problem of political obligation: a critical analysis of liberal theory*, New York: Wiley

Raymond, E (1995) *Universal Suffrage, and the Plight of Minorities around the Globe*, London: Routledge

Rennie, E. (2006). *Community Media: Global Introduction (Critical Media Studies)*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield

Rao, N. (2009) *Is English Really the Greatest Language in the World?* Available at:

<http://www.teachingrenglish.org.uk/forum-topic/english-really-greatest-language-worldD/A>, Accessed on February 3, 2011

Salawu, A. (2006) *Indigenous Language Media in Africa*, Lagos: Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization (CBAAC)

Schramm, W. (1949). *Mass communications*, Urbana : University of Illinois Press

Simon, J (1998) *Overview of the Americas, in Attacks on the Press*, New York: Committee to Protect Journalists

Sonderling, S. (2009). *Media, Language and Discourse*, Cape Town: Juta & Co Ltd

Wantchekon, L. (2003) *The Paradox of ‘Warlord’ Democracy: A Theoretical Investigation*, *American Political Science Review*, 98 (1): 17–33.

Warner, M. (1992) *The Mass Public and the Mass Subject*, in Habermas and the Public Sphere

Wood A (2007), *Making Poverty the Story: Time to Involve the Media in Poverty Reduction*, London: Panos Institute

Yin, R., K. (2008). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, California: Sage Publication Inc.

Zhou, M. (2014) *The Persistence of Extreme Poverty Among Ethnic Minorities in Zimbabwe: A Case of the San Community in Tsholotsho District, Matabeleland North*, Gweru: Midlands State University