

Can the Nambya speak? Media inclusion, identity and the politics of belonging among ethnic minorities in Zimbabwe: A case study of the Nambya ethnic group

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Abstract

Zimbabwe is a multicultural nation, with diverse ethno linguistic groups. The country's minority language groups, however, are under threat of significant decline or even disappearance. This alarming situation can, to some extent, be attributed to the extent to which they are used in the media. Like in most African countries, the Zimbabwean media ecology is characterised by either total media exclusion or underrepresentation of minority linguistic groups in terms of, both presence and content. The Nambya people, an ethnic group of about 100 000 people, based in Hwange (north-west of Zimbabwe), are one of the country's minority ethnic groups, that has lamented persistent media exclusion. This study focuses on the extent to which the Nambya are included in the mainstream Zimbabwean media. It also focuses on the implications of the media inclusion matrix, on their identity and sense of belonging. The study was conducted in Hwange and gathered data using questionnaires and qualitative interviews. Drawing on the subaltern theory, the findings of this study revealed that the Nambya largely suffer from media exclusion. The findings were used to categorise Zimbabwean minority language speakers as subordinated and voiceless "subaltern" groups, who have the potential to lose both their language and culture, if the current media exclusion persists. This study established that the media exclusion of the Nambya, has triggered the erosion of their cultural identity. This loss of identity and the exclusionary construction of the concept of belonging has forced them to assimilate into dominant ethnic groups. The paper proposes the establishment of community radio stations for minority ethnic groups, so that they find alternative spaces of self-expression.

Key words: Media inclusion, Identity, Belonging, Ethnic minorities

Introduction

Zimbabwe has several ethnolinguistic groups which include the following: Ndebele, Tonga, Nambya, Tswana, Shangani, Sotho, Dombe, Xhosa, Venda, Kalanga, Chewa and Shona among others (Ndhlovu, 2006). These groups compete for representation in the media spaces. However, the language use scenario and ethnic representations depict the dominance of English, Shona and Ndebele and the exclusion of ethno linguistic minorities (Mpofu & Mutasa, 2014; Ndhlovu, 2007, Gudhlanga, 2005). When a language is not recognised for a certain function in which space is accorded to other languages within the same linguistic ecology it is marginalised (Ndhlovu, 2007). Suarez (2002) refers to this situation as a form of linguistic hegemony. The exclusion of ethnic minorities from the media has serious consequences on their identity, since the media are not merely entertainment and information avenues, but powerful social forces that impact our material, social and political realities (Savage, 1999). The media construct identity through

images and national representations, and these representations in turn affect individual subjectivity (Dave, 2000). Language is not only a vital component of ethnic identity but belonging as well (Ndhlovu, 2007). Politics of language and belonging are contentious issues in post-independent Zimbabwe (Mpofu & Salawu, 2018). Linguistic identity is largely a political matter and languages are flags of allegiance (Rajagopalon, 2001). For democracy to succeed in Africa it must acknowledge and provide for the reality of individuals who straddle different forms of identity and belonging (Nyamnjoh, 2005).

There is a burgeoning body of research into the marginalisation of minority languages globally, however literature that focuses on the marginalisation of ethnic minorities from a media perspective is still embryonic. The purpose of this study therefore is to examine the media inclusion of ethnic minorities in Zimbabwe and its impact on their identity and belonging, using the Nambya ethnic group as a case study.

This study is undertaken from within interpretive approaches, which emphasise that people create meanings from their own actions and those of others (Benton & Craib, 2011). Media are located within a particular social and political context. While they may hold a potential for promotion of democratic participation, it is the way they are used, that determines their effectiveness in ethnic representation. The epistemological approach in this study is that there does not exist an “objective” reality out there waiting for the researcher to uncover it (Deacon *et al.* 2007, p. 6). This researcher resides in an area that predominantly speaks Nambya and has witnessed the marginalisation of the minority language, in several spheres. This scenario captured the interest of the researcher, who emanates from a media and cultural studies background. It is this interest that, motivated the researcher to critically examine the inclusion of ethnic minorities in media spaces.

The primary questions being investigated in this study are: 1. To what extent are ethnic minorities included in the Zimbabwean media? 2. What are the implications of the media inclusion matrix on the identity of ethnic minorities in Zimbabwe? How does the media inclusion matrix, affect the ethnic minorities sense of belonging? The paper proceeds as follows: Contextual literature is given first, thereafter the theoretical perspective is laid, followed by methodological approach. Lastly findings are presented and a conclusion to sum up the paper given.

Definition of minority language groups

Though there is no generally accepted definition of the term “minority languages”, the United Nations Human Rights system usually refers to minorities as, people belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic non-dominant groups (Pillay, 2012). According to Capotorti (1991) minority is a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non -dominant position, whose members

being nationals of the state possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population. They show it only implicitly and have a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions or language. As a result, international human rights law does not have an agreed definition of a minority language due to the problems of coming up with an all-encompassing definition of the term minority group. Nevertheless, a working definition for minority languages refers to them as languages spoken by a non-dominant group of people in a given country, regardless of their nationality. The application of the above-mentioned definition to Zimbabwe reveals that the population can also be distinguished on linguistic minority grounds based mainly on the existence of multilingual non-dominant groups, estimated to comprise ten percent of the country's population, ardent to preserve their languages and culture (Thodhlana, 1998). The various definitions cited above provide a solid foundation for understanding the concept of minority language groups.

Minority groups in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is characteristically a multilingual and multicultural nation which comprises of several ethno-minority groups, these include Nambya, Tonga, TjiKalanga, Venda, Doma, Xhosa, Dombe and Ndaou (Ndhlovu, 2006). Chewa is a Bantu language spoken in the most urban areas, mining and farm establishments in Zimbabwe, but it is not indigenous to Zimbabwe. Most of the Chewa ethnic group came to Zimbabwe as migrant labourers especially during the time of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and permanently settled in the then southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. According to some estimates, it is the third most widely spoken African language in the country after Shona and Ndebele (Ndhlovu, 2006). Some of the Zimbabwean minority languages include Shangani commonly known as Xitsonga and is spoken in the southeastern parts of Zimbabwe. Sesotho is also a minority language in Zimbabwe and it is spoken widely in Matabeleland South province. Originally the indigenes of this language came from Lesotho and some from South Africa (Kadenge, 2010).

Nambya is a Bantu language spoken by people in the northwestern parts of Zimbabwe, particularly in the mining town of Hwange. It is closely related to Kalanga that is mainly spoken in the border town of Plumtree (Kadenge, 2010). The Nambya came from Great Zimbabwe and conquered some Kalanga ethnic groups along their way to Hwange/Victoria Falls, which changed the Nambya language and made it like Tjikalanga is also believed that the Nambya are also part of the Lozwi/ Barotse ethnic group. Nambya consists of dialects namely, the baNizi and the baNyayi (<https://nambya.org/language/>).

The Linguistic exclusion and marginalisation of minority ethnic groups in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is characterised by micro social forms of language-based exclusions among the diverse ethnolinguistic polities. These exclusions manifest in several ways that include biased language use patterns in the public domain, negative perceptions and stereotypes about ethnolinguistic minorities and forced assimilation of minority language speakers into majority language groups (Ndhlovu, 2007). Consequently, multi-layered ethnolinguistic hegemonies are visible in Zimbabwean public spaces (Mpofu & Mutasa, 2014). Shona and Ndebele are “Killer Languages” which threaten the survival of other indigenous languages (Ndhlovu, 2009, p. 13). The dominance of Shona and Ndebele stretches from the colonial times, when the two languages started to be recognised as languages of media and education as well as languages of upward socio-political and economic mobility (Ndhlovu, 2007). This resulted in the fortunes of minority languages being indexically linked to those of their speakers. What it means is that the symbolic and communicative statuses attached to languages often have a significant impact on the socio-economic and political prospects of those who speak to them (Tollefson, 1991; Pennycook, 1994).

However, in Zimbabwe, the exclusion and marginalisation of citizens based on language and culture are emotive issues (Mpofu & Salawa, 2008). This is worsened by the fact that, the people are rooted in smaller communities and their first loyalties are to the ethnic group and region, such that language differences and regionalism are serious problems that militate against national unity and are basic factors in ethnic conflict (Mpofu & Salawa, 2008). In the same vein, Nyamnjoh (2005) advances that, for democracy to succeed in Africa, it must recognise the fact that most Africans are primarily patriotic to their home village to which state and country are secondary. Thus, any attempt to impose a particular language on another ethnic group often invites conflict or protest (Mpofu & Salawa, 2018).

The representation of ethnic minority groups in Zimbabwean media spaces

Muzondidya and Gatsheni (2014) postulate that, while post-independence Zimbabwe has made efforts to come up with policies that encourage the representation of minority groups in the media, there is still serious ethnic polarisation in the country. These efforts are echoed by Ndhlovu (2008) who asserts that the broadcasting policy documents introduced in 2002 helped in promoting minority languages in Zimbabwe. This saw the minority language radio station, National FM, being introduced to broadcast in local indigenous languages. He further advances that, while broadcast media is meant to cater for formerly marginalised languages within Zimbabwe, most programmes are dominated by majority languages such as English, Shona and Ndebele while the minority languages are left out in the country’s important issues

of national interest. This exclusion or under-representation of minority languages dates to the early years of independence. Magwa (2008) notes, after independence the government decided to ignore the media representation of minority languages and concentrated on the already dominant languages of Ndebele and Shona. Therefore, the Zimbabwean government failed to use its authority to safeguard the rights of minority linguistic groups on representation (Mabika, 2014). The failure on the part of government is further demonstrated by the fact that, government run media outlets use only majority languages, excluding monolingual minority language speakers from accessing vital news and information (Mabika, 2014). To make matters worse, minority language speakers are stereotyped by speakers of dominant languages, as linguistics oddities who suffer from lack of knowledge of the dominant language. They are also portrayed by dominant language speakers, as backward rather than owners of another language, or multilingual skills (Magwa, 2008).

The representation patterns stated in the foregoing paragraph play a central role in shaping the identities of ethnic minority groups, since identity making is a political process that is mediated through imperatives of inclusion and exclusion (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). Furthermore, the ethnic identities have serious implications on the value minority ethnic groups place on their ethnic groups as well as their sense of belongingness and inclusion (Verkuyten, 2008). In simple terms, language based marginalisation, breeds inferiority complex, among minority language speakers and it also makes them feel that, they do not belong to the nation.

The bulk of the available literature on the representation of ethnic minority groups in the Zimbabwean media is largely generalised and does not focus on specific ethnic groups. This study, however, specifically examines the media representation of the Nambya ethnic group and the impact of that representation on their identity and sense of belonging. Since this is a case study, the results are generalised to encompass other Zimbabwean ethnic minority groups.

Theoretical framework

The study is influenced by the subaltern theory. This theory is essentially associated with the predominant thinkers; Gramsci (cited in Louai, 2012), Guha (1982) and Spivak (cited in Louai, 2012). Gramsci (*ibid.*) gave preliminary definitions of this concept. The subaltern classes in Gramsci's (*ibid.*) words refer to any "low rank" person or group in a particular society suffering under the hegemonic domination of ruling elite class that denies them basic rights of participation in national affairs (Louai, 2012). The theory can, therefore, be applied as an analytical tool for examining the "low rank" status occupied by minority language speakers in the Zimbabwean social ladder.

Later, new reflections of the subaltern theory were advanced by Guha (1982), who defined subaltern studies, as a name for the general attitude of subordination in South Asian society whether this is explained in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or any other way. Taking a cue from the above reflections, minority languages speakers in Zimbabwe may be conceived as subaltern groups, considering their generally subordinated conditions.

The latest insights in subaltern studies were provided by Spivak (Louai, 2012), mainly in her seminal essay which partly influenced the topic of this study. In the essay Spivak (*ibid.*) wrote on the condition of Indian women, which during colonial times, was characterised by massive oppression and lack of self-expression channels. She, therefore, came to conclude that the subaltern cannot speak. This can be interpreted as a declaration of the impossibility of voicing or speaking out by the oppressed groups, as a way of expressing their resistance (Louai, 2012). Since Spivak (*ibid.*), is one of the subaltern studies scholars, who influenced this study, it assumes that the Nambya are a subaltern group that cannot speak, the same assumption is extended to the other Zimbabwean minority groups. The study, however, aims to find solutions to this condition, in line with Spivak's (*ibid.*) warning that subaltern groups should not accept subordination as a permanent condition. She affirms that the task of an intellectual is to pave way for subaltern groups and let them speak freely themselves. This study, therefore, seeks to come up with recommendations that pave way for Zimbabwean minority language groups to find platforms where they can speak freely for themselves.

The current implications of the subaltern concept as it unfolds in the post-modern condition, are enunciated by scholars such as Bhabha (1996), who advances a definition of subaltern groups that is, arguably the most relevant to this study. He emphasised the importance of social power relations in defining subaltern social groups as oppressed racial minorities whose presence was crucial to self-definition of the majority group, as such, subaltern social groups nonetheless, are also able to subvert authority of social groups who hold hegemonic power (Bhabha, *ibid.*). Considering the above assertions, Zimbabwean minority ethnic groups may be classified as oppressed ethnic minorities, who are constantly battling to find channels of self-expression, so that they subvert the hegemonic power of dominant language groups, namely the Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe.

Methodology

The study made use of the mixed method approach. This mixed approach was chosen because the two approaches complement each other, thereby increasing the depth of understanding a study can yield. According to Mason (2006) mixed methodology offers potential for generating new ways of

understanding the complexities and contexts of social experience and for enhancing our capacities for social explanation and generalisation. The study gathered data using questionnaires, which were distributed to ordinary residents of St. Mary's, a small rural settlement, about 15kms from Hwange urban. The researcher chose St. Mary's, which is largely inhabited by native speakers of the Nambya language, unlike Hwange urban which comprises of several ethnic groups. Indigenous Nambya language speakers were deemed to be the best respondents to answer the questionnaire, since the researcher wanted to understand the issues under study, from the perspectives of the indigenous speakers of the language. St. Mary's area was conveniently sampled because it is the rural settlement that is closest to Hwange urban, where the researcher resides. According to statistics obtained from the Rural District Council, St. Mary's has 1,100 residents. With these statistics in mind, the researcher distributed 130 questionnaires to the residents, using stratified random sampling, taking into consideration gender and age variables. The questionnaires were distributed to 130 out of a total of 1,100 St. Mary's residents, which translated to 11, 8% of the total population. The distribution was deemed representative enough since respondents should be at least 10% of the population. Out of the 130 distributed questionnaires, 120 questionnaires were returned, this was a relatively high response rate, taking into consideration the Covid-19 challenges.

The study also gathered data through in-depth interviews with two Nambya chiefs (Respondent 1 & 2), two Nambya cultural experts (Respondent 3 & 4) and two Media experts (Respondent 5 & 6). The researcher used purposive sampling in selecting the interviewees, particularly those who were deemed to be knowledgeable about the cultural arena or situation being studied (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). In conducting the research, the researcher observed Covid-19 protocols, to ensure the safety of both the researcher and respondents. The research was conducted between January and June 2021.

Findings

After transcription and collation of data was done, patterns or themes emerging from both the questionnaires and interviews were identified and the data was presented in the form of themes. The findings are presented in a manner that, makes them responsive to the research questions. The findings were as follows:

The Representation of the Nambya in Mainstream Media Spaces

The study established that the Nambya people are largely excluded from the mainstream media. An overwhelming majority of the respondents to the questionnaire (87%) strongly agreed with the view that the Nambya are excluded from the mainstream media. This perception was supported by the two

interviewed chiefs, who both argued that representation of the Nambya on the mainstream media was almost non-existent. One of the media experts (Respondent 5) also concurred, as he advanced that, “There are a few minority language programmes on ZBC TV and National FM, which at least demonstrates the broadcaster’s efforts in representing minority languages, but the programmes are too few to make a significant impact” (Respondent 5, Personal Interview, 28 May 2021). He added that, whilst the Victoria Falls based Breeze FM, is playing a commendable role in terms of broadcasting Nambya language programmes, the station is struggling to garner significant listenership in Hwange and surrounding areas, where the majority of Nambya speakers reside. These views are in tandem with those of Ndhlovu (2008) who underlined the hegemonic influence of Shona and Ndebele in the Zimbabwean media. Ndhlovu (*ibid.*) advances that, while broadcast media is meant to cater for formerly marginalised languages within Zimbabwe, most programmes are dominated by Shona and Ndebele, while minority languages are left out in important national issues.

Media representation, the Nambya identity crisis and assimilation

Most of the respondents to the questionnaire (79%) believed media exclusion was responsible for the identity crisis that is manifesting itself among the Nambya. The interviewees concurred that media exclusion and the dominance of Shona as well as Ndebele in the media was responsible for the shunning of the Nambya identity. One of the Media experts (Respondent 6) postulated that:

Mediated images on the media, which affirm Shona and Ndebele as the recognised languages of news, film, music, and other forms of communication via the media play a critical role in influencing minority language speakers to shun their languages in preference of dominant languages (Respondent 6, Personal interview, 3 June 2021).

The Media expert further argued that media platforms are littered with stereotypes and misconceptions, which minority language speakers have not challenged due to lack of media representation. As a result, speakers of these languages integrate themselves into dominant groups, as a way of disassociating from the stereotypes. The above findings resemble those of Ndhlovu (2006) who established that Zimbabwe’s minority language speakers suffer from feelings of inferiority and subordination.

The identity crisis that is haunting the Nambya ethnic group also manifests itself in popular culture, where it was established that, most members of this ethnic group, especially youths identify with the music, films, jokes and street lingo of dominant groups. One of the Cultural experts (Respondent 3) bemoaned the fact that, Nambya youths easily sing along to popular Shona songs that they listen to on the radio but can hardly sing a song in their own language (Personal interview, 27 May 2021). The sentiments expressed

by the interviewees above depict that, assimilation into major languages appears to be a decision generally taken by most members of the Nambya group, due to the inferiority complex that arises from lack of media representation.

Unpacking the media publicity of Nambya history and heritage

The study also established that the Nambya are gradually losing their history and heritage due to media exclusion. This loss of history and heritage negatively impacts on the Nambya identity, since a group's identity formation is closely linked to their history and heritage. A significant number of respondents to the questionnaire (56%) believed lack of media publicity had led to the loss of the Nambya history and heritage. One of the interviewed Cultural experts (Respondent 4) argued that:

Among the Nambya people there are very few who can accurately recite our history. Most young people do not even know that our history begins at Great Zimbabwe, where we originated from. The media can therefore assist in preserving the Nambya history through documentaries and other programmes that chronicle our journey (Respondent 4, Personal interview, 11 April 2021).

In an interview, one of the Nambya Chiefs (Respondent 1) bemoaned lack of media publicity for Nambya heritage sites such as *Bumbusi*, *Mtoa* and *Shangano*, arguing that these Great Zimbabwe type, stone built archaeological sites could go a long way in promoting the Nambya identity as well as assisting them to embrace their Great Zimbabwe Heritage. The two Media experts concurred with the Chief, they advanced that the media has done very little to preserve the Nambya history and heritage. They both encouraged the production of more documentaries on the history and heritage of the Nambya people.

The role of the media in transmitting Nambya ethnic philosophies

The study further ascertained that media exclusion has triggered the demise of Nambya ethnic philosophies, which reflected their unique identity as a people. A significant number of respondents to the questionnaire (63%) were of the view that media exclusion was the major reason for the demise of Nambya ethnic philosophies. One of the interviewed Nambya chiefs (Respondent 2) advanced that:

The media has generally shunned the Nambya language and in the process excluded us from transmitting our rich Nambya proverbs, folklores, and cultural songs, which are an embodiment of Nambya ethnic philosophies, world views and identity. (Respondent 2, Personal interview, 12 February 2021). In an interview, one of the cultural experts (Respondent 3) concurred that the exclusion of the Nambya from

the mainstream media was triggering the demise of their ethnic philosophies and the imposition of ethnic philosophies of the dominant Ndebele and Shona ethnic groups. He further gave a detailed presentation of some of the Nambya proverbs that their Cultural Association is documenting and appealed for media support in this endeavour. Below are some of the Nambya proverbs that the Cultural expert presented:

1. Proverb-*Ijenje limwe alibumbi chulu: anobumba chulu ngamanji*

Meaning: One termite does not build an anthill, those that build the anthill are many.

Teaching: When we are united as a group are much stronger and can do great exploits.

2. Proverb-*Gala wabyala, Kudenga akuta unsangu*

Meaning: Sit down after you have sowed, in the sky there is no messenger, to inform you when it will rain.

Teaching: Rest only after you have finished working and avoid procrastination.

3. Proverb: *Iswimbo imbhodo inotemwa kule*

Meaning: A good Knobkerrie is cut in a far off or distant place

Teaching: A good thing is not easily found, you must sweat and travel to distant places if you desire something good, for instance a wife.

The media expert (Respondent 6) argued that the introduction of Nambya into the school curriculum is a noble initiative that is, likely to play a major role in preserving Nambya ethnic philosophies and identity but he cautioned that the initiative will not be very successful, if the media does not complement the role of the school system (Respondent 6, Personal interview 3 June, 2021).

Understanding the politics of belonging among the Nambya

The study also established that most members of the Nambya group do not really feel that they are Zimbabwean. Most of the respondents to the questionnaire (77%) indicated that they had no sense of belonging to Zimbabwe. The above stated perception was buttressed by one of the interviewed Chiefs (Respondent 1), who posited that:

The issue of belonging is not only about emotional attachment to your country of birth but also about feeling at home and feeling accepted. This includes being accorded the same rights and opportunities as everybody else. The sad reality, however, is that most Nambya people feel excluded not only by the media

but several other national institutions, hence the feeling that they do not belong to Zimbabwe (Respondent 1, Personal Interview, 11 February 2021).

One of the Media experts (Respondent 5) emphasised the role of the media in making minority ethnic group speakers feel that they do not belong to Zimbabwe. He advanced that:

The framing of the concept of belonging by the media is exclusionary, as the dominant discourse about belonging, implies that one must be either Shona or Ndebele to be Zimbabwean. National symbols, national heroes, national shrines, and other things that are used by the media to define nationhood are linked with either the Shona or Ndebele, hence the Nambya and other ethnic groups feel they do not belong to Zimbabwe. (Respondent 5, Personal interview, 28 May 2021).

The sentiments expressed above align with what Ndhlovu (2008) describes as the post-colonial political project of imposing Shona as the rallying point for constructing a uniform and monolithic national culture.

The study ascertained that the exclusionary definition of the concept of belonging influences most minority languages speakers to assimilate so that they acquire the much- desired status of belonging. This is articulated by one of the Cultural experts (Respondent 4) who lamented that:

As an ethnic group we have lost some of our members to dominant ethnic groups. Some Nambya people have assimilated to either the Shona or Ndebele ethnic group, they believe speaking and identifying with these languages offers better employment opportunities as well as other socio-economic prospects, since most people who hold positions of authority and feature in the media belong to the two dominant ethnic groups, with most of them being Shona (Respondent 4, 11 April 2021).

The impression that one derives from the above arguments is that the issue of belonging among minority ethnic groups in Zimbabwe is not as simple and straightforward, as most people assume rather, it is a complex political process that is determined by imperatives of inclusion and exclusion. As Tonkin (2003) argues people remain loyal to their languages or adopt other languages based on utility, power, or prestige. In the words of Ndhlovu (2008) speakers remain loyal to their language when they have the strength and resources to do so. They may also give up their languages when the benefits of adopting another language exceed the advantages of holding on to their language. Gudhlanga (2005) also concurs with this observation that people normally use a language which has some economic benefits. Hence Nambya speaking people might want to use Nambya as long as they do not see any economic benefits derived from their language.

Conclusion

The media exclusion of minority languages in Zimbabwe is an emotive and contentious issue, which underlines their marginalisation and the cultural hegemony of Shona and Ndebele. From the above findings, it can be concluded that in the Spivakian sense, the Nambya cannot speak, since they do not have channels or platforms of self-expression, due to media exclusion. Therefore, they can be classified as a subordinated “subaltern” and voiceless information underclass. The study reveals that Zimbabwe is on verge of witnessing linguicide, which can be defined as the death of a language either from natural factors or political causes. The media exclusion has further triggered the erosion of the Nambya cultural identity, along with other embodiments of that identity such as history, heritage, and ethnic philosophies. This loss of identity as well as the exclusionary and hegemonic construction of the concept of belonging, has forced the Nambya to assimilate into dominant ethnic groups. These findings epitomise the situation of all other minority ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. This study therefore proposes that, the government licenses as many community radio stations as possible, so that the minority language groups develop their own media, which convey their own world views in their own languages.

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