Culture, Communication & Media Studies
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Community Radio as a form of Ethnic Minority Media: A Critical Analysis of Identity, Ethnic Audiences and Community

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. 1)   Introduction and Historical Background

The Bushmen or San, the last of the aboriginal people of Southern Africa, are the most known and documented people in anthropology. Traditionally the San lived in small bands of hunter-gatherers, migrating with the seasons in search of water and food. Yet, of the approximately 100 000 Bushmen alive today in Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, few live off the land as their forefathers did (Lee & Hitchcock, 2001). This is because the majority of the San in Southern Africa have come in contact with other societies and in varying degrees have been absorbed by them (Bannister, 1984). The San present a wide spectrum of social, economic and political conditions, with some ethnic groups still continuing to experience injustice and cultural loss, while others are striving successfully towards political mobilization, and a new spirit of community resistance (Lee & Hitchcock, 2001; Saugestad, 2001) An example of this mobilisation is the struggle by some groups to retain their languages, cultures and religious beliefs as well as their sense of community. Bearing this in mind this study will look at the story of the Platfontein San community living near Kimberly, in the Northern Cape, consisting of two San ethnic groups, the !Xu and the Khwe. In particular, I shall be looking at the role played by the community radio station, XK fm.

Most of the !Xu and the Khwe people have their origins in Angola. They speak significantly different indigenous San languages where the !Xu speak !Xûntali and the Khwe speak Khwedam. Before the 1950's the Khwe were mainly subsistence farmers who were also hunter-gathers at times. The !Xu are from Angola and Namibia where most of the them before the 1950's were hunter gathers living off food from the veld, but they soon after they adopted subsistence farming too. (Loots, 1999). Due to their maltreatment from the Bantu speaking inhabitants of Angola, the !Xu and Khwe sided with the Portuguese in the late 1960's and 1970's in their fight against the Angolan rebels. However, with the political developments that occurred when the Portuguese withdrew from Angola in 1974, it became impossible for them to stay in the country of their birth and they were forced to

move to the south to Namibia and Botswana for asylum (cf. Douglas, 1996; Loots, 1999). During this time, the majority of the !Xu ant the Khwe men were recruited by the South African Defence Force to fight the border wars in Namibia between the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the South African apartheid military. It was the time under the SADF that they were incorporated into the social, economic and political features of the "modern" world of the South Africa Apartheid government where the families of !Xu and Khwe soldiers were given housing, education and food (cf. Douglas, 1996; Chamberlin, 2003).

The SADF continued to recruit the San during the 1980's until Namibia achieved its independence in 1990. Once again the !Xu and the Khwe ethnic groups faced persecution by the locals of Namibia for participating on the side of the South Africans. Thus, in 1990 five hundred veterans of the SADF "bushmen Battalions", along with their families, were escorted by air to South Africa where they were relocated to the military training camp at Schmidtsdrift, 74km west of the Northern Cape provincial of Kimberly(cf. Douglas, 1996). Shortly after their arrival, the SADF arranged for the two San ethnic groups of the Schmidtsdrift community to be granted South African citizenship.

In 1994 the political environments of South Africa changed drastically with the dismantling of the Apartheid government and the transition into a democracy ruled by the African National Congress (ANC). Once again the two groups faced an uncertain future at Schmidtsdrift when the Twana people, former inhabitants of the area, put out a land's claim for Scmidtsdrift in 1997. Before 1967 the land belonged to the Twana people but they were forcibly removed from the land by the South African Defence Force (Loots, 1999). With the change of government in South Africa, by the late 1990's the land was given back to the Twana's by means of the Land Claims Court and the !Xu and the Khwe were forced to move again. After long negotiations the government bought a farm outside Kimberly called Platfontein which the !Xu and Khwe were only allowed to settle in 2003, due to the time consuming development of the area. Today, the Platfontein San community consists of 4500 !Xûntali and 2000 Khwedam speakers with a number of men still living at Schmidtsdrift where they continue working as officers for the new South African army.

In 2000, during the last years of their stay at Schmidstdrift, the !Xu and the Khwe were given a community radio station as a development project supported by the South African

Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). It was the first of its kind in Southern Africa in that it catered exclusively for the two San communities in their own languages Khwedam and !Xûntali. At that time the station was housed in three converted and air-conditioned steel shipping containers that provided office and studio accommodation[1]. Due to the resettlement of the !Xu and Khwe at Platfontein, the radio station in 2003/2004 was moved to its new location in Platfontein where it is now housed in a building provided by the SABC that accommodates both the studio and offices. The station broadcasts in the two languages simultaneously and when not able to, it broadcasts in Afrikaans, the third language shared by the two ethnic groups. The station's footprint covers a radius of 50km and it broadcasts a variety of entertainment, current affairs, news, development, historical, cultural and community related programmes. During "dead time" the station carries a live feed from Radio Sonder Grense, the SABC's Afrikaans language station.

1. 2) **Justification for Study**

In South Africa the majority of San have come in contact with other societies and in varying degrees have been absorbed by them or, at least, are pressured to abandon their traditional cultures and embrace the "modern" world (Bannister, 1988). The danger then is that both the languages and cultural heritages of the San in South Africa will become extinct and the fate of the few San communities that remain in South Africa has produced a widespread interest. In particular there has been an attempt to develop resources that will help these communities preserve their identities while still creating opportunities for the future (Lee & Hitchcock, 2001; Saugestad, 2001).

As I have explained, in the last 45 years since the !Xu and Khwe came in contact with Portuguese and the South African Defence Force, the lives of these two ethnic groups have changed from being self-sufficient and living off the land, to that of trained soldiers and immigrants in a new country. In their natural environment they lived in small family groups of not more than 50 people, but now live in a fenced off community of 6000 people where social problems play a major part in their lives and where they are subject to the influence of modern phenomena such as liquor, radios, hi-fi's, television, DVD players and family violence[2].

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[1]Information was taken from the interview I did with Regina Beregho. The interview was done in July 2006.
[2] Information was taken from observation in the field

The community radio, XK fm, was formed for the main purpose of preserving the two ethnic languages and restoring the cultural heritages of these two San ethnic groups[3]. Although each language functions as tool of social bonding within each group, the languages also encourage an ethnic segregation in that each group does not learn the other's language and this creates conflict between the two ethnic groups (cf. Douglas, 1996; Loots, 1999). The radio station, however, regards the Khwe and !Xu communities as a single homogeneous audience. With the official language of the local school being Afrikaans and the radio station broadcasting in Afrikaans, this language has become a unifying force among the youth of the two San ethnic groups. It is also slowly encroaching into the everyday lives and activities of the two ethnic groups, where it's influencing them culturally and linguistically[4].

This research will investigate the role played by the community radio station amongst the !Xu and the Khwe of Platfontein. To what extent is it functioning as medium of expression where they can voice their views and preserve their cultural and linguistic heritages? Alternatively, is the radio station reforming the cultural and linguistic identities of the two San ethnic groups or absorbing them into a more national (and therefore global) identity? Despite being connected to the South African Broadcasting Corporation, there is no published research on XK fm and its community. This research intends to analyse the radio station's audiences and the use and reception of the radio station's programmes in their everyday lives. This study is part of the ongoing enquiry into community radio as a medium of ethnic minority media.

With reference to community radio as a form of ethnic minority media, Riggins (1992) suggests that it is debatable whether ethnic minority media are tools of cultural and linguistic preservation that empower ethnic minority audiences or whether they secretly contribute to the audience's incorporation of dominant values, beliefs and ideologies of the state and global world. This is because, although audiences actively construct and reclaim their cultural and ethnic identities symbolically in their use of the media, routine adoption of media content into everyday interpersonal discourses of audiences often introduces,

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[3]The view that Community Elders initiated the move towards the establishment of XK FM as a community radio station was taken from the interview I did with Regina Beregho. The interview was done in July 2006.
[4] Information was taken from observation in the field

reinforces and extends the dominant ideology contained in them (Lull, 1994). In terms of XK Fm, the radio station is incorporated as part of South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which is unusual for an independent community radio station. This factor sharpens the question of the extent to which the !Xu and the Khwe are not being integrated into the cultural and social constructions of national and global society.

The aim of community radio is to provide an opportunity for horizontal communication between individuals and groups in the community through community issues. Community participation can be defined through an empowering process in which the community plays an active role in the process of community development and ensuring that their local community radio stations serves the specific needs of the community (Banda, 2003; Bessette, 2004). In return, broadcasting in a participatory environment should enable the community to restore their cultural price, self-esteem and identity (Phiri, 2000). This is because members of the audience become involved in the task of producing the content of the programs where they encode the development issues and realities of the community into signification that is significant to the two communities. This in turn creates content for the development of the community in which the community can receive, use and interpret in their own way to reclaim their cultural and ethnic identities.

This research will examine whether or not community participation in ethnic minority media provides a passage that enables its audience to re-establish their linguistic and cultural identities and establishes a channel of discourse between the two San ethnic groups in conflict. It will also question whether XK fm is a community radio station that caters as a channel of communication between the two San ethnic groups is not creating a form of cultural and linguistic hybridisation of the two groups within Platfontein.

1. 3) Research Questions

1.) How do the two San ethnic groups use the programmes provided by XK fm in terms of development, information and entertainment?
2.) Is the radio station bringing the two ethnic groups together and providing a means of dialogue between the two groups in the Platfontein community?

3.) Does community participation in the programs of XK fm radio enable the audience/community to reclaim their ethnic and cultural identities?

4.) Is XK fm, as a form of ethnic minority media, either re-establishing and preserving the ethnic and cultural identities of the audience or contributing to the assimilation of the audience to the cultural values of globalisation and the mass media?

1. 4) Organization of the dissertation

The remainder of this dissertation is organised as follows:

Chapter 2 describes the theoretical frameworks on which this dissertation is based. It will analyse existing bodies of information, literature and theoretical frameworks. This chapter starts by exploring the concept of ethnicity in relation to the local identities of the !Xu and Khwe of Platfontein and the global context in which they live. I will then consider the role of XK fm community radio as a form of ethnic minority media using the theories on ethnic minority media and the concepts of community radio and community participation in radio.

Chapter 3 describes the research methodology used in this research project and discusses will discuss the concept of ethnography and the methods, techniques and research tools used in ethnographic studies and qualitative studies.

Chapter 4 will present the data obtained and offer a detailed analysis. This chapter will provide an outline of the data obtained and will critically evaluate the findings in terms of the community radio's ability to restore the cultural pride, self-esteem, and identity of the two San ethnic groups within the Platfontein community through the broadcasting of traditional music and stories and community related programmes.

Chapter 5, the conclusion, will present a brief summary of my findings.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL CONTEXT

2. 1) Introduction

In this chapter I will present the theoretical context for my study. This will entail an examination of the concepts of ethnicity, identity, hybridisation and globalisation as well as the concepts of ethnic minority media and community radio.

2. 2) Ethnicity

"Ethnicity" is a contested term that encompasses many different meanings and is variously expressed in relation to different political interests (Gillespie, 1995). Derived from the Greek *ethnikos*, the term ethnic was originally applied to the notion of others or outsiders that retained connotations of race, minority, marginalisation and differentiation (Hutchinson and Smith 1996). Thus ethnicity and ethnic identity is often associated with conflict and the negative political discourses of racism, ethnic nationalism and ethnic cleansing. However, in the discourses of media and cultural studies today, the term now is seen as incorporating more positive connotations in its association with the processes of validating identity. According to Gillespie (1995);

> *…the concept of ethnicity can be used as a building metaphor that suggests ethnic identity can be reclaimed or reinvented as a product of a collective transformation. In this view ethnicity is self constructed and may be regarded as a symbolic force with the power to affirm identities and mobilize people positively in the recreation of their culture (Fitzgerald, 1992; Hall, 1992; Gans, 1989).*

Ethnic identity refers to the individual level of identification with a particular culturally defined group or community. According to Richard Schermerhorn (1978), an ethnic group is defined as a

> *"collective group of people within that have a common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, a cultural focus on one or*

more symbolic elements that function as representations of their identities such as their language or dialect forms, and tribal affiliations or common physical features".

Furthermore, the dynamic process of ethnicity in the formation of identities requires a least two groups or more to be in interaction with each other because social isolation tends to hamper individuals from perceiving their differences (Riggin, 1992). Thus an ethnic group is a named human population with some combinations of common descent, cultural or physical characteristics and sets of attitudes and behaviours in which they use to differentiate themselves.

However, ethnic communities are neither static groups of people sharing a common ethnic origin nor culture. This is because ethnicity is a form of production that is never complete and always (Gillespie, 1995). In addition, Riggins (1992) argues that ethnicity is a matter of negotiated self-identities and imagined communities that are socially constructed and can be rediscovered or reclaimed. This is because ethnic identities are actively constructed in everyday life, through people's lived experience in the private and the domestic spheres where the process continuously unfolds and intersects with other experiences and identifications (Sollors, 1996). According to Roza Tsagarousianou (2001), this makes ethnicity empirically diverse and characterised by paradox;

On the one hand, one encounters highly durable ethnicities that trace their origins over several centuries. However on the other hand, one also observes the rise of new ethnicities and the dissolution of older ones, as well as the many transformations of culture that existing ethnicities have undergone.

Therefore, perhaps the key point is that ethnic identity is never constant and whole, but is a mixture of overlapping and contesting identities.

In terms of distinguishing ethnic minority groups, Riggins (1992) suggests that ethnic minority populations can be compared on the basis of their values and geographic origins such as whether they are traditional or modem and whether their origins are indigenous or foreign. Ethnic minority populations can be categorized as either indigenous people who

remain loyal to their traditional values or indigenous people whose modem values appear to be primarily a sub-cultural variation of the dominant values in their country of existence. Ethnic minority populations in terms of deterritorialization can be categorized voluntary ethnic immigrants with modern values who still have ties with their place of origin. However, due to the multiplicity of ethnicity and its contradictions, these ethnic group differentiations are often very blurred.

In terms of the two San ethnic groups at Platfontein, the !Xu and the Khwe can be seen as ethnic refugees that were displaced from their places of origins in Angola and Namibia due to political conditions. However, they can also been seen as ethnic immigrants with modern values who see themselves as South African citizens and still have ties with their places of origin, their histories, their cultures and their traditions through the means of their languages.

2. 3) Cultural identity and Globalisation

It can be argued that the interconnectedness of cultures brought by the transnational flow of the mass media and the immigration of people around the world is leading to the formation of a homogenized global culture (Tomlinson, 1999). On the other hand, the revival of ethnicity and the growth of the politics of identity in the later 20 and 21 centuries, suggests that the homogenisation theory is not entirely accurate. Ethnicity and identity are not in fact static, but the products of ongoing cultural negotiation where ethnic communities and individuals are constantly changing their identification with the world around them (Sollors, 1996).

In line with this view, contemporary media scholarship no longer sees audiences as an undifferentiated mass of passive recipients of messages, but a multitude of different groups with their own histories, habits and social interactions. Audience research is now interested in the understanding of how audiences actively engage in the process of generating meaning in their reception of the media and the factors outside the media that shape the sense they make of media messages. Therefore scholars and academics of cultural and media studies are beginning to analyze how consumers in all sorts of settings create or conform to personal and social identities through acts of consumption and how media commodities provide resource for developing shared, collective frames of reference.

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(Appadurai, 1986; Miller, 1987, Tomlinson, 1999). In terms of cultural and ethnic identification, the use and consumption of representations in the media are seen as playing a key role in constructing and defining, contesting and reconstituting national, ethnic and other cultural identities (Gillespie, 1995).

The debate surrounding the effects of globalization on cultural identity suggests that the mass media encourages the erosion of local and indigenous cultures. This is illustrated in strategies used by corporations of the mass media of reinforcing the pressure on consumption as the primary end of life, which strengthens the increase in the need for materialistic values as a way of life and tends to diminish the spirit of community and the strength of communal ties (Tomlinson, 1999). This is because routine absorption of media content into everyday interpersonal discourses of audiences can often introduce, reinforce and extend the dominant values, beliefs and lifestyles contained in the media and popular culture (Lull, 1995). In terms of the Platfontein community, the !Xu and Khwe have embrace the "modern" world in their consumption of modern appliances such as radios, hi-fl's, DVD players, televisions, music and incorporating the lifestyles of the globalized citizen[5]. Through the global marketing of these different media, the two communities of Platfontein are being absorbed into the fabric of South African society and the global sphere where the consumption of popular and global culture can be seen as replacing traditional values and practices.

However, globalization does not necessarily destroy identities and may even be seen as a force for proliferating cultural identities (Tomlinson, 1999). It can be said that local identities are indeed being redefined under the impact of global media, in being re-contextualised, but that is not to say that they are being weakened (Miller, 1992). The general impact of the global media is highly contradictory as different groups, let alone individuals, respond in a range of different ways to the diversification of identity representations. In relation to this Stuart Hall (1992) suggests that globalisation does have power to contest and dislocate local identities in that it has a pluralizing impact, opening up new possibilities and positions of identification. This is because people do not have single and fixed identities; they have multiple and often changing identities and loyalties. Hall (1992) concludes that there are three possible consequences of globalisation on

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[5] Information was taken from observation in the field

cultural identities: erosion, strengthening and the emergence of new identities or new ethnicities. Thus in this study I will explore how through listening and participating in XK fm, !Xu and the Khwe are able to form new cultural and ethnic identities which in return strengthens their identity as a community.

According to Gillispie, (1995) the compression of time and space in the media provides a channel for the juxtaposition of very distinct cultural and social practices, which in return may reinforce social and cultural boundaries while also creating shared cultural spaces in which ideas, values, knowledge and institutions undergo processes of hybridisation (Gillespie, 1995). Hybridization is a process in which cultural forms move through time and space and are influenced by the global media, whereby they interact with other cultural forms, influencing each other and producing new forms (Lull, 1995). Thus the encounters between indigenous people and local culture practices and western forms of rule, power, and culture are thought to variously produce cultural forms of assimilation, co option, resistance and subversion often expressed in and though hybrid cultures. The outcome of this appears to be increasing the possibility of forming of new social and cultural platforms of collective and individual forms of cultural identity and the construction of new, shared worlds, communities and public spheres (Lull, 1995; Gillispie 1995, Tomilison, 1999).

Therefore, in terms of the !Xu and the Khwe of Platfontein, XK fm provides different opportunities for the ethnic groups to work with their identities in relation to their immediate geographic area, in relation to the nation in which they live, in relation to their local traditions, cultures, and heritages and in relation to the outside world. This is because the mass media help break down the distance between the macro-social and the micro-social environments where the mediums of the media such as radio, bring global public themes into the local private environments of the audience, which in return are influenced by local conditions, orientations, and practices (Lull, 1995; Tomilison, 1999).

However, as more and more people of different backgrounds share an overlapping culture influenced by the media, there is a strong tendency for certain groups today to insist that they are at least symbolically distinct (Sollors, 1986). Because as the ethnic process unfolds and intersects with other experiences and identifications, some ethnic groups try at the same time to differentiate themselves by deliberate appeals to traditions and reinterpretations of past history. The past is usually reconstituted to serve the group as they

try to go forward. This is because ethnic audiences often contest and transform the contents of the media through the ongoing exchange of symbolic forms to suit their sense of locality and identification that in return differentiates from the rest (Thompson, 1992). This provokes cultural resistance, and stimulates the rediscovery or invention of indigenous traditions to underpin a sense of difference.

Thus in media theory now, one sees a shift away from the very strong dominance of the top down, homogenization/cultural imperialism model of the mass media and globalization and a move towards more complex models and theories which stress the hybridization and the peaceful co-existence and exchange between global forces and local cultural traditions . Thus some aspects of the media contribute more to the symbolic construction of locality and belonging like reinforcing diasporic communities, others mostly contribute to the material construction of locality and belonging such as the reinforcement of a community or geographic identity (Tufte, 2001). Through the consumption of the media the !Xu and Khwe are able to differentiate themselves and restore pride and rediscover or invent of indigenous traditions to underpin and legitimise their sense of difference. However, in their consumption of material broadcasted by XK fm, the two ethnic groups are also being absorbed into modern society and traditional customs and values are being replaced.

2. 4) Ethnic minority media

In terms of the debate on the consequences of globalisation and the mass media on cultural identity, Stephen Riggins (1992) agrees with Stuart Hall (1991) and Stephen Lull (1992) by suggesting that mass media plays a key role in the process of identity formation by defining, preserving or weakening ethnic identities. In my discussion about the debate on cultural imperialism and the mass media in retrospect to cultural identity, I come to the agreement suggested by Lull that the mass media can be both liberating in creation of new collective and individual identities and oppressive in the erosion of traditional identities and values for more dominant and global culture associated with capitalism. XK fm community radio can be seen as a form of ethnic minority media due to its focus and commitment to the two San ethnic groups of the Platfontein community in that it serves the needs of two San ethnic groups by broadcasting in their languages. According to Tsagarousianou (2001), ethnic minority media are alternative forms of media that cater for the needs of a certain ethnic community by maintaining their languages, traditions, cultures

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and heritages and occupy an important role in the process of the communities' collective self-representation. Ethnic minority media forms act as do it yourself indigenous public spheres that are based on culture, identity and voluntary belonging. Ethnic minority media come in many forms such as ethnic TV, the Internet, newspapers, magazines, the radio and community radio. In terms of this study, I will be focusing on the concepts of ethnic minority media in relation to the principles of community radio such as community participation and participatory communication.

Although, through the broadcasting of XK fm the !Xu and Khwe of Platfontein are able to form new cultural and ethnic identities through the experiences of new worlds, cultures and tastes, the two ethnic groups are also able reclaim their indigenous and cultural identities and restore pride in themselves. Riggins (1992) argues this by suggesting that it is debatable whether ethnic minority media are tools of cultural and linguistica1 preservation or whether they secretly contribute to the integration of ethnic minority audiences to the dominant cultures within which they are immersed such as the global culture of the mass media. However, Riggins (1992) argues that ethnic minority media provide information and ideas that prevent or at least delays the assimilation of their audiences in national, and mainstream cultures. He concludes by suggesting that it is reasonable to hypothesize that ethnic minority media, despite their dual natures, make the greatest contribution in the preservation of the linguistic and cultural identities (Riggins, 1992).

In relation to the above, I believe that the best way to preserve minority cultures is by acting in a participatory environment that will enable a community's ability to restore cultural pride, self-esteem, and identity. This is because community participation in ethnic minority media such as community radio allows members of the audience and community to become involved in the task of producing the content in programs where they encode the development issues and realities of the community into signification. This in turn creates content for the development of the community that the community can receive, use and interpret in their own way to reclaim their cultural and ethnic identities. Therefore in terms of XK fm, this study will examine whether or not community participation enables the !Xu and Khwe to re-establish their linguistic and cultural identities and establish a channel of discourse between each other.

2. 5) Community Radio and Community Participation

Community radio emerged as a result of participatory communication projects in the 1960's, following the development failures of the dominant, capitalist paradigm of the West in Third World countries (Bosch, 2003). This is because participatory communication theorists such as Paulo Freire (1985) pointed out that the development agendas of the mass media of the West were irrelevant to the local contexts of Third World individuals. Since then thousands of community radio stations have popped up around the world in reaction to the spread of global media corporations that adopted the homogenous 'image' of the Western world which exclude the voices, needs and interest of ethnic minority groups, communities and individuals. Thus community radio broadcasting offers a local counter-balance to face the challenges of global media concentration and the dominance of state owned agenda setting by encouraging the participation of community members in the producing of programs so that their voices are heard and needs are met (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002)

In relation to the above, it is evident community radio broadcasting is different from the state own and commercial broadcasting systems that broadcast to the mass and homogenous audiences of nations and the globe. In South Africa, the broadcasting authorities have adopted a three-tier broadcasting system which consists of public service broadcasting, commercial broadcasting and community radio broadcasting (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001). Community broadcasting is seen by the South African Broadcasting act of 1999 as a broadcasting service that is fully controlled by a non-profit entity and initiated for non-profitable reasons, serves a particular community, encourages members of the audience to participate in the selection and decision-making of the programmes and that it may be funded by donations, grants and sponsorships (Banda, 2004). It is also recognized as initiative that is controlled by a community of interest, be geographic, ethnic, linguistic or religious, that expresses the needs, concerns and aspirations without interference from the public service broadcaster or government (Bosch, 2003). In relation to this, Fackson Banda (2004) adds that community radio broadcasting can be divided three categories as being "a geographic imperative or socio-cultural phenomenon or a developmental initiative".

The geographic imperative in a community radio station involves access and effective participation in the management and programming of the radio station by having the radio physically near the community so the community is encouraged to visit the studio and that the community participates in the management of the station (Boeren, 1994). Yet, community radio is also often viewed by way of the role it can play as an agent and medium of development. Community radio is seen as being able to mobilize local development initiatives and projects because radio is an excellent medium to inform people with, to make people aware, to stimulate interest and to influence opinions (Boeren, 1994). This is because community radio broadcasting is a communication process through which community- generated programs are produced, thereby encouraging a participatory approach to communication which supports democratic development through creating an effective dialogue between communities, civil society and the media (Banda, 2004). Community radio as a socio-cultural phenomenon is expressed in the community's perceptions of community radio where they must have some shared interest around which the community radio can exist (Banda, 2004). These interests can vary from the preservation of ethnic affinities, religious affiliations to ideological tendencies. In the case of XK fm, the community radio station can be seen as forged both on geographic imperatives and the preservation of ethnic affinities. This is because the community radio station serves the needs of the geographic community of Platfontein that consists of two ethnic San groups. In return the !Xu and the Khwe look at XK fm as an opportunity to foster and preserve their ethnic and cultural identities through the promotion of their languages on the radio station.

However, the key concepts of community based media are access, participation and self management (Lewis, 1993). Access includes feedback from audience members to the producers of the messages and participation in the broadcast of programmes where debate and commentary are encouraged. Participation involves the partaking of community members in all the levels of production, decision-making and management. The result of participation is self management where the audience or community has control in all the aspects of the radio station's decision-making (Lewis, 1993; Bosch, 2003). Thus participation can be seen as a collective praxis of decision-making within the community in which "communities are involved in identifying and planning their own development problems, in seeking solutions and in taking decisions of how to implement them" (Bessette, 2004). This is because when a community participation in the public sphere is

welcome, members become actors whose voices are included in the content. This is contrary to being passive recipients of information that may have nothing to do with the realities of their daily experiences. Thus the formation of community radio is based on the notion that the community members participates in the management of the station and that it helps create channel for the community to express their perceptions of the world, cultural values and ideological formations. This should enable a community's ability to restore ethnic and cultural pride, self-esteem, and identity by protecting tradition and cultural values, while facilitating the integration of new elements (Phiri, 2000).

However, community participation is vaguely used as a concept and has a lot of political undertones associated with it (Dagron Gumucio, 2001). According to McKee (1996), community participation can be used to mean very different things. It often subsumes other concepts and approaches which are themselves ill defined. This is because the word 'participation' changes its colour and shape at the will of the hands in which it is held (White 1994). While community participation is a desirable goal in community radio, the extensive involvement of the state, NGO's and sponsors in development complicates the issue. This is because the influence of governments, sponsors and NGO's over community radio such as in the case of XK fm can impede the development of the community itself by blocking community members from the freedom of expressing their ideas and views and serving their needs as a community. Therefore community radio entails the delineation between two different forms of media, the first being state-run media concerned with national agendas and development and the other being community-driven media that is based on cultural politics (Ilboudo, 2000).

2.7)   Conclusion

There is much discussion about the effect on local cultures from the globalized commercial media. Global and commercial media tends to marginalize and neglect the voices, views and needs of local communities by homogenizing their forms of media for mass audiences. Community radio as an alternative form of media offers a local counter-balance to public service broadcasting and commercial media. This is because community radio deals with local issues in the local languages and cultural context, relating to local problems and concerns, and aiming to help the community develop socially, culturally and economically (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002). It helps promote community participation, protects

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human rights, facilitates empowerment, and ensures the community's ability to re-establish and preserve their ethnic and cultural identities. In that regard a community radio becomes a community's source of identity by expressing the needs, concerns and aspirations of the community in their local languages.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. 1) Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodologies that I have chosen for my study into the reception of the community radio station XK fm among the two ethnic minority groups of Platfontein, the !Xu and the Khwe. New audience research is interested in understanding how audiences actively engage in the process of generating meaning and the factors outside the media that shape the sense they make of media messages. In order to explore how people participate in the creation of meaning from media texts scholars have adopted the method of ethnographic research. Ethnographic research asks how specific audiences differ in the social production of meaning within their daily lives and especially in view of the diverse social settings in which media are received (Deacon et al, 1999). Practically, such analysis requires qualitative empirical methods including in-depth interviews and observations of audiences in the primary settings where viewing occurs.

3. 2) Research methodology and methods

This research study is situated in an interpretivist research paradigm that seeks to produce descriptive analyses that emphasize deep interpretive understanding of social phenomenon through the meanings that people assign to them (Trauth, 2001). Interpretive research places particular emphasis on the ethnographic practices where the researcher immerses her or himself in a particular social setting, getting to know the people, observing how they organize their everyday lives and talking to them at length about how they see the world and themselves (Deacon et al, 1999). The assumption behind this research is that it gives the researcher an understanding of the communities being studied.

In the social sciences, qualitative research is a broad term that describes research that focuses on how individuals and groups view and understand the world and construct meaning out of their experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). It is seen as interpretative approach of research concerned with understanding the mental mapping process that respondents use to make sense of and interpret the world around them (Lindof, 1995). The advantage of using qualitative research methods is that results are based on a strong and flexible research designs that produce to valid and reliable findings. In this case, it can be

suggested that qualitative research methods can help describe or provide further understanding of a subject and its contextual setting; provide explanation of reasons and associations; evaluate effectiveness; and aid the development of theories or strategies (Deacon et al, 1999). Therefore, in this study, I will employ qualitative research methods to investigate the case study of !Xu and Khwe as minority ethnic communities benefiting from XK fm as a community radio station.

In addition I will use the case study as a methodological approach. In a case study the main assumption is that a phenomenon is investigated as a bound system (Stake, 1988). This system may be a group of people or it may be a set of documents or a television series. Any social entity that can be bound by parameters and that shows a specific dynamic and relevance revealing information that can be captured within these boundaries may be a case study (Stake, 1988). Thus a case study can be a person, an event, a program, a time period, a critical incident, or a community (Patton, 1987). In this regard, my study will involve the !Xu and Khwe of the Platfontein as as a community selected case study in which their relationship with the community radio station XK fm will be investigated in terms of how the community uses, interprets and is represented in the program broadcasted by XK fm.

Almost all case studies involve unstructured qualitative research methodologies and techniques. Generally, qualitative research methods consist of three kinds of data collection strategies: open-ended interviews, participant observation, and content analysis of written documents, program records and personal diaries. In regards to my study, I will be using open-ended interviews and research guiding questionaires that will be supported by participant observation and secondary data such as program records. In terms of data collection, the data from the open-ended interview consist of direct quotations from people about their experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge. The reason why this will use open-ended interviews is that they provide textual enriched data on what the audience member thinks, expresses and believes about the topic of concern in this study (Deacon et al, 1999). In qualitative research, one interviews people to understand their perspectives on the topic at hand, to retrieve experiences from the past, to gain insight or information, to obtain descriptions of events or scenes that are normally unavailable for observation, to foster trust, to provide an understanding of sensitive relationships and to analyze certain kinds of discourse (Lindlof, 1995). Thus, the purpose of the chosen method (interviews) as

well as the instrument (research guiding questions) to be used in the research project are meant to help the study gather insights into the interpretations of the audience/community of Platfontein in their use of what is being broadcasted by XK fm and their insights on the representation of the two ethnic groups within Platfontein.

This style of research inevitably generates a large amount of data that Geertz (1983) calls a thick description providing a detailed account of how people invest their world with meaning and negotiate and contest other systems of meaning. The data collected from observation consists of detailed description of program activities, participant's behaviours, and the everyday actions of the community members in relation to community participation in the broadcasting contents of the radio station and their human interactions with the programs broadcasted by XK fm. I will be using participatory observation where the researcher is present at the scene of action to observe but does not interact or participate. Thus my role will simply be to observe the community and the staff of XK fm as they carry out their daily business.

In the data collection process, there are two ways of choosing samples: random and non-random sampling (Deacon et al, 2003). For my study I will be using a non-random convenience sampling method due to the sensitivity of the community and their lack of trust in researchers from previous experiences of manipulation and exploitation by former researchers. I will focus on groups and individuals, who seem to present unexpected but potentially interesting opportunities for the topic of research. However, I may integrate the snowballing method into this, but I do not anticipate that the results will be statistically valid. My sample population will consist of both !Xu and Khwe community/audience members that are living in the community of Platfontein. Judging from the demands of this study and time constraints as a major factor, the sample size of this study will not exceed fifty respondents. This sample size will represent both the two ethnic groups of Platfontein by equally sp1itting the sample size in half. However, after obtaining 46 interviews using guiding questions, I narrowed the sample size criteria down to the age group of 10 to 25 due to limited requirements and expectations of this research project. This sample size consists of 20 respondents that are equally divided between the two ethnic groups.

Regarding the data evaluation, qualitative evaluation data begins as raw, descriptive information from interviews, observations, and documents (Geertz, 1983). It is then

organized into major themes, categories, and case examples through analysis where one's findings are then presented in the research project report (Beard, 1989). However, one has to take into consideration other external factors that may tend to constrain or distort the data. In the case of this study the constraint is language where I am only a English speaking South African and the communities being studied speak !Xuntali and Khwedam as their main languages and Afrikaans as an alternative language (cf. Douglas, 1996). In relation to this, this study cannot be rendered invalid due to language barriers I will experience in the field because translators have been organized to facilitate in the cross-cultural exchange in communication.

3. 3) Ethical Considerations

When dealing with respondents from ethnic minorities one has to consider the ethical issues of ownership, consent and data representation (). Due to the manipulations of past researchers, the San communities of Southern Africa have been exploited in their ownership of knowledge. This is because of the nature of their history with researchers in the past where researchers have come into contact with their daily lives, impacting their social, cultural and economic contexts and then leaving and publishing work without giving back to community and acknowledging ownership of certain information (). Therefore the data obtained from this study will be used only for research and academic purposes. It will be kept in the Culture, Communication and Media Studies Kalahari Project computer, under password. The data will be used for future policy formulation, in consultation with the Southern African San Institute (SASI), only with the consent of the Department of Cultural, Communication and Media Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal. Data from interviews with audience members from the two San ethnic communities will thus be quoted with the audience member's recognition in the final presentation of the research project. This is to establish their ownership of the data provided.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF DATA ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

4. 1) Introduction

In presenting the findings from the field, this chapter continues to employ the case study research method and techniques already enunciated on in the previous chapter. In regards to the data, I will present the findings in the field; the results from my observation of the two communities and the radio station itself, and the results using research-guiding questions. The data collected from my observations consists of detailed description of program activities, participant's behaviours, and the everyday actions of the community members in relation to their participation in the broadcasting contents of the radio station and their human interactions with the programs broadcasted by XK fm. The open-ended interviews provide textually enriched data on the interpretations of the two communities at Platfontein in their use of what is being broadcasted by XK fm as well as their insights on the representation of the two ethnic groups within Platfontein. Using guiding questions, forty-six people were interviewed in total. However, due to limited requirements and expectations of this research project as mention in the above chapters, I have limited my sample size to age groups between 10 and 24 years of age because they constitute large percentage of my total sample size. See appendices page, for illustrations of graphs describing the data collected.

Several field trips to Platfontein were undertaken by me during the period between the 19th to 29th of July and the 1st to 6th of September 2006 where I observed the two communities of Platfonetin as a part of my research strategy. Platfontein is situated in the Northern Cape, ten kilometers outside the regional administrative city of Kimberley. The settlement is made up of about 2000 government- sponsored homes with each ethnic group having its own settlement isolated from each other. The !Xu are located on a hill in the northern part of the settlement, where their population of 4500 covers a wide area. The Khwe are located on the southern part of the settlement that is adjacent to the main road leading to Kimberley. They are smaller in population than the !Xu. The school, community radio station, and business centre are located in between these two communities.

4. 2) Inter-group Relations among the !Xu and Khwe

During my stay in the field in July and September, the radio station manageress (Regina Beregho) assisted and helped me. She arranged meetings between the two communities and provided a means to do my research in the two communities. Furthermore, she provided me with two translators whose duty was to move with me during the period of my stay in the field as interpreters and intermediaries. Due to the socially arranged codes of the two communities of Platfontein, the two translators given to me came from each of the two ethnic groups in Platfontein. Thus one was from the Khwe community and the other was from the !Xu community. On making an enquiry about this arrangement I was told that such a move was meant to cause an ethnic balance between the communities living in Platfontein.

The motive for this social arrangement between the two ethnic groups is that these two ethnic groups have been in conflict with each other since they were moved and settled in South Africa. According to most of the community members that I openly interacted with and chatted to, these ethnic clashes were a common feature in their community up to 2003 when the community radio station became fully functional. According to Douglas (1996) this breakdown in ethnic relations was exacerbated by the selective treatment they received from the South African Defence Forces (SADF) where the Khwe group were favoured at the expense of the !XU and where the Khwe were exposed to more educational and economic opportunities. As a result the Khwe people tend to portray higher levels of literacy than the !Xu and speak more languages than the !Xu.

In relation to the above, the Khwe tend to look down upon the !Xu and the !Xu tend to often close themselves off from the Khwe (cf. Douglas, 1996). Even in my observations there were some signs of ethnic division and friction between the Khwe and the !Xu where both groups are uneasy about mingling in the other's community alone or without a friend from the other community. When it comes to strangers and in the case of my research, the Khwe are more receptive to strangers and were more willing to engage and participate in my research than the !Xu. Due to their ethnic pride, their lower levels of literacy and their ability to only speak Xuntali, Afikaans and Khwedam, the !Xu were not very receptive and were a closed community unwilling to talk to strangers. The community only started to

open up once I had been in the field for a week and I had gained their trust through the many interactions between the intermediaries given to the community and me.

However, many respondents stated that the broadcasting in the two languages by the community radio station and the continuous supply of information on development and social issues has brought the two ethnic groups to work together and understand each other. This is because respondents seemed to acknowledge that the radio station has helped to stop conflicts, by rolling out information for the two ethnic groups on the benefits of working together as a community. Therefore, although these two communities still operate on ethnic lines and that they do not operate as a single community, XK fm is providing them with a means to come together and try work as a geographical community whose major function is to preserve the local languages and cultures and help the two ethnic communities to reclaim their identities.

4. 3) XK fm as a Community Radio Station

In relation to the above, the concept of XK fm was established as a means of preserving the two local languages of the two communities, safeguarding their traditional values that were threatened by Afrikaans, and uniting the two ethnic groups. A licence was offered to the two communities for a term of six years and subject to renewal. XK fin radio station is located between the two ethnic communities in Platfontein on the main road and opposite the school. The general appearance of the building housing XK fm radio station is characterized by a big South African Broadcasting Corporation logo (SABC) on the outside wall near the entrance. Inside the radio station, the building has offices, a recording studio, an on-air studio, a record/CD room and a conference room. The layout of the place is smart and has SABC posters all over the place suggesting that it is a SABC project. The radio station broadcasts in Xuntali and Khwedam as the two main languages with Afrikaans as the medium of cross communicating for the two ethnic groups. During most broadcasts there are two presenters present, one !Xu and the other Khwe to create an appreciation of the two main languages of broadcasting across the ethnic divide. However, when there is only one presenter present, broadcasts are in Afrikaans as this is a common language between the two groups. This arrangement where the two languages are represented equally has created an appreciation of the two main languages of broadcasting between the two ethnic groups.

Insert Figure 3

Figure 3. Photograph of SABC logo the building of XK Fm

The community radio station broadcasts from 6 am to 9pm Mondays to Sundays. During the weekdays, the radio station broadcasts a breakfast show in the early morning which plays music and wakes up the community with news and community based shows that talk about their past and how to improve their lifestyles. Following afterward, the radio station broadcasts the late morning show that consists of talk shows on social issues like abuse and AIDS. At lunch the radio station broadcasts current affairs, the news and community related information. During the afternoon from 2pm to 6pm, the radio station concentrates on youth related programmes and music where they broadcast educational programmes, request shows, folklore, stories of the past and development programmes. For the ending of the broadcast they usually play music and inform the two communities of community related issues such as meetings. On Saturdays the radio station usually broadcasts educational programmes for the youth with plenty of music, news and current affairs. Last of all, Sundays cater for all the religious activities of the two communities with local and national gospel music broadcast and worship in !Xu, Khwe and Afrikaans.

The daily business of the employees at the station is always done in liaison with the SABC, where permission has to be granted before the formulation and implementation of any

policy or programme (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). This is because all the staff at the radio station from the station manager to the security guard are employed by the SABC. XK fm has six programmers, of which there are three !Xu and three Khwe. The station manageress (Regina Beregho) is Khwe and the deputy station manger (Malton) is !Xu. Programming is done partly with the consent of the two communities; however, no program is broadcasted without sanctioning by the SABC (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). All the music and programs broadcasted by the radio station are sponsored by the SABC. Most of their CD collection is sponsored by the SABC and any CD's or tapes given to the radio station from outside sources have to go through the SABC in Kimberley before they can be used by the radio station. Their news and sports bulletins are linked to the main SABC bulletin, and are coordinated from Kimberley SABC studios.

Most of the music that was played by XK Fm during my stay in the field was local South African music and traditional !Xu and Khwe music. However, there was also plenty of international music such as hip-hop, R&B, house music, jazz, blues, and pop music. When further investigated, XK fm under the policies of the SABC has to broadcast 20% international contents and music and 80% local South African contents and music which includes content and music from both the !Xu and Khwe communities in Platfontein. Although many community members and artists of the !Xu and the Khwe record their own music onto tapes and send them to the radio station to be played, most of the traditional music of the !Xu and Khwe is facilitated and recorded by XK fm itself. This is because XK fm only provides its facilities for recording through invitation and with the acknowledgement of the SABC. The traditional folklore stories broadcast on XK fm are obtained through the means of pre-recordings of elderly members of both communities telling the stories and narratives of the !Xu and Khwe. From the many responses I received on the traditional stories broadcasted by the radio station, it seems that the stories of the past are very popular among the youth of both communities. During the week the radio station often invites groups of youths from both communities to come and perform traditional songs for the station that are recorded and broadcast to the rest of Platfontein. On Sundays the radio station invites gospel choirs and priests from the two communities to come and sing on the radio station so their music can be recorded and broadcast for the whole of Platfontein. Development and educational programmes are broadcasted either in the two languages or Afrikaans and are produced and broadcast under the guidance and supervision of the SABC.

Besides the radio station functioning as an entertainer, educator and informer, it also doubles as a community centre in that community messages are broadcasted to the community using the radio. Members of the community additionally have access to telephone facilities for emergency cases, such as, calling police and ambulance services. This arrangement helps the two communities to be informed about activities happening within Platfontein. The response to these messages and the impact it has on the two ethnic groups is illustrated in the communal sharing of information among community members where members of the two communities often listen together as a group. For example, there were instances where a person has been called to a meeting at the radio station and would arrive there within ten minutes. Often my translators and gatekeepers to the two communities were reached by sending a message through the radio station.

In terms of community participation, people who were interviewed suggested that there is community participation at radio station, but it is limited. Of the !Xu respondents, 60% stated that there is community participation, with 40% disagreeing respectively. For the Khwe on the same question 70% agreed, while 30% disagreed. The information obtained was then depicted using pie charts to further give a visual illustration of the responses, as shown in the appendices. Question nine added to this enquiry into community participation by requiring the respondents to rate the levels of community participation in the operation of XK fm. Five categories were drawn for the interviewees to notch their responses where appropriate. These ranged from very high (VH), high (H), moderate (M), low (L) and very low (VL). Responses from the !Xu had one (10%) who said community participation is very high, with four (40%) as high, two (20%) moderate, two (20%) low and one (10%) very low. The response from the Khwe showed that two (20%) said community participation is very high, with five (5 0%) saying high, two (20%) moderate, one (10%) for low. These levels of community participation at the community radio station were also presented using pie charts.
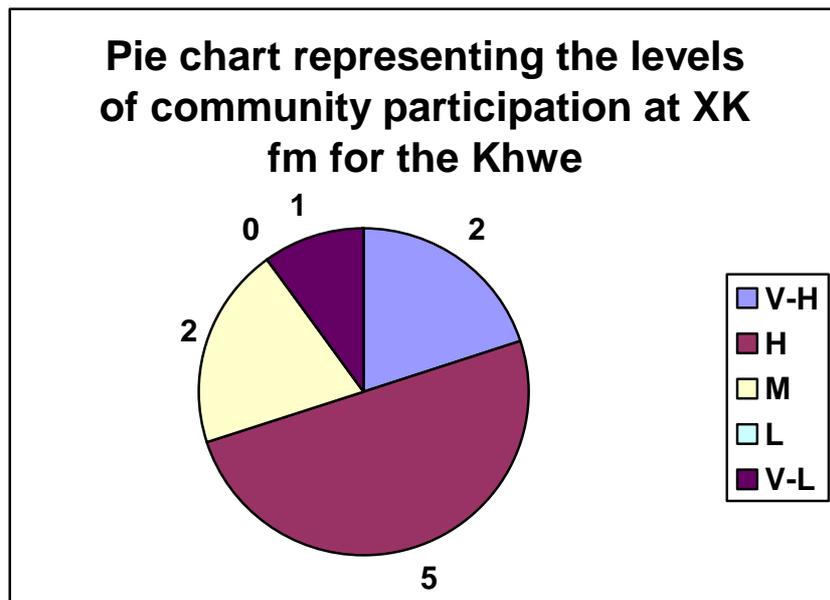
Figure 4.

Pie chart representing the levels of community participation at XK fm for the !Xu
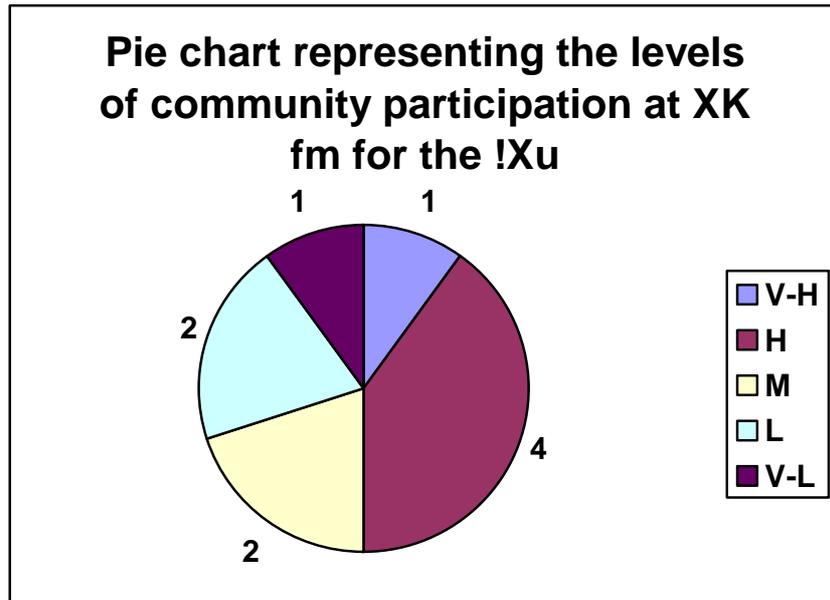
!Xu responses:	Very High	High	Moderate	Low	Very Low
	1	4	2	2	1
	10%	40%	20%	20%	10%

Figure 5.

Pie chart representing the levels of community participation at XK fm for the Khwe

Khwe responses:	Very High	High	Moderate	Low	Very Low
	2	5	2	0	1
	20%	50%	20%	0%	10%

However, conditions observed on the ground showed that there is minimal community participation as opposed to the data stated above. In contention with the figures above 70% and 50% of the !Xu and Khwe respectively recommended complete control, participation and running of the community radio station, a sign that they alluded earlier that

participation is high, they still acknowledge that it is always checked and is maintained at low levels (cf. Mhlanga, 2006).
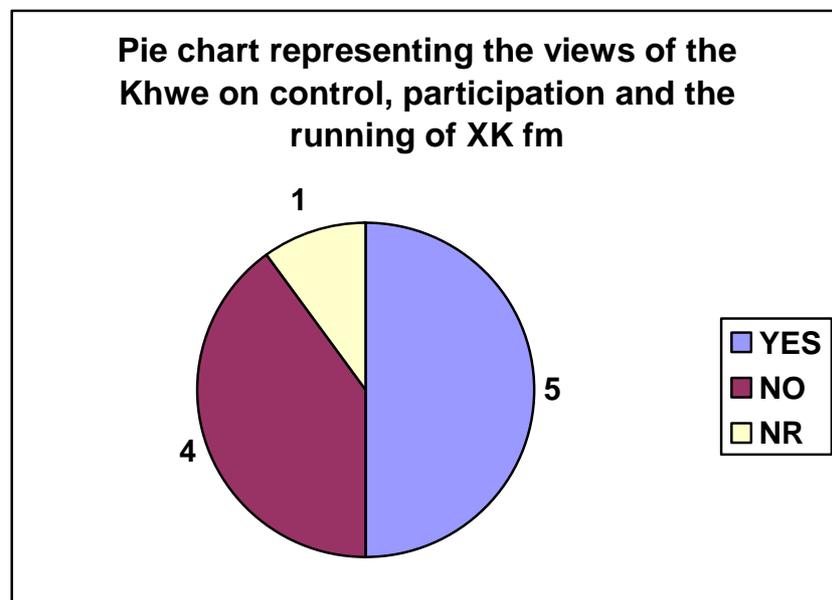
Figure 6

Pie chart representing the views of the !Xu on control, participation and the running of XK fm
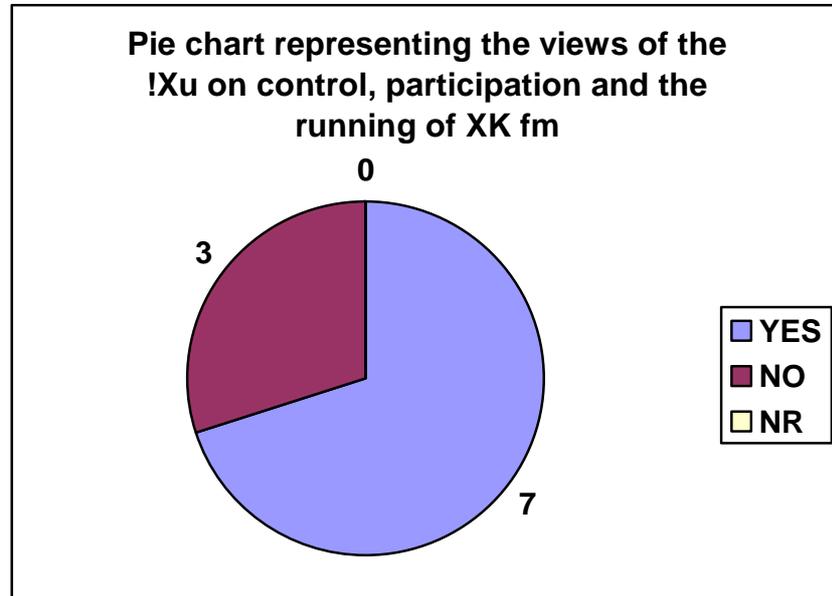
!Xu responses:	YES	NO	No Response
	7	3	0
	70%	30%	0%

Figure 7

Pie chart representing the views of the Khwe on control, participation and the running of XK fm

Khwe responses:	YES	NO	No Response
	5	4	1
	50%	40%	10%

In relation to the above, this contradiction of findings is because community participation is a vague and contradictory term that is often laden with many different meanings and for the two communities they had difficulties understanding the notion of participation in community radio. When probed on their understanding of community participation they pointed at the presenters whom they saw acting as their representatives since they are taken from the two communities. They also saw the broadcasting of their languages as means of participation, which in return increased their feelings of ownership and control. This is because they believed that the radio station is serving their interests in maintaining their languages and cultures and bringing the two communities together in unison (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). Yet, on the ground the two communities have no voice in the running of the radio station because the radio station is controlled and owned by the SABC.

From observation, the two communities as an audience only had the ability to participate in what is being broadcasted by means of requests for certain songs; in the creation of traditional songs and traditional folklore stories of the past that are recorded and then broadcasted; and in the use of the radio station as a community centre where community members can inform each other about activities through the station. Music requests are either sent by calling the station or leaving requests on pieces of paper that are given personally to the radio station, while participation in producing traditional music and stories for the radio station is established by inviting community members of the two groups to produce their own music and narratives.

4. 3. 1) Community Participation and Ownership of XK fm

Community radio broadcasting is defined as a communication process through which community-generated programs are produced by means of putting the decision-making, management and production in the hands of the community and its audience (Hollander et al, 1992). Thus according to Lewis (1993), one can say that the key concepts underlying community media are access, participation and self-management. However, in relation to the above it seems that the !Xu and Khwe communities of Platfontein only have access to use the radio station to maintain their languages and their separate cultures. This is because the two communities are rarely consulted about programmes and policy issues and decisions made by the staff have to be made in consultation with SABC headquarters in Johannesburg, and the SABC offices in Kimberley (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). This places

limitations on their ownership and control of the radio station and contains their ability to take control of their futures through the process of dialogue and democratic participation.

When a community's participation in the public sphere is welcome, community members become producers of their own development initiatives whose voices are included in the content in their own languages. This is contrary to being passive recipients of information where decision-making is top-down with no built-in mechanism for feedback from the community during the planning, the execution and the evaluation stages of the programs (White, 1994). However, in terms of XK fin, the voices of the !Xu and Khwe are partially included in the contents of the programmes through the broadcastings of languages, music, stories and heritages. But they are not included in the production, management and decision making of the programmes. Programmes are being produced and broadcasted by the means of top-down governance from the SABC that does help mobilize the two communities but does not solve the core problems that the two communities face. Thus members of the audience and community are limited in the task of producing the content in programs where they encode the development issues and realities of the Platfontein into meaning that the two communities use to help them develop.

However, it has been discussed that participation is often vaguely used and has a lot of political undertones associated with it (Dagron Gumucio, 2001). The two communities perceive the establishment of the radio station as an act of benevolence and a sign of belonging and ownership for them (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). This is because they believe that by broadcasting in their languages the radio station serves their interests, one of which is to maintain their languages and the upkeep of their separate cultures. The physical nearness of the radio station also creates feelings of participation, ownership and as a symbol of belonging for the two communities because it is situated in Platfontein between the two communities and presenters from both the communities are seen as working there (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). Hence the response that participation is moderately high, and later contradicted by the views that they want more control and participation. This is because the two communities are made to believe that they have a bigger stake in the affairs of the radio station because their local languages are used for broadcasting. Thus the use of two local languages becomes the paradox of community participation, ownership and control (cf. Mhlanga, 2006).

Therefore the research findings seem to point out that the general running, management and control of the community radio station is under the national broadcaster's power, while the two communities believe that they have a bigger stake in the affairs of the radio station because their local languages are used for broadcasting (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). This relates to the possibility that the two communities of Platfontein are been absorbed into the fabrics of South African society and the global sphere where the consumption of popular culture both national and international may lead to replacing traditional values and practices. However, Riggins (1994) suggests that ethnic minority media can also be a tool in catering for the needs of a certain ethnic community by maintaining their languages, traditions, cultures and heritages and by occupying an important role in the process of the communities' collective self-representation. Therefore one must investigate whether the radio station is helping the two San ethnic groups re-establish their linguistic, ethnic and cultural identities and uniting them as a community through the reception and use of the radio station.

4. 4) The utilization of XK fm among the !Xu and Khwe

In relation to the above findings, the two communities see XK fm as being a representative to their cultures, languages and heritages. They see the radio station as a means of preserving their local languages and safeguarding their traditional values. For the two communities, the radio station is there for their development and they believe that by broadcasting in their languages the radio station is serving their interests in maintaining their languages and the up- keeping of their separate cultures. Thus most members of the two communities living in Platfontein own or have access to radios or Hi-fi's where they can listen to XK fm. Both the two communities are modernized in that both of them have electricity and brick houses and in a lot of these houses in both communities one can find many modern commodities such as television sets, DVD players, Hi-fl's, and radios. However this is contradicted by the fact that the two ethnic communities seem not to have lost their traditional ways of living in that they still follow a village lifestyle of singing, dancing, trance dancing and traditional forms of consultation with ancestors.

During the day the !Xu and the Khwe usually listened to their radio's or Hi-fi's while doing chores or just relaxing. From responses, the majority of the two communities listen to XK fm, but there are also many other radio stations that can listen to out there. Radio Sonder Grense (RSG) is by far the most popular radio station after XK fm because of its

broadcasts in Afrikaans and XK fm switches to RSG after 9 pm when it ends its broadcast. Other radio stations that came up were 5fm, Ofm and Mostweding FM (MDG FM). This information is presented in pie chart format as seen in the appendices. Due to common day activities like work and school, most listeners listened to XK fm in the afternoon between three pm and nine pm. This is because most of the youth finish school at this time and many people get off work at 4:30 pm. Work and school are the main factors that prohibited listeners from listening to XK fm during the day. Other factors that limit audience reception of XK fm is electricity and the station's way of broadcasting. At night, radios and Hi-fi's are taken inside and turned down so that they don't get stolen and so that whole family can listen to it in private.

The most loyal and patriotic listeners of the radio station are the youth of the two communities who use the radio station for educational, informational and entertainment reasons. This is illustrated in the outcome of question thirteen where respondents were asked what reasons and purposes do they use the programs broadcasted by XK fm in their daily activities. In terms of the !Xu, 40% of respondents stated that they listen to the station for intellectual and information reasons, 10% stated that they listen to the station for entertainment and 20% stated that they listen to the station for development and educational reasons. For the Khwe, 30% stated that they listen to the station for intellectual and informational reasons, 40% stated that they listen to the station for educational and development reasons and 20% stated that they listen to the station for entertainment. Therefore, in terms of why the two communities listen to XK fm, the data above suggests that the two communities mostly used the radio station for informational reasons reflecting on their communities and the world around them, and educational reasons.

In relation to the above data, both the !Xu and Khwe favour the educational and informational programs as their most popular programs such as the *Morosani or current affairs* program during lunch, the youth programs from 3pm to 6pm and the community announcement's program at night. Respondents suggest these programs help them in their understanding of the world around at Platfontein and the outside world by enlightening the two communities about national and world events. For example, many respondents mentioned and talked about the distant war between Israeli and Hezbolla in Lebanon in August 2006 and the Jacob Zuma corruption trial. In terms of the development programs, many respondents stated that continuous supply of information on development and social

issues has helped one grow in personal development and brought the two ethnic groups to work together and understand each other.

However, in terms of listening to the radio station for educational purposes, the !Xu and Khwe (especially the youth) stated that they prefer to listen to their folklore stories and the stories about the past that are broadcasted on XK fm. The youth of the two communities state that the stories broadcast on XK fm are helping them in re-establishing their pasts and cultures while helping the two communities understand each other. For the two communities, these folklore stories and stories of the past help the youth to identify where they came from and acknowledge who they are in order to save their cultures and heritages in the generations to come. The Khwe responded all positively to the question eighteen where they were asked if the folklore stories broadcasted during the youth programs are helping the two communities to re-establish their pasts and cultures. For the !Xu, 80% responded positively saying that it helped them in identifying and understanding the past. The impact of these stories was illustrated though my observations at night where in both communities there were often groups of young girls singing and dancing to traditional folklore songs about animals, the past and their people. The impact of the stories is further evident in the following quotes that state that they are helping the two communities in maintaining their past and helping them incorporate their heritages and past traditions into their everyday lives living in South Africa.

Khwe girl 16: *"She lives her life according to the stories about her heritage by identi/ with the folklore stories and stories of the past"*

Xu girl 20: *"It keeps us in touch with our forefathers, where we come from and who we are"*

Khwe boy 19: *"Most of the people hear the past stories and try to incorporate it into their everyday lives by dancing and singing"*

!Xu girl 16: *"Yes, I learn more about my culture and language everyday because they play the stories they have recorded from the old people on XK fm"*

In the afternoons, youths often played music or listened to XK fm with their radio's or Hi-fi's at full volume. Often these youths would be just socializing or relaxing outside their houses listening to the blare of their music. During these times radios and speakers are usually positioned on window ceilings or outside on the ground. One would often hear the beats of South Africa house music or Kwaito blasting these Hi-fi's. Sometimes, the music being played by groups of youths from both communities would be accompanied by a bunch of teenagers' practicing American break-dancing or Kwaito dance moves to the beats of the music. When I enquired where they got the music from, they responded that they first heard the music on XK fm, but bought the music from outlets within Kimberley. I was told that these groups of youths from both communities were practicing for the dance competition being held on Women's Day (6 August) in Platfontein. The youths seemed to mix their own forms of dancing with the characteristic dance moves of American break dancing. However, in contrast to this during my stay when it became dark I encountered incidents, in both communities, where groups of youths would be singing and dancing to traditional folklore songs about animals, the past and their people. These gatherings of youths, mostly young girls, seemed to be lead at most times by older girls between the ages 16 to 20. When asked about where these songs came from, their response was that relatives and friends mostly passed it down to them. When asked if XK fm had anything to do with these songs, most of the youths said that the radio station often invites groups of youths like them to come and sing on the radio. "Most of the people hear the past stories and try to incorporate it into their everyday lives by dancing and singing"

Figure 8. A Photograph of a group of young !Xu girls dancing to traditional songs

Youths from both communities listen to a wide range of music genres such as hip-hop, the Top 20, R&B and Afrikaans pop music. However, respondents all said that they listen to their own traditional music that is played on XK fm and that they feel proud of who they are and at home whenever a song is played in their language. The youth of the two communities also seem to have incorporated the sub-cultures of the music they listen to into their everyday lives such as the South African township and "tsotsi" look of Kwaito, the Western hip-hop and R&B looks. One young teenage Khwe girl from the youth focus group stated she listens to R&B "to feel Westernised and modern". In contrast, another girl from the same focus group stated that she listens to Afrikaans on XK fm and RSG because she is "proud of being an Afrikaner and having an Afrikaans heritage", even though she is a Khwe. In the focus group interviews, the teenagers and young adults even stated they have made friends with youths from the other ethnic group by the means of being interested in the same music genres and sub-cultures. This is illustrated in a statement by a young male Khwe who said that he often "goes to the !Xu side of Platfontein to go listen hip-hop and Kwaito music with his !Xu friends".

In relation to the above paragraphs on the youth culture of Platfontein and the use of XK fm by the youth, respondents were asked in question seventeen if the youth programs

broadcasted by XK fm were in the interests of the youth in terms of the selection of music, stories and development issues. Out of the !Xu 70% responded positively while 20% responded negatively stating that the programs do not get in touch with real issues. For the Khwe, all the respondents responded positively that the programs for the youth represent the interests of the youth in the two communities. Thus, the youth of Platfontein state that XK fm is serving their needs in establishing who they are and by providing programs that help them grow in development for the future. This is demonstrated in the following quotes:

Khwe girl 15: *"Yes, I think they are touching on the real issues on the youth programmes"*

Khwe boy 22: *"It helps us to understand how to develop ourselves"*

However, there was some concern among the !Xu that the development and social programmes are not fully representing the issues that the youth of the two communities are facing and dealing with living in Platfontein. This is illustrated in the following statements:

!Xu girl 19: *"No they don 't really get in touch with interests concerning serious issues like safe sex, abortion"*

!Xu boy 17: *"Yes, but our community needs to increase the development programs for the youth and help the youth"*

In response to this, members of the two communities were asked how the programs broadcasted by XK fm helped in the personal development of their interviewee's identity in question twelve. Out of the Khwe, 90% of them responded positively, with 20% saying the programs help in creating pride for one language, another 20% saying that it helps in the development of the person and 60% say the programs help in providing information on the world around them. For the !Xu 50% responded positively where 20% of the respondents said the radio station help in creating pride for one's language, while 20% responded negatively. Therefore, for both communities, the radio station is seen as providing the two communities with a sense of pride for one's language and ethnicity and a source of information about the world outside them and issues closer to home in Platfontein. This is demonstrated in the following quotes:

!Xu boy 17: *"Yes, we are very proud of our languages that are broadcasted from the radio station"*

Khwe boy 21: *"It makes me feel proud and confident about my language"*

Khwe girl 15: *"I am proud to be Khwe because it is nice to hear my language"*

In terms of XK fm providing the two communities with a means to be proud about their languages, respondents in question nineteen were ask whether the broadcasting of the two ethnic languages at the same time helps in the establishment of an understanding and communication between the two groups. Eighty percent of the !Xu responded positively in that the two communities do not fight anymore and they are communicating and understanding each other more while 20% responded negatively. For the Khwe, they all responded positively saying that XK fm provides them with an understanding of who the other group is and helps them to learn the other language. Therefore XK fm is also seen as a source of dialogue between the communities and unifier among the two ethnic groups. This is illustrated in the following responses:

!Xu boy 23: *"Yes the young boys in my area fight less and I think that it makes us better"*

Khwe boy 16: *"Yes, the radio station is teaching us how to come together"*

Khwe girl 21: *"It helps in improving the spirit of working together and understanding each other"*

However, community members of both groups also stated that although the Afrikaans language has had an eroding effect on their languages, it does serve as the defining element that allows the two communities to communicate between each other. From observations too, it seems that the two communities see Afrikaans as one of characteristics of that which brings the two communities together as one entity. Although they see themselves as two totally different ethnic groups with two distinct languages, they do see themselves as being a part of the Afrikaans speaking population of South Africa. Also to a certain degree they do associate themselves with a part of a broader Afrikaans culture. This is illustrated in

RSG's popularity among the two communities, the broadcasting of the Afrikaans language and its associated music by XK fm and the use of Afrikaans among the two communities when communicating with each other.

4. 4. 1) XK fm and the Cultural Identities of the !Xu and Khwe

As stated before previously in the chapter, research findings seem to point out that the radio station is for the two communities of Platfontein to maintain their languages, their heritages and their separate cultures, but is not owned by the two communities because the general running, management and control of the community radio station is under South Africa's national broadcaster's power, the SABC (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). Thus through the SABC's control over the radio station and the contents it broadcasts, there is the possibility that the two communities of Platfontein are being absorbed into the fabric of South African society. Observations found that the youths of both communities engage in home recordings of popular music and the mixing of their own forms of dancing and Kwaito dance with the characteristic dance moves of American break dancing to the Kwaito and house beats blasting out of their stereos which in return articulate and express their attitudes and thoughts.

It is evident that music plays a central role in the process of identity construction of these young !Xu and Khwe. As youths look for sources of information, emotional understanding, and cues for the expression of their emerging social and personal identity they often find music to provide them with valuable meanings (Zillman and Gan, 1987). Music fundamentally shapes who we are by molding the image of how we want to be received and how we would want others to perceive us as (Zillman and Gan, 1987). This is evident in the youth of the two San ethnic groups of Platfontein where for example a Khwe teenage girl stated that she listens to R&B music to "feel Westernised, contemporary and fashionable". As I have mention in the above data, both the youth of the two communities listen two a wide range of music genres such as hip-hop, the Top 20, R&B, Afrikaans pop music and their music that is sung in their languages. However, from observations the youth of the two communities also seem to have incorporated the sub-cultures of these music genres into their everyday lives such as the South African township and "tsotsi" look of Kwaito and the Western hip-hop and R&B looks of Western cultures. This indicates the symbolic adoption of South African and international cultures into the local

everyday lives of the !Xu and Khwe at Platfontein where in the process of cultural hybridisation, traditional values and forms are being either replaced or fused into new cultural identities. An example of this is the mixture of traditional dance and American breaking dancing use by youths of both communities when dancing to Kwaito house beats.

Furthermore, as adolescents begin to refer to music genres to organize their sense of self and reality, they begin to consider themselves as members of cultural communities. These associations provide them with the emotional benefits of belonging, the possibility of expressing affiliation with similar peers, and differentiation from opposing taste cultures Frith. 1996). This identification with certain sub-cultural communities related to the music genres and youth cultures present in Platfontein and broadcast by XK fm has allowed the youth of the two communities to identify with each other and unite as friends according to their sub-cultural communities. This is evident in the statement by a young Khwe male who said that he often "goes to the !Xu side of Platfontein to go and listen to hip-hop and Kwaito music with his !Xu friends". Thus, XK fm and the consumption of media are providing the youth of the two communities with cultural resources to overcome ethnic differentiations and form new identities that are not related to their ethnicities. This is because both the !Xu and Khwe are now sharing overlapping cultures and materials provided by XK Fm at the same, as a result it is easy for them to find common grounds in what they listen to and construct from the broadcasts.

However, the process of cultural construction includes not only elements of personal identity but also important aspects of national, regional, cultural, ethnic, and gender identity (Tufte, 2001). This is illustrated in the mixture of different identities incorporated in the lives of the youths of the two communities. The youths of the two communities see themselves predominantly as either !Xu or Khwe who's origins lie in Angola and Namibia. However, they also see themselves as San people or Bushmen who are South African citizens living at Platfontein and part of the Afrikaans heritage of South Africa. In relation to this, both communities say they identify with these identities even though they might identify with them at different stages in their everyday lives. For example, a female Khwe teenager stated in a focus group interview that she listens to Afrikaans on XK fm and RSG because she is "proud of being an Afrikaner and having a South African Afrikaans heritage", even though she is a Khwe and originally from Angola.

Although the two communities consume and use global and popular media not related to their everyday realities and lives, they prefer to listen to their own traditional music and stories that are played on XK fm because it makes them feel proud about who they are. The youth of the two community's state that the of the past and folklore broadcast on XK fm are helping them in re-establishing their pasts and cultures while helping the two communities in understanding each other. The impact of these traditional songs and stories was illustrated though my observations at night where in both communities there were often groups of young girls singing and dancing to traditional folklore songs about animals, the past and their people. Thus it is evident that the broadcasting of traditional music and stories is helping the two communities in maintaining their past traditions and customs and providing the resources for the two communities to incorporate their heritages and past traditions into their everyday lives in today's South Africa.

In relation to the above, it can be seen that the ! Xu and the Khwe still to a very large degree see the global environment from their local perspective as members of the Platfontein San community, but due to XK fm their mentality is split between the concrete closeness of Platfontein and the fascinating closeness of a distant global world. In their reception of XK fm the !Xu and Khwe prefer to listen to and consume the broadcasting of their local cultures, heritages, tradition and the stories closest to their daily experiences and histories, but at the same time global experiences and commodities such as the news and popular music are accepted as a totally unproblematic and a natural part of their media consumption (Lull, 1994). Therefore, with the presence of the SABC in the management of the community radio station, one observes the emergence of new cultural identities among the !Xu and Khwe because consumption of the station's programmes provides different opportunities for them to work with their identities where they can navigate between different cultural universes and produce locality on several levels in relation to their immediate geographic area, in relation to the nation in which they live, in relation to their local traditions, cultures, and heritages and in relation to the outside world (Tufte, 2001). But, on the other hand, one also observes the erosion of tradition customs and values that make up one's ethnicity during the process of hybridisation with other cultural identities.

4. 4. 2) XK fm as a source of ethnic revival among the !Xu and Khwe

According to Riggins (1992), ethnic minority audiences display remarkable resilience, resourcefulness and skill in their consumption practices of the media, articulating discourse of cultural rights relating to their ethnic and diasporic specificity but also claiming inclusion in the mainstream. Hall justifies this by claiming that

> *"ethnic minority audiences in their consumption practices of the*
> *media develop many strategies of resistance to homogenisation*
> *such as re-identification with cultures of origin, the construction of*
> *strong counter-ethnicities as forms of symbolic; revivals of cultural*
> *traditionalism, religious orthodoxy and political separatism, and*
> *the formation of new identities around terms chosen and inflected*
> *to encompass differences (1992)."*

Most of these strategies are present among the !Xu and the Khwe in their use and consumption of programs broadcasted by XK fm and their progress towards maintaining and preserving their languages and cultures. For example, from observations the !Xu and Khwe still operate on ethnic lines and one cannot perceive them as operating as a single cultural community because their worldviews are different, they have two distinct and different languages and they have separate notions of ethnicity and feelings of allegiance to their roots in Namibia and Angola. This is evident in their memories of Angola and Namibia and the broadcasting of traditional music and folklore stories by XK fm, which helps in fostering renewed sense of pride in belonging to one's ethnic group among the !Xu and Khwe.

In response to this, Sollors (1996) suggests that as more and more people from different backgrounds share an overlapping culture influenced by the media, there is a strong tendency for certain groups today to insist they are distinct by reconstituting traditions and reinterpretations of past history into their everyday lives. Here, cultures, traditions, customs, languages and the past are usually reconstituted to serve the group as they go through modern life by developing a self-conscious ethnic group. This is done by contesting and transforming the contents of the media through the ongoing exchange of symbolic forms to suit their sense of locality and identification that in return differentiates

from the rest (Thompson, 1992). Furthermore, according Hollander et al (1992), when ethnic minorities themselves participate as actors in their own development and in their own folk culture expression that people can readily derive strength for that process from a re-examination and revitalization of their cultural roots.

However, the !Xu and Khwe have limited participation as actors in their own development as stated before, thus one can only conclude from other evidence that the process for the re-examination and revitalization of their cultural roots is coming from the pride in one's language being broadcast on XK fm, the presence of community members from both communities being a part of the radio as presenters and the broadcasting of the two ethnic groups' tradition folklore stories and music. The impact of the folklore stories and the traditional music are evident in my observations of the two communities incorporating their past traditions and customs into their everyday lives such as the youths singing and dancing to traditional folklore songs about animals, the past and their people. This is because messages channeled through ethnic minority media are intended to become a part of the community experience, a part of the lives of those who receive them where the expressions of folk beliefs, norms and customs can be expected to reflect, reinforce and perpetuate traditional attitudes and practices (Riggins, 1992).

Therefore, through the calls for the preservation of their languages and cultures and the expression of the self, XK fm can be said to be strengthening ethnic identity and cultural imperatives by creating a sense of diasporic feeling and nationhood among the two ethnic groups, as separate ethnic groups (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). This is because regardless of historical and geographical circumstances, the two ethnic groups are claiming the right to both a separate identity and a matching culture of their own choosing (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). In relation to this, the !Xu and Khwe can be seen as diasporic ethnic groups that are made up of multiplicity of cultural and ethnic identities that intersect one another. However, through the preservation and broadcasting of the languages, traditions, rituals and cultures of the !Xu and Khwe, XK fm is provoking a sense of cultural resistance, and stimulating the rediscovery of indigenous traditions to strengthen a sense of difference and ethnic consciousness among the two ethnic groups living in Platfontein.

4. 4. 3) XK fm and the Preservation of the Ethnic languages

In reference to the above, it is evident that the broadcasting of the two ethnic languages by XK fm is helping establish a feeling of pride for one's language and culture among the !Xu and Khwe and giving the two communities a sense of control and ownership over their development and future as stated in the community radio findings. Thus, with 90% of the !Xu and 60% of the Khwe responding positively to question nineteen by saying that the programs helped in the establishment of who they are and provided source to proud of one's language. This is because XK fm as an ethnic minority media form creates and enhances language as a means of ethnic and cultural expression and identity (Riggins, 1992). Furthermore, according to Hall (1980, 1990), despite deterritorialization of certain cultural communities, the hybridization of identities and the assimilation of global cultures caused by the consumption of the media, language can be seen as a fundamental platform for resisting processes of cultural uniformization; especially when it is channeled communication technologies such as radio. Therefore, the broadcasting of the two ethnic languages by XK fm can be said to be helping the two groups resist the process of cultural uniformation and integration into South African society by stimulating pride in one's language and the rediscovery of indigenous traditions that create a sense of difference and ethnic consciousness among the two ethnic groups living in Platfontein.

However, by broadcasting in the two languages at the same time, XK fm can also be seen as creating a source of interaction between the two communities where the !Xu and Khwe are starting to understand each other's languages and cultures and are not fighting each other anymore. The broadcasting of Afrikaans by XK fm is also seen as one of the characteristics that brings the two communities together as one community. This is illustrated in the responses from questions twenty one where the !Xu and Khwe stated that Afrikaans is the only form of communication between the two communities and a means of understanding each other's traditions, cultures and customs. Although, the !Xu and Khwe see that there is no mixing of the languages or communicating in each other's ethnic languages yet, there are signs especially in the youth that in the near future though XK fm's broadcasting of the languages at the same time, the two communities will be able to communicate to each other the other one's language. This is evident in one male Khwe's statement that "as they broadcast in different languages in the future people will be able to understand each other".

4. 4. 4) XK fm as a form of communication and unity between the !Xu and Khwe

In relation to the above and the data presented, XK fm can be seen as acting as a socio-cultural symbol of identification and a unifier of the two separate ethnic groups of Platfontein force. Although ethnic cleavages still exist and there were conflicts between the two communities in the past, research shows that the ! Xu and Khwe strongly feel that the community radio station has helped in suppressing ethnic differences and created a feeling of unity among the listeners. This is because many respondents stated that the broadcasting in the two languages by the community radio station and the continuous supply of information on development and social issues has brought the two ethnic groups to work together and understand each other. The feeling of unity was further evident in the responses to question twenty where members of the two communities were asked if XK fm is uplifting and empowering the !Xu and Khwe to come together as one community. Of all the Khwe respondents, they all agreed that XK fm was helping the two communities come together as a community by the means of communication between the two groups and the development of the whole Platfontein community, while 70% of the !Xu responded positively to the question too. Thus the community radio station is not only a uniting medium within the locality of Platfontein, but also a uniting medium between the two communities in terms of serving their interests, maintaining their languages and the upkeep of their separate cultures.

Furthermore, although community members of both groups also that the language, Afrikaans, has been eroding into their languages, it does serve as the defining element that allows the two communities to communicate between each other. Through their identity with the Afrikaans language and culture, the two ethnic groups find a means of common ground in which they communicate and see each other as being related and connected to each other. Thus, by also broadcasting in Afrikaans, XK fm has provided the !Xu and Khwe the means to understand each other's ethnic languages. Therefore XK fm can be seen as a community radio station that unites the !Xu and Khwe communities both on geographic conveniences and socio-cultural interests in maintaining their languages and culture. Through XK fm, the two ethnic groups are now tolerating each other and wanting to learn each other's languages.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5. 1) Conclusion

In conclusion to the above findings, XK fm radio station provides limited community participation in the producing and management of programs because it is owned by the national broadcaster, SABC (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). This places limitations on their ability to take control of their futures through the process of democratic participation and debate. The use of the two local languages becomes the paradox of community participation, ownership and control where the two communities perceive that the broadcasting of their languages is serving them in their needs to maintain their languages, traditions and cultures (cf. Mhlanga, 2006). Thus the control and management of the radio station is just integrating the two ethnic groups into the modern society of South Africa.

In relation to the above, although the !Xu and the Khwe are being absorbed into national and international society they still to a very large degree see the global environment from their local perspective as members of the Platfontein San communities. This is evident in the findings where they prefer to listen and consume the broadcasting of their local cultures, heritages, tradition and the stories closest to their daily experiences and histories. Therefore, the encounters between the !Xu and the Khwe and their local culture practices and western forms of rule, power, and culture are producing cultural forms of co option, resistance and subversion often expressed in hybrid cultures such as the teenage Khwe and !Xu Kwaito dancers and their mixture of Kwaito, American break and traditional forms of dance. The outcome of this appears to be producing new social and cultural platforms of collective and individual forms of cultural identity among the !Xu and Khwe, especially the youth which in return creates passage for the two ethnic groups to unite together outside their ethnic identities. Therefore, in the case of XK fm as a medium of ethnic minority media, I agree with Stephen Riggins in that ethnic minority media can be liberating in re-establishing and preserving ethnic and cultural identities on the one hand, but on the other hand it can lead or contribute to the adoption of national and international cultural values that weaken the fabrics of indigenous traditions and customs

However, the !Xu and Khwe still operate on ethnic lines and that they don't operate as a single community. This is because the !Xu and Khwe ethnic communities have their

separate notions of nationhood and diasporic feelings for identity that are present in their strengthened sense of difference and ethnic consciousness and renewed sense of pride in belonging to one's ethnic group among the !Xu and Khwe when listening to one's language, traditional music and folklore stories. Therefore, XK fm can be seen as provoking a sense of cultural resistance, and stimulating the ethnic groups living in Platfontein by creating a sense of diasporic feeling and nationhood among the two ethnic groups, as separate ethnic groups. Thus, although these two communities still operate on ethnic lines and that they don't operate as a single community, XK fm is providing them with a means to come together as a geographical community and try work together in maintaining their local languages and cultures.

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Conquest for life website;

http://www.digitalxtech.co.za/documents/!Xu%20and%20Khwe%20profile%202.pdf

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: XK fm and its relationship with the !Xu and Khwe of Platfontein

<u>**Guiding Questions**</u>

Question 1: What is your age?...............
Question 2: What is your ethnicity?...
Question 3: What is your gender?......................
Question 4: Do you listen to any radio station?........................
Question 5: Do you listen to XK fm radio?...............................
Question 6: List all the radio stations you usually listen to in order of your preference (e.g. the one you prefer most should come first).
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………….
Question 7: What times do you listen to XK fm?...
Question 8: Do you or any of your community colleagues participate in XK fm as your local community radio station?
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………
Question 9: How would you rate the level of community participation in the operation of XK fm as a community radio station?
Very High………………………………………
High…………………………………………….
Medium………………………………………...
Low……………………………………………..
Very Low…………………………………….
Question 10: In your view would you recommend complete control, participation and running of XK fm radio station by the community?
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………
Question 11: What programs from XK fm do you listen to?
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………
Question 12: How do these programs you listen to help you personally develop in identity as a !Xu or Khwe?
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………
Question 13: For what purposes/reasons do you listen to these programs?
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………

Question 14: What are the negative factors that restrict you from listening to XK fm?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………

Question 15: How are the !Xu and Khwe represented in these programs in terms of your cultures and languages?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………

Question 16: Do you think that the programs being broadcast by XK fm are helping to re-establish pride in who you are as a !Xu or Khwe?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
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Question 17: Are the youth programs broadcasted by XK fm representing the interest and needs of the youth of both communities in their selection of music, development issues and oral stories?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………

Question 18: Are the traditional stories broadcasted on XK fm helping to re-establish and reclaim your past heritages and cultures?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………

Question 19: By broadcasting in the two ethnic languages at the same time, in your view do you think that this is providing a way for the !Xu and Khwe to learn each other's languages and provide a better way to communicate with each other?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
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Question 20: In your view, do you think XK fm is uplifting and empowering the !Xu and Khwe to come together as one community?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
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Question 21: Is XK fm creating a mix of the two languages into one language and community or is helping in promoting the use of Afrikaans more?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………

Question 22: Do you have any other comments?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………

Appendix 2: Data from guiding question

Question 1: Age

!XU	Number of interviews per interval	
10-24	10	
TOTAL	10	

KHWE	Number of interviews per interval	
10-24	10	
TOTAL	10	

Question 2: Gender

!XU	Number of interviews per interval F	Number of interviews per interval M
10-24	5	5
TOTAL	5	5

KHWE	Number of interviews per interval F	Number of interviews per interval M
10-24	5	5
TOTAL	5	5

Question 3: Ethnicity

KHWE   !XU
10   10

Pie Chart Reflecting Ethnicity
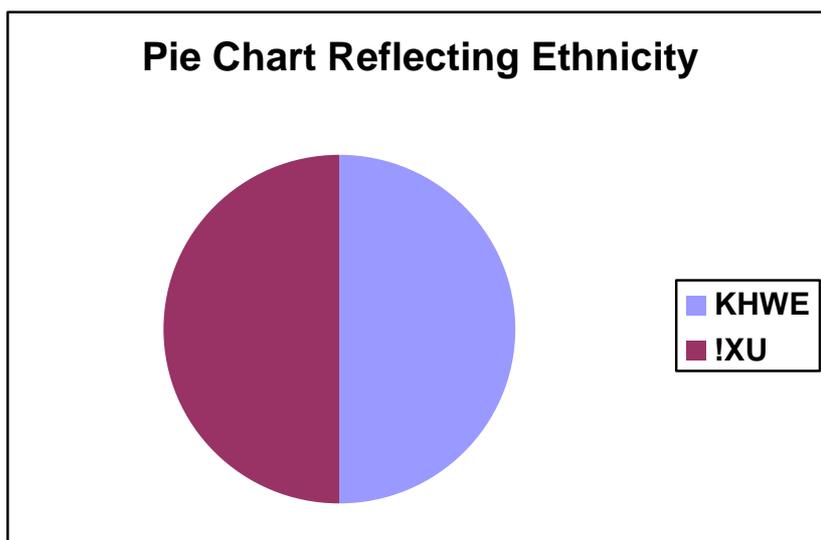
Question 4: Do you listen to any radio stations?

Khwe responses:

YES	NO	NR
9	0	1

Pie Chart Reflecting the Responses of Khwe

!Xu responses:

YES	NO	NR
8	1	1

Pie Chart Reflecting the Responses of !Xu
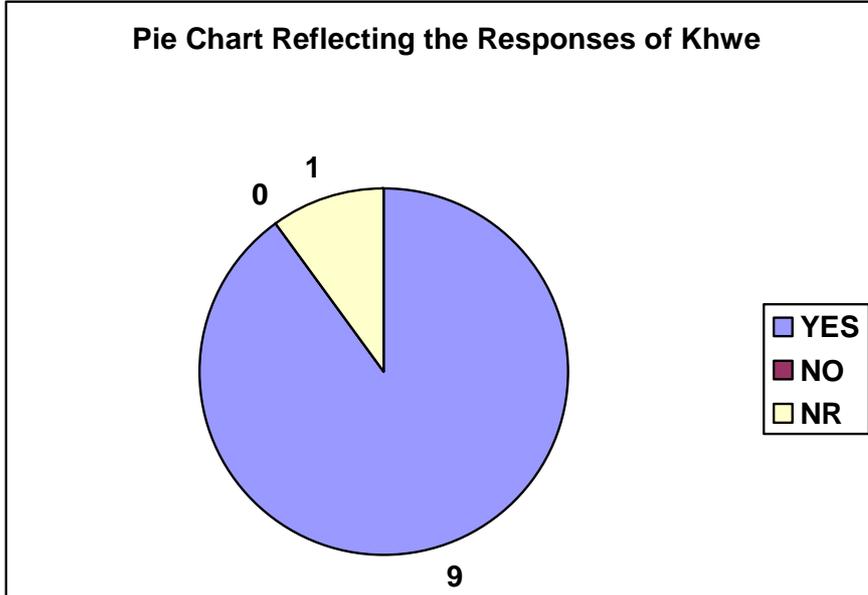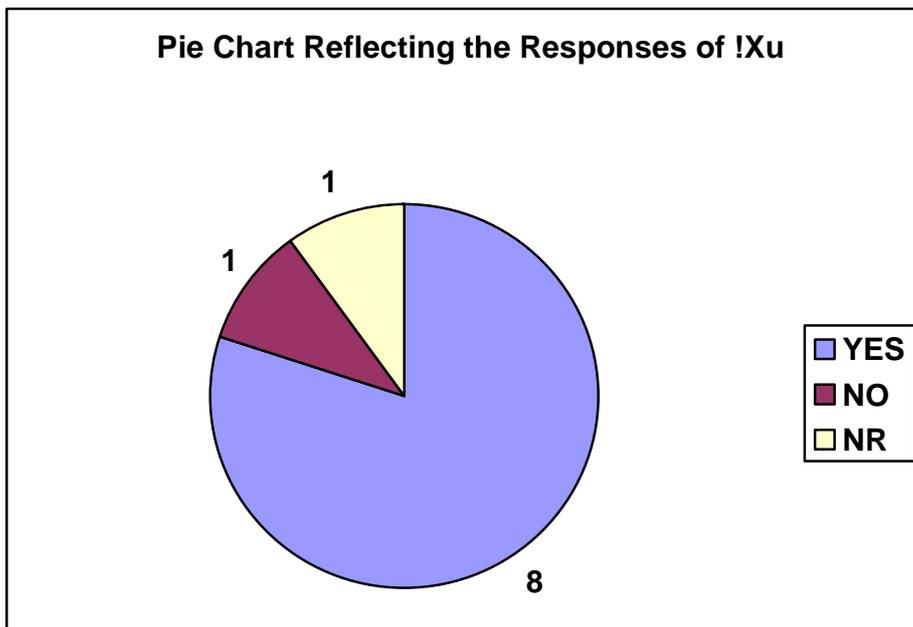
Question 5: Do you listen to XK fm?

!Xu responses:

YES   **NO**
9   **1**
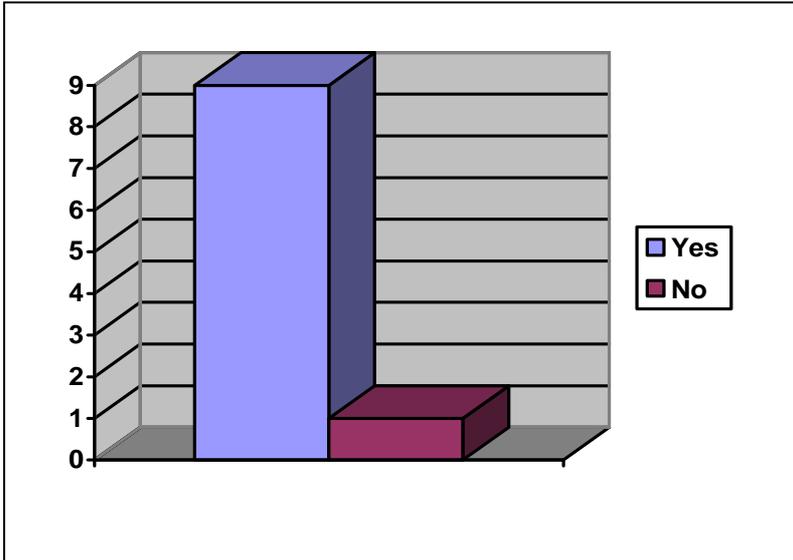
Khwe responses:

YES   **NO**
10   **0**
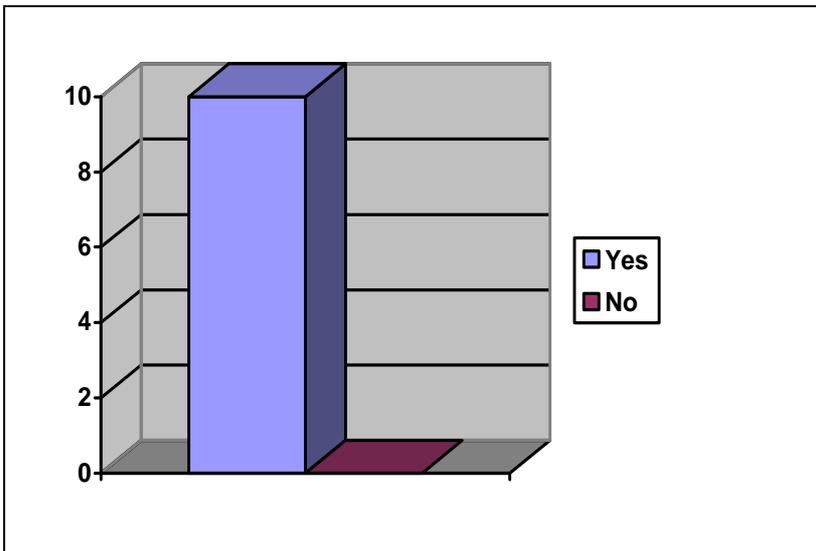
Question 6: List all the radio stations that you usually listen to in order of priority.

!Xu responses:

XK FM   **RSG FM**   **O FM**   **5 FM**   **MDG FM**   **OTHER**
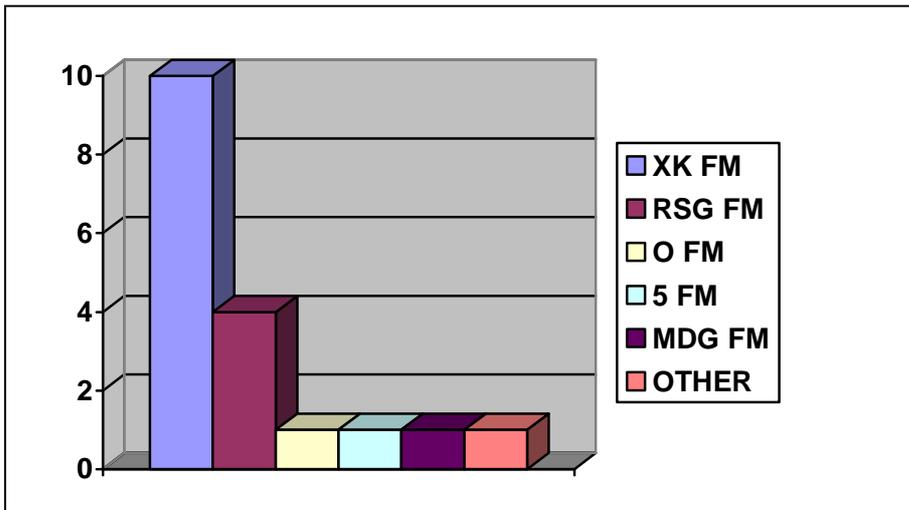
XK FM	RSG FM	O FM	5 FM	MDG FM	OTHER
10	4	1	1	1	1

Khwe responses:

XK FM	RSG FM	O FM	5 FM	MDG FM	OTHER
10	8	1	1	1	2

Question 8: Do you or any of your community colleagues participate in XK FM as your local community radio station?

!Xu responses:

Yes   No   NR
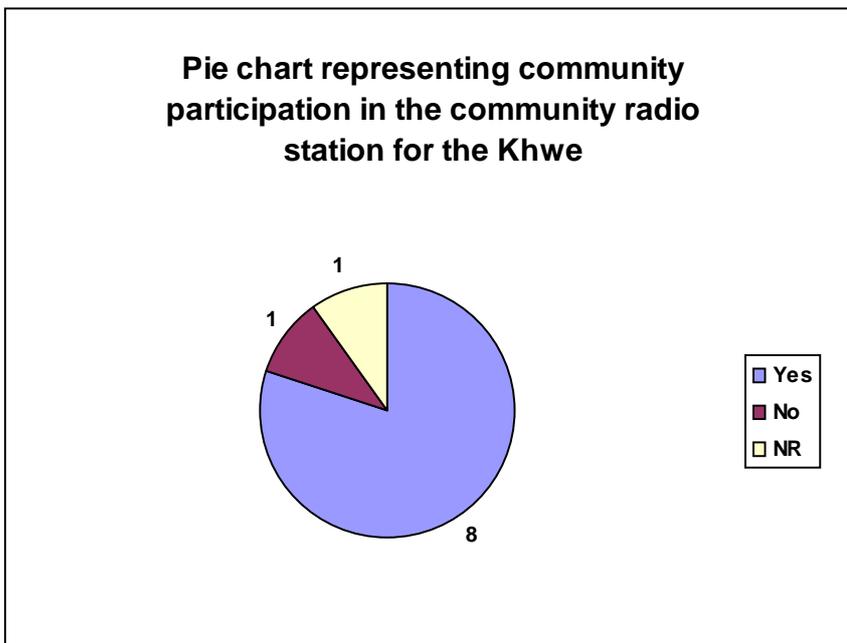
8   1   1

Pie chart representing community participation in the community radio station for the !Xu

1

1

8

- Yes
- No
- NR

Khwe responses:

Yes	No	NR
7	1	2

Pie chart representing community participation in the community radio station for the Khwe

1

1

8

- Yes
- No
- NR

Question 9: How would you rate the level of community participation in the operation of XK FM as a community radio station?

!Xu responses

Very-High	High	Moderate	Low	Very-low
1	4	2	2	1

10%	40%	20%	20%	10%

Pie chart representing the levels of community participation in the community radio station for the !Xu

1   1

2

4

2

V-H
H
M
L
V-L

Khwe Responses:

Very-High	High	Moderate	Low	Very-Low
2	5	2	0	1
20%	50%	20%	0%	10%

Pie chart representing the levels of community participation in the community radio station for the !Xu

1   1

2

4

2

V-H
H
M
L
V-L
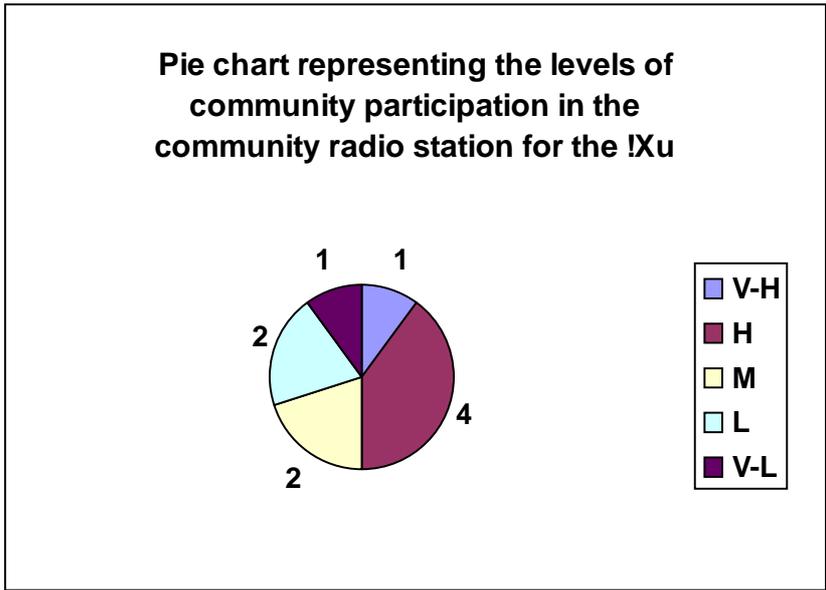
Question 10: In your view would recommend complete control, participation and running of XK FM radio station by the community?

!Xu responses:

Yes	No	No Response
7	3	0
70%	30%	0%

Pie chart represeting the views of the !Xu on control, participation and the running of XK fm

Yes No NR

0
3
7
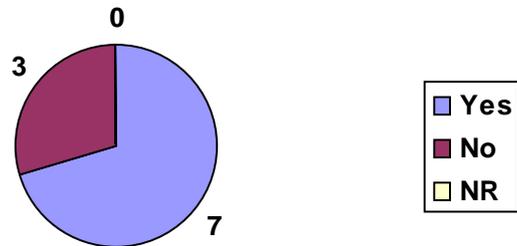
Khwe responses:

Yes	No	No Response
5	4	1
50%	40%	10%

Pie chart represeting the views of the !Xu on control, participation and the running of XK fm

Yes No NR

1
5
4
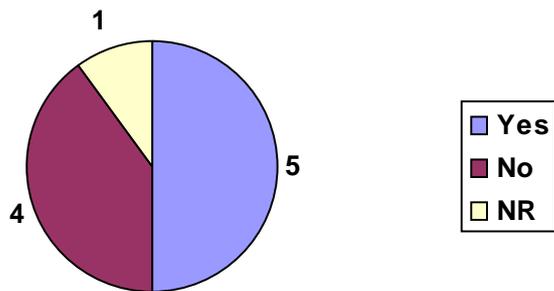
Question 11: How do your favourite programs broadcast by XK fm help you develop as who you are as a !Xu or Khwe?

Khwe responses:

POS	NEG	NR	DK
9	1	0	0

Bar Chart Representing Khwe Responses
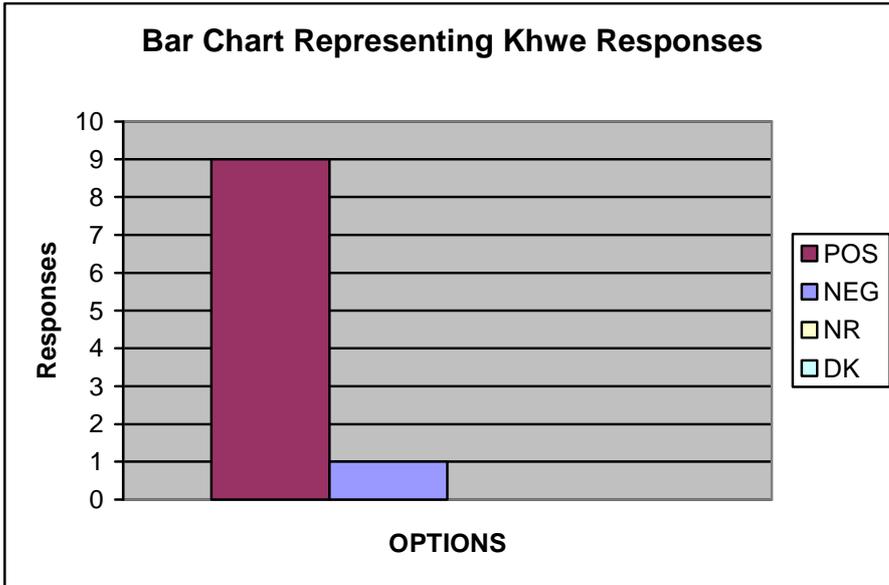
!Xu responses:

POS	NEG	NR	DK
5	2	0	3

Bar Chart Representing !Xu Responses
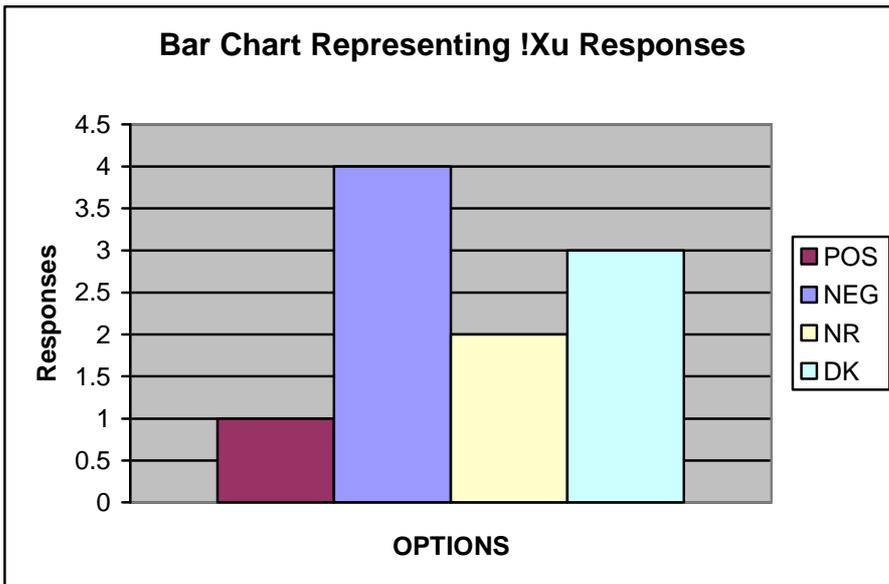
Question 12: For what purposes/reasons do you use these programs in your daily activities such as at home?

Khwe responses:

DEVELOPMENT	NR	ENTERTAINMENT	INFORMATION	NEG
4	1	2	3	0

Pie Chart Representing Views of Khwe

Legend:
- DEV
- NR
- ENTER
- INFORM
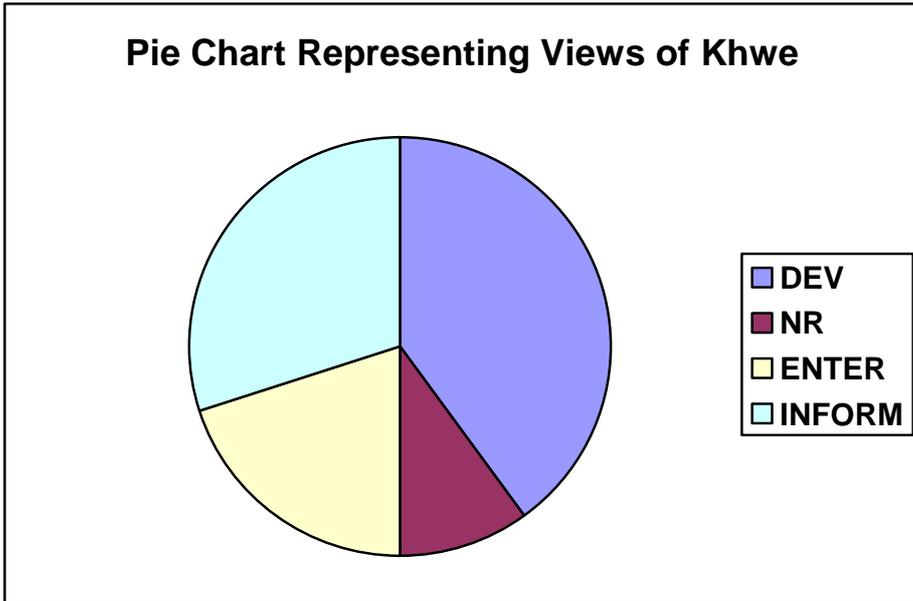
!Xu responses:

DEVELOPMENT	NR	ENTERTAINMENT	INFORMATION	NEG
3	1	1	4	1

Pie Chart Representing Views of Khwe

Legend:
- DEV
- NR
- ENTER
- INFORM
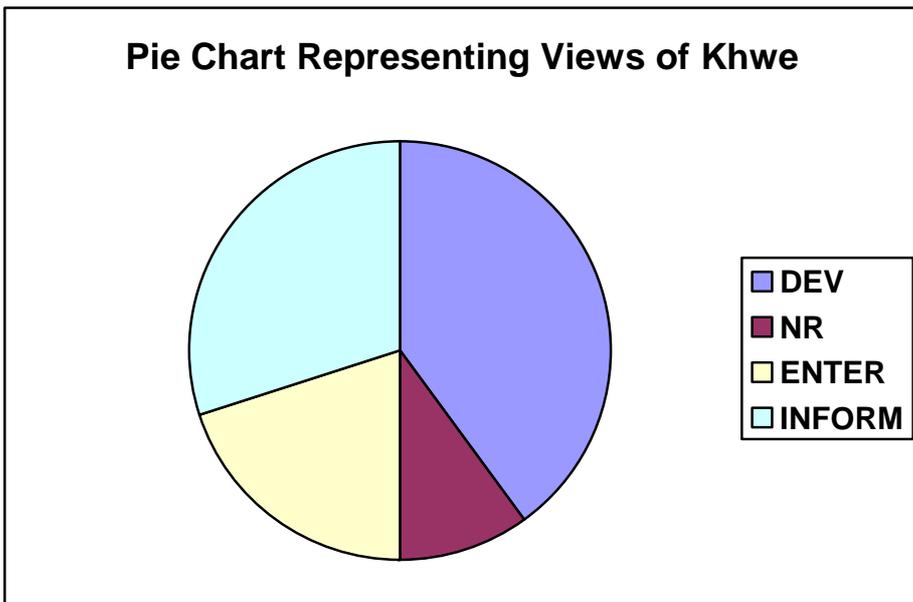
Question 13: What are the negative factors that restrict you from listening to radio and XK fm?

Khwe responses:

BROADCASTING	ELECTRICITY	WORK	SCHOOL	OTHER
2	2	1	4	1

Doughnut Chart displaying the Feeling of Khwe

Legend: BROADCASTING, ELECTRICITY, WORK, SCHOOL, OTHER
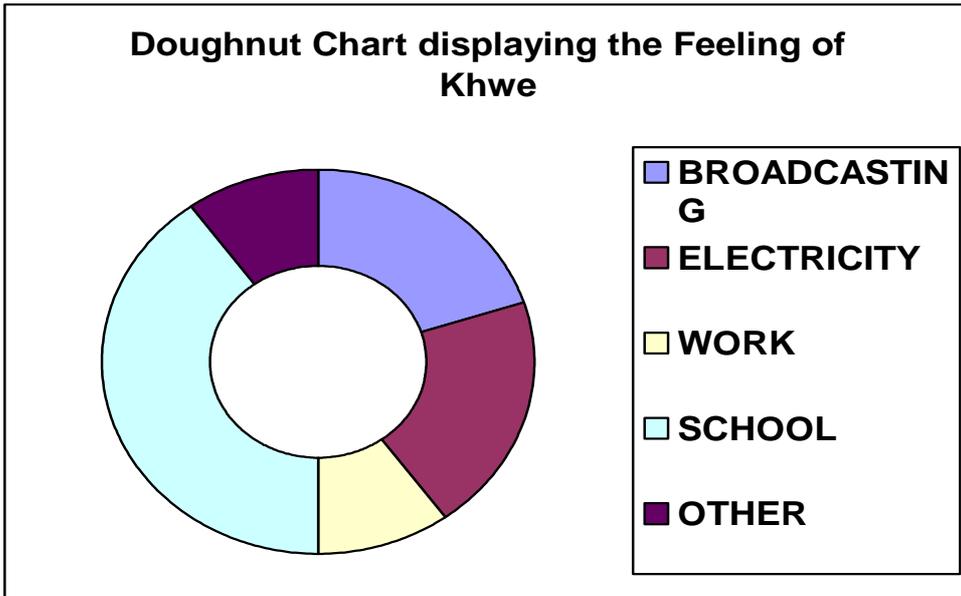
!Xu responses:

BROADCASTING	ELECTRICITY	WORK	SCHOOL	OTHER
1	2	1	3	2

Doughnut Chart displaying the Feeling of Khwe

Legend: BROADCASTING, ELECTRICITY, WORK, SCHOOL, OTHER
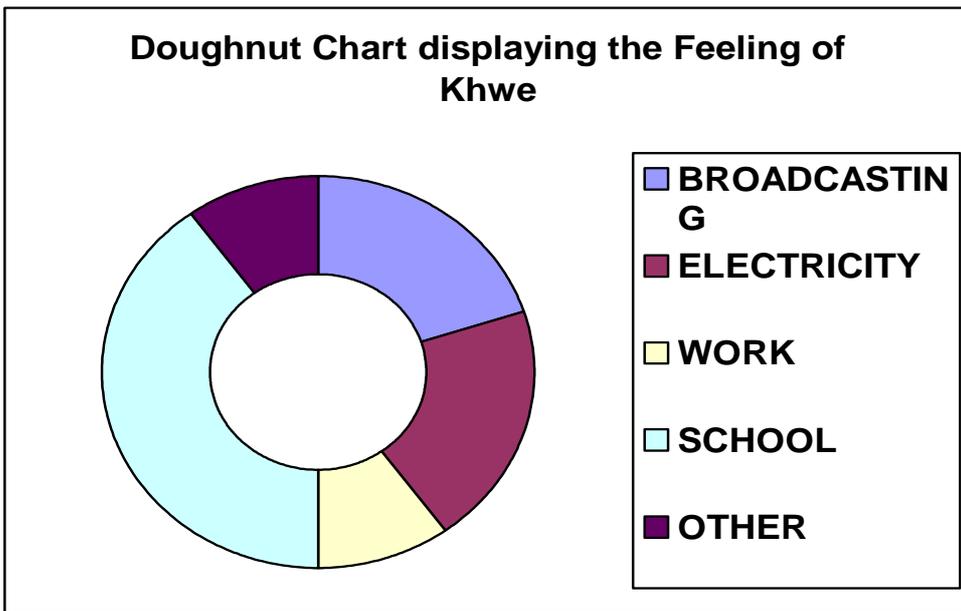
Question 14: How are the !Xu and Khwe represented in these programs in terms of their cultures and languages? Please Explain

Khwe responses:

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK
6	1	2	1

Pyramid chart representing the responses of the Khwe

!Xu responses:

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK
6	1	1	2

Pyramid chart representing the responses of the !Xu
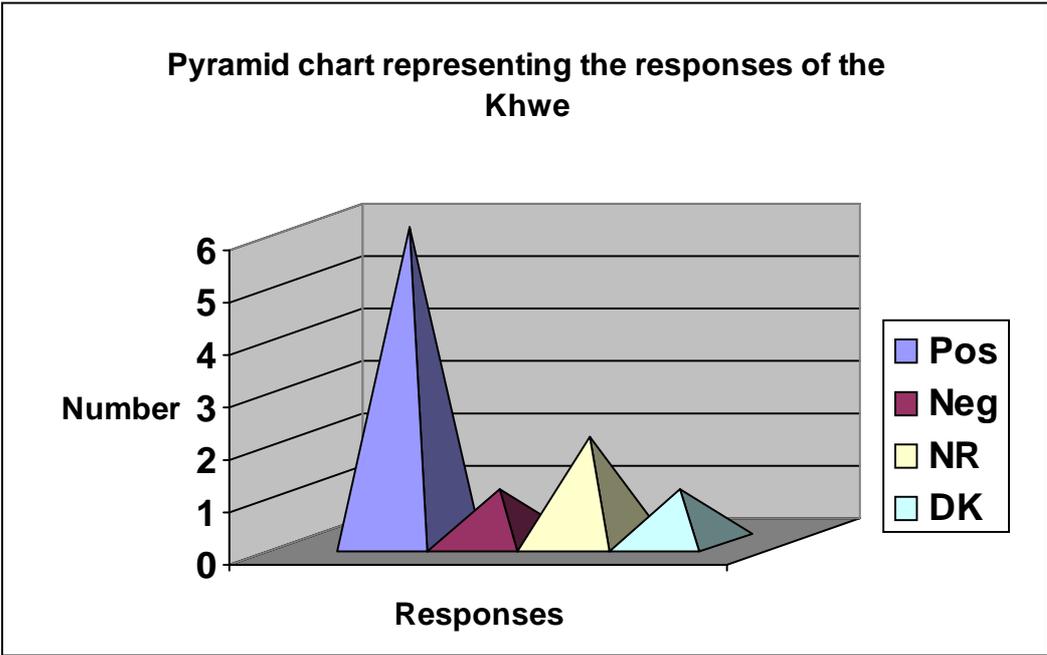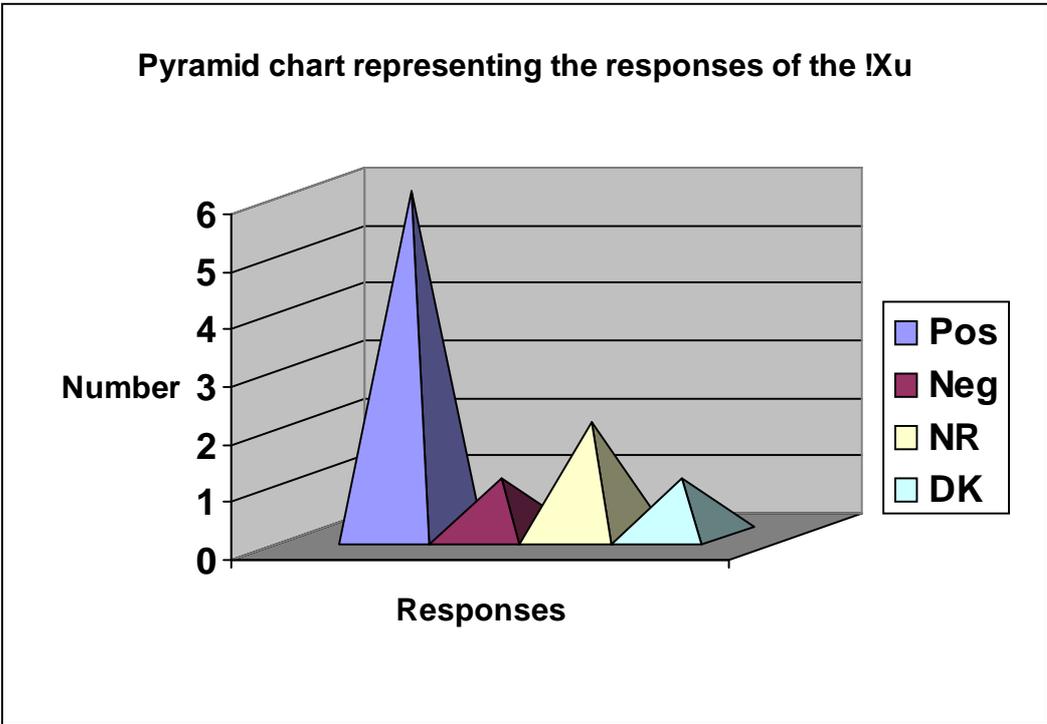
Question 15: Do you think the programs you listen to on XK fm are helping you re-claim pride in yourself, linguistically and culturally? Please explain why

Khwe responses:

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK
9	1	0	0

Pyramid chart representing the responses of the Khwe

!Xu responses:

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK
6	1	2	1

Pyramid chart representing the responses of the !XU
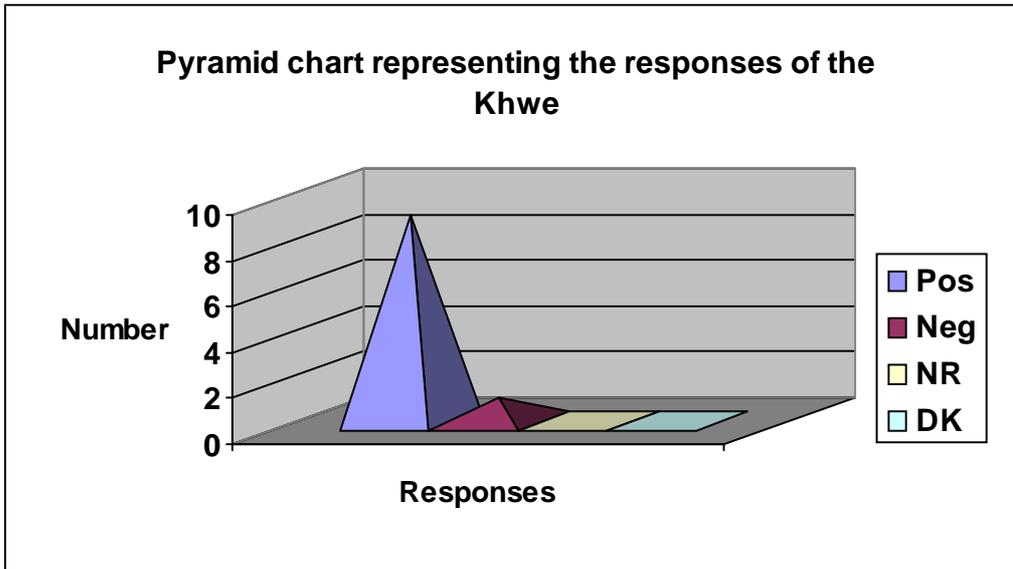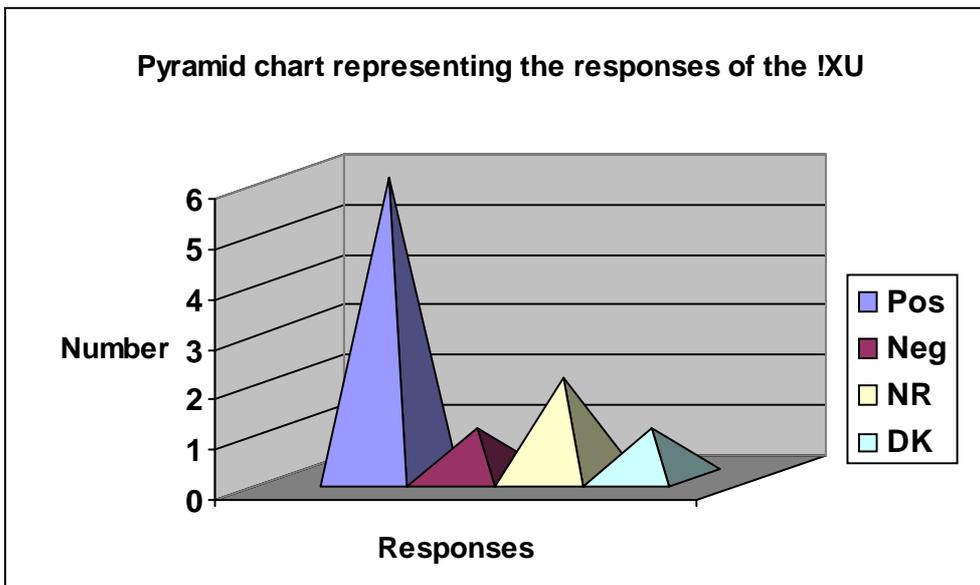
Question 16: Are the youth programs provided by XK fm representing the interests of the youth of both groups in their selection of music, development issues, entertainment and oral stories. Please explain.
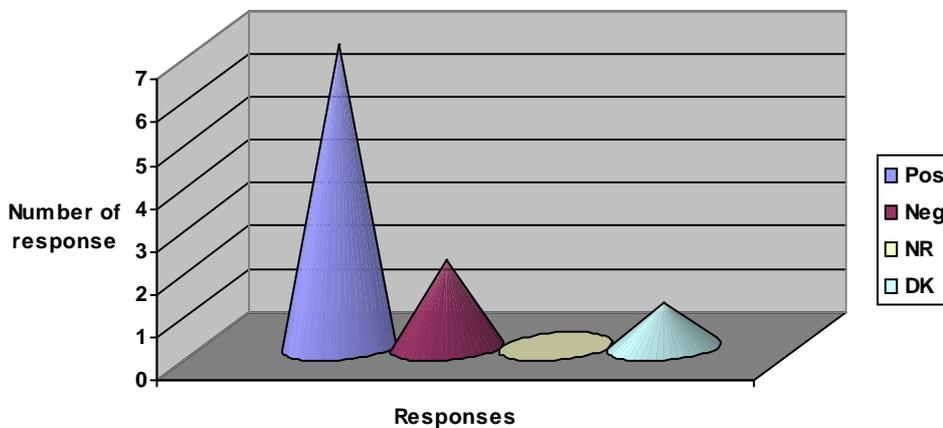
Khwe responses:

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK
10	0	0	0

Cone chart representing the responses of the Khwe

Number

10
8
6
4
2
0

Pos
Neg
NR
DK

Responses

!Xu responses:

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK
7	2	0	1

Cone chart representing the responses of the !Xu
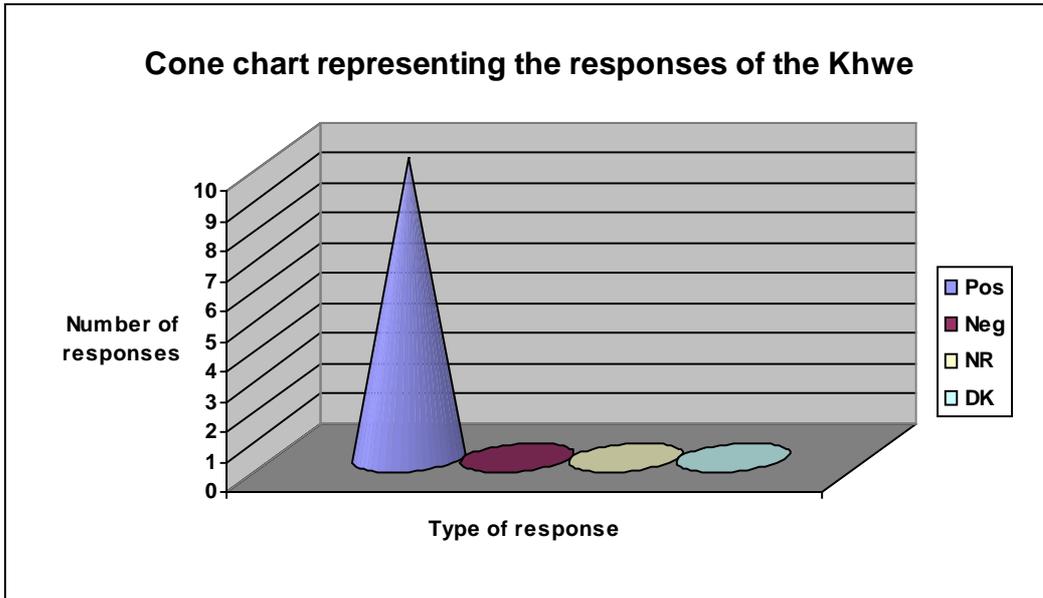

7
6
5
Number of 4
response 3
2
1
0

Pos
Neg
NR
DK
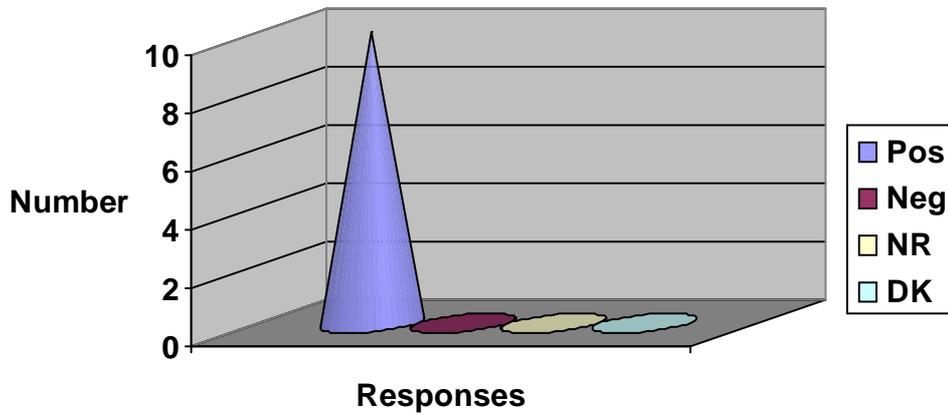
Responses

Question 17:
Are the traditional stories broadcast by XK fm helping the !Xu and the Khwe to re-establish their pasts, languages and cultures? Please explain why
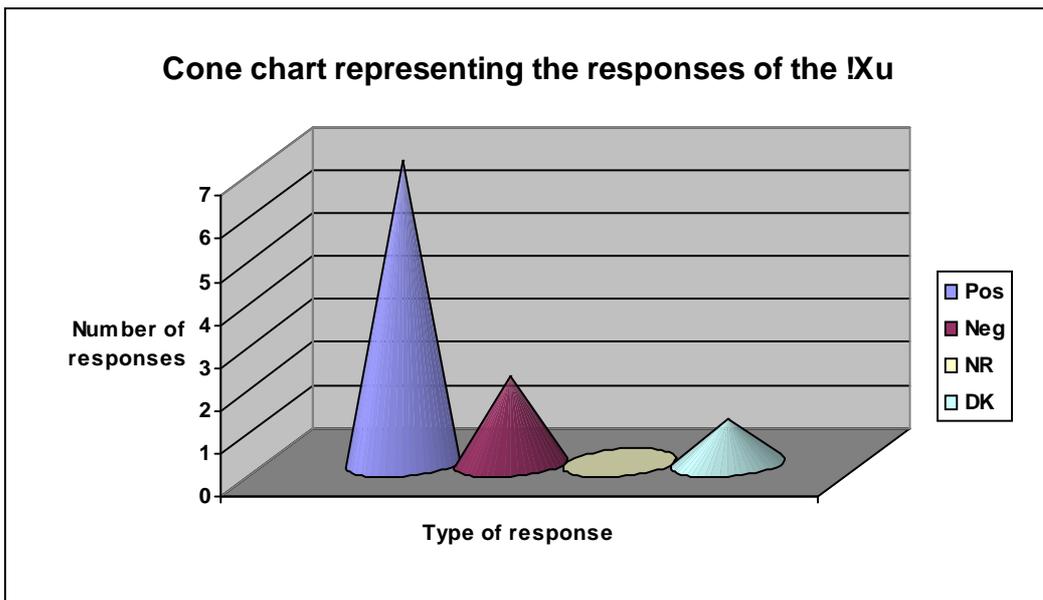
Khwe responses:

POSITIVE   NEGATIVE   NR   DK

10	**0**	**0**	**0**

Cone chart representing the responses of the Khwe

!Xu responses:

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK
8	**0**	**0**	**2**

Cone chart representing the responses of the !Xu

Question 18: By broadcasting in the two ethnic languages at the same time, in your view do you think that this is providing a way for the !Xu and Khwe to learn each other's languages and provide a better way to communicate with each other? Please explain why

Khwe responses:

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK

10	0	0	0

Cone chart representing the responses of the Khwe

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK
7	2	0	1

Cone chart representing the responses of the !Xu

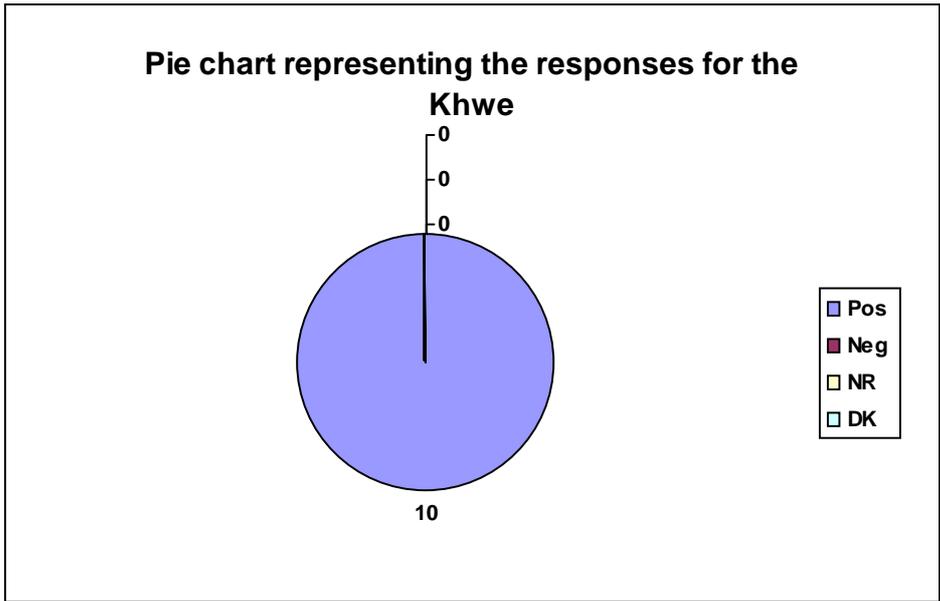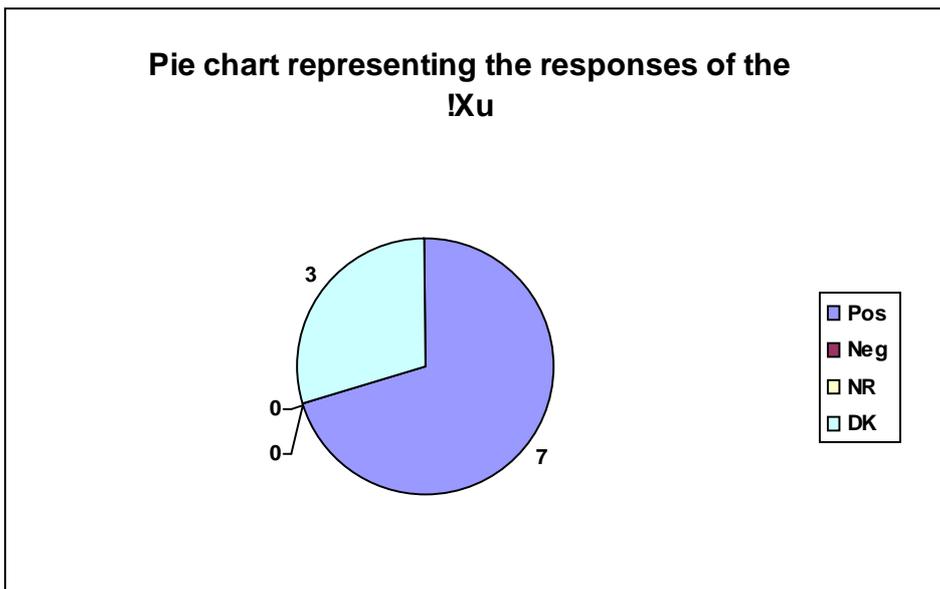**Ques tion 19: In your view, do you think XK fm is uplifting and empowering the !Xu and Khwe to come together as one community?**

Khwe responses:

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK
10	0	0	0

Pie chart representing the responses for the Khwe

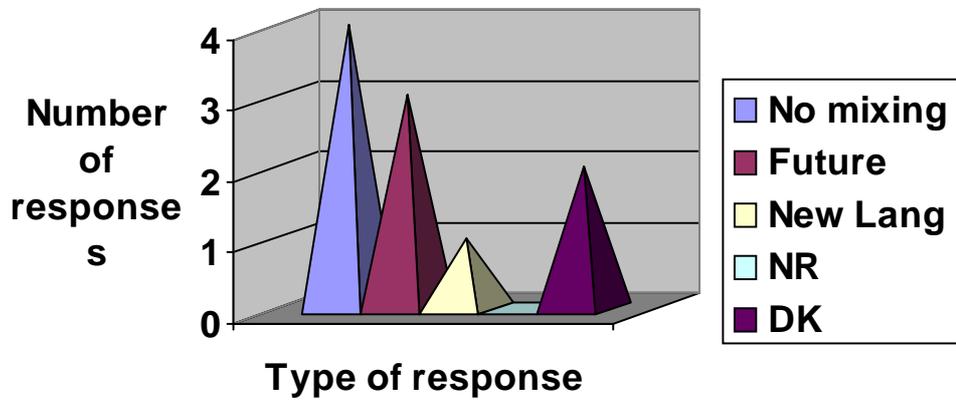| POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NR	DK
7	0	0	3

Pie chart representing the responses of the !Xu

Question 19: Is XK fm creating a mix of the two languages into one language and community or is helping in promoting the use of Afrikaans more?

Khwe responses:

NO MIXING	IN THE FUTURE	NEW LANGUAGE	NR	DK
4	3	1	0	2

Pyramid chart representing the responses of the Khwe

!Xu responses:

NO MIXING	IN THE FUTURE	NEW LANGUAGE	NR	DK
4	3	1	0	2

Pyramid chart representing the responses of the !Xu