

**A CASE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC DEBATE ON PEOPLE'S CHOICE (PC) FM
"THAHAMESO" AND HARVEST FM "TSA MABATOOA" IN LESOTHO**

By

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Declaration

I, Mamolise Martha Falatsa, in accordance with rule G5.6.3, do hereby declare that this treatise is my own work and all acknowledgements of other sources have been properly made. I further declare that I have not submitted this work for award of degree to any University for another qualification.

Signature: 

Date: 02 MARCH 2017

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Abstract

The study investigates the role of media in promoting free debate in Lesotho: A case study of democratic debate on People's Choice (PC) FM "Thahameso" and Harvest FM "Tsa Mabatooa in Lesotho. Firstly, the study looked at the democratic communication in the volatile democracy of Lesotho, by providing historical factors of pre-independence and authoritarian governments, democratic governments prevailing and the dependence on South Africa. Secondly, the study provided literature on the role of broadcast media in different forms of government globally. Thirdly, it provides the analysis and transcription of one month's recordings of the two political talk shows in Sesotho and identifies the communicative strategies used in this live on-air political discussion by talk show hosts, guests and callers. In these talk shows the researcher identifies the caller, host and guest behaviour and attitudes in discussions that relate the current political situation to the historical development of democracy in Lesotho alongside the economic and political influences from South Africa. The researcher also identifies that the talk show, guests and callers in the challenging political climate use traditional figurative expressions and biblical quotations to express their views. This leads the researcher to conclude that the political talk shows indeed facilitate participatory communication.

Glossary

ABC - All Basotho Convention

AU - African Union

ANC - African National Congress

BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation

BCP - Basutoland Congress Party

BNP - Basutoland National Party

CR - Catholic Radio FM

DC - Democratic Congress

DCEO - Director of Corporate Economic Offence

DOPE - Department of Physics and Electronics FM

EFF - Economic Freedom Fighters

IEC - Independent Electoral Commission

IPA - Interim Political Authority

JKK - Jesu ke Karabo FM

KEL - Kereke ea Evangeli Lesotho FM

LCA - Lesotho Communications Authority

LCD - Lesotho Congress for Democracy

LDF - Lesotho Defence Force

LLA Lesotho Liberation Army

LLAVETA - Lesotho Liberation Army Veteran Association

LNBS - Lesotho National Broadcasting Services

MISA - Media Institute of Southern Africa

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation

NUL - National University of Lesotho

PC - People Choice FM

PS - Principal Secretary

RBC - Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation

SABC - South African Broadcasting Corporation

SADC - Southern Africa Development Community

SANDF - South African National Defence Force

SAPA South African Press Association

UN United Nations

UNESCO - United Nations Education and Scientific Culture Organisation
UNDP - United Nations
Development Programme

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0. Introduction

In most African countries, radio is the most popular and most widely accessed media platform (Mand2013). However, Lesotho is a latecomer in the broader radio spectrum in Africa. Since independence in 1966 until 1999, there was only one national radio station in Lesotho. Since the government liberalised the airwaves in 1999, Lesotho has seen an increase to 13 radio stations; both public service providers and private stations.

UNESCO (2009:1) reports that the Government of Lesotho issued broadcasting licences to private radio stations mostly based in Maseru. This period had seen a proliferation of privately-owned radio stations, namely Moafrika FM; Catholic (CR) FM; Joy FM; People's Choice (PC) FM; Harvest FM; Thaha Khube (TK) FM; Kereke ea Evangelic Lesotho (KEL) FM and Jesu ke Karabo (JKK) FM; Department of Physics and Electronics (DOPE) FM owned by National University of Lesotho (NUL) as well as two national radio stations, Radio Lesotho and Ultimate FM (Matjama 2007:3).

Since 2007, Lesotho's media landscape had grown further with the emergence of two community radio stations, Motjoli community FM and Mafeteng community FM, and one privately owned radio station, Ts'enolo FM. Selinyane (2008:171) argues that the entry of radio after the 1998 general election marks an interesting change in the media's influence on politics in general and this election in particular. According to Selinyane, radio was rated as providing better news than the print media in the areas of election coverage and civic education. He further alleges that most privately-owned radio stations in Maseru pose as being religious, while indeed demonstrating deeply partisan political leanings. For example, Harvest FM, Mo Africa FM and Ts'enolo FM claim to be Christian radio stations but have their leanings towards the major political parties. Harvest FM leans towards the ABC, Mo Africa FM towards the LCD while Ts'enolo FM's leaning is towards DC. (Selinyane 2008:171)

The Lesotho airwaves were liberalised in 1999, but Matjama(2007:3) argues that the regulatory environment is nonetheless deficient because the broadcasting regulatory body, the Lesotho Communication Authority (LCA), is still subjected to the authority of the Minister of Communication, Science and Technology. Matjama also points out that the act which

established the LCA has only been partially implemented, which resulted in the non-adoption of a formal media policy for Lesotho. He states that this is another factor contributing to the hostility of the media environment.

Matjama (cited in MISA 2007:3) and MISA (2013:47) allege that both the media policy and the Receipt and Access to Information Bill have been gathering dust in parliament shelves since 2000 and thus have not contributed to improving media freedom in Lesotho. According to Matjama (cited in MISA 2007:3), Harvest FM was threatened with closure in 2007 after lambasting government policies and governance style. The environment in which media operate in Lesotho is still understood as hostile towards democratic debate.

MISA (2013:47) adds that media in Lesotho function in a very hostile legal environment, because some old laws unfavourable to media freedom and freedom of expression are still valid, such as

[...]the Sedition Proclamation of 1938 (No. 44 of 1938), which provides for suppression of sedition and seditious publications and for the punishment of seditious offences, and the Criminal Procedures and Evidence Act of 1981 (No.9 of 1981), which consolidates and amends the law relating to procedure and evidence in criminal cases. (MISA 2013:47)

For instance, on the 17 August 2011, four privately owned commercial radio stations went off air because they had been providing live coverage of a protest by factory workers (MISA/IFEX 2011:1).

In addition, MISA/IFEX (2011:1) reports that the interruption started less than 24 hours after the meeting between the Harvest FM manager, the acting principal secretary of the Ministry of Communications and chief executive of the Lesotho Communications Authority.

Based on the fact that Lesotho liberalised the airwaves, which resulted in the emergence of the privately-owned radio stations and the environment discussed above, it is imperative to conduct this qualitative research to investigate the role of the selected privately-owned radio stations' political talk shows, and to assess whether they promote free and democratic debate.

1.1. Background to the study

Lesotho was annexed by the British from 1843 until 1966, when it gained independence. Since then, the media has been directly run by the government. Due to military coups and political interference from the Basutoland Congress Party and the neighbouring South African apartheid government as well as other interference, the territory was effectively governed by military rule for the period between 1986 and 1993 (Sesotho Online 2014).

SAPA (1996) reports that in Lesotho, former prime minister Ntsu Mokhehle was in exile due to the political unrest in the early 1970s and lived in Vlakplaas, where he sought refuge in order to be supplied with firearms. His goal was to topple the National Party government led by Leabua Jonathan. According to SAPA, Joe Mamasela spoke on SABC Lesedi radio programme and denied that Mokhehle was ever used to kill South Africans, but stated that his mission at Vlakplaas was to be armed to fight in Lesotho (SAPA 1996). This is an example of how media in the neighbouring country of South Africa handled a time of political unrest in Lesotho.

NGO Web (2015:8) asserts that the 1993 elections came about without a prior serious political dialogue. Also, there was no agreement about the future of the democracy. The politicians overlooked the importance of political dialogue that focuses on harmonisation and the ironing out of differences; this led to the political unrest of the 1970s. According to the NGO Web (2015:8), the political campaigns of the traditional Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) and Basutoland National Party (BNP) renewed the fears, animosity and memories of the violent history of elections in Lesotho.

In the aftermath of the political violence which led to the death of the then deputy prime Minister Mr Selometsi Baholo in 1994, the former prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle appointed a commission of inquiry into the role of the Lesotho Defence Force between November 1993 and April 1994 and to come up with remedial recommendations (Commission of Inquiry Lesotho Defence Force: Notice No 61 of 1994:584).

This commission compiled and submitted a written report to the prime minister in 1994 with the following recommendations:

To have sound administrative policies, Lesotho Defence Order of 1993 should provide the basis for appropriate regulations and should be made under Section 186 of order.

In order to institute the legal proceeding the commission recommended that the government should take disciplinary action against those members of the the LDF whom they have found to be guilty of the misconduct during the military disturbances. The commission says, "the evidence led before us would however suffice for administrative proceedings, particularly administrative discharge. We would therefore advise the government to discharge all those identified as guilty of misconduct. To facilitate reconciliation and avoid any further recurrence of a similar mutinous situation, those guilty should be discharged with full terminal benefits if they would ordinarily be entitled to such benefits." Regarding incorporation of the members the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) into the Lesotho Defence Force. The commission says, "The government should identify all the former members of the LLA and have a record of their age, education and military training. On the basis of this information, the government should adopt a programme to resettle them in society by offering them employment within the public service or the private sector and those that are very young enough and qualified to serve in the military must be considered for employment. Those that cannot be accommodated by means of offering employment must be assisted financially to develop income generating projects" (Commission of Inquiry Lesotho Defence Force Notice No 61 of 1994:584).

However, the NGO Web (2015:7) argues that the phenomenon of a commission of inquiry seems to be highly regarded by the government of Lesotho, yet is perceived differently by those who are not in government. According to the NGO Web, the question is whether a the commission of inquiry adds any substance to political development in Lesotho sincethe recommendations made by such commissions are never implemented (NGO Web2015:7).

Following the political dispute on the verdict of the general elections in 1998, the government of Lesotho established the Langa commission to investigate whether or not there had been a forgery (NGO Web 2015:10). According to the NGO Web, the commission revealed possible conditions that could have led to the forgery of the election verdict and asaresult recommended the reformation of the IEC and a change of electoral model. However,the government ignored this and formed the Interim Political Authority (IPA) as a platform for reconciliation. The government also constituted the Leon Commission to inquire into the events which had led to the political disturbances which occurred in Lesotho during the period between July and November 1998. (NGO Web 2015:10).

The Leon Commission (2001:130-133) made several recommendations as follows:

1. With a view of attempting to alleviate the problem of a divided society and instilling in society generally an undivided sense of patriotism, we recommend that an informal body be established which

will meet quarterly in order to discuss at a “Khotla” on an informal basis, matters affecting the welfare of the nation.

2. There should be a gradual phasing out of persons who are unsuitable, particularly having regard to the need for professional and apolitical army and police force.

3. The procedure of recruitment should be reviewed with the particular object of recruiting persons who are suitable, without reference to their political affiliations.

4. There should be devised a comprehensive re-training programme for police and army personnel in order to achieve gradual phasing out of unsuitable persons and have a professional apolitical army and police force.

5. Promotion criteria should be laid down based solely and exclusively on qualifications and merit. Educational programme: the necessary steps should be taken to promote a widespread educational programme among the army and the police, the national Security Services and general public instilling the role of the national security agencies in democratic society.”

6. We have heard evidence, including a lengthy presentation by Mr Majara Molapo, in which it has been suggested that we should recommend that a blanket amnesty and a pardon be granted in respect of those already convicted as also for those who have not yet been tried for an offense for which they may be charged, arising out of evidence given before the commission. We are aware that it has been granted in this kingdom but has proven unproductive. We fear that will detract from deterrent effect... in this circumstance we do not believe it is advisable for us to make such recommendation.”

7. The Judiciary, “We recommend that serious consideration be given to the appointment of two practising members of the legal profession to the judicial Service Commission. It is important in the interest of peace and stability, not only to respect the constitution ...” (Leon, Browde and Shearer 2001:130-133)

Lesotho is constitutionally an electoral democratic kingdom, envisaged after the authoritarian period, and has established democratic rule for more than two decades. This period marks changes in social, economic and political development and moved the country into a democracy that has, due to the liberalization of access to communication in 1999, allowed increasing public and media freedom of expression.

Metsing (2007:1) posits that

[...] the landscape of the Lesotho broadcasting sector has changed quite significantly and the situation moved from where the airwaves were dominated by Radio Lesotho, to where there is diversity in the ownership and running of broadcast media sector with private stations being licensed (Metsing 2007:1).

The following is the list of radio stations with different ownership:

Table 1: Radio Stations operating in Lesotho

Name of station	Frequency	Ownership
Moafrika FM	97.0 MHz	Private
Harvest FM	98.9 MHz	Private
Lesotho Catholic Bishops Conference (Catholic FM)	103.3 MHz	Church-owned
Lesotho Evangelical Church FM	107.7 MHz	Church-owned
Multi-Media Communications (Pty) Ltd. (Joy FM)	106.9 MHz	Private
People's Choice FM	95.6 MHz	Private
Radio Lesotho	93.3 MHz	State-owned
National University of Lesotho (DOPE FM)	103.6 MHz	University-owned
The Ultimate FM	99.8 MHz	State-owned
Mafeteng Community Radio	107.7 MHz	Community
Ts'enolo FM	104.6MHz	Private
Thaha-Khube FM	97.6 MHz	Private
JesukeKarabo FM	105.2	Private
Motjoli FM	MHz	Community

(Lesotho Communications Authority Annual Report 2012:11)

1.2. Media freedom and civil liberties status in Lesotho

The constitution of Lesotho enshrines the right to freedom of expression. African Media Barometer (2010:5) argues that the constitution of Lesotho does not explicitly mention media freedom but allows citizens the right to express their views and to obtain and impart information. According to African Media Barometer (2010), this clause guarantees these rights only as long as they do not interfere with defence, public safety, morality and health. However, MISA (2013:47) states that despite having held its first ever democratic election in

1993 and witnessing the growth of both private and broadcast media, Lesotho still has no express guarantees for media freedom and freedom of expression.

Puddington, Piano, Eiss, Neubauer and Roylance (2009:416) posit that although the government of Lesotho generally respects freedom of speech, its standing has declined in the rankings of the Freedom House. Puddington *et al.* (2009: 416) argue that the Lesotho Communication Authority (LCA) has increased licensing fees for broadcasting sevenfold, from \$400 to \$3000. This affects the number of role players, drawing objections from press freedom advocates (Freedom in the World 2009:416).

A Freedom House report (2011:388) outlines that the critical media outlets and journalists in Lesotho face heavy libel charges and are occasionally harassed or attacked. For example, in October 2010, the ABC leader Tom Thabane threatened to shoot a Sunday Express reporter Mr Tlali Caswell for enquiring about members of Thabane's family who were facing rape and assault charges lodged by his former wife.

The Country Report on Human Rights Practices (2008:326) points out that on July 18, 2008, an independent radio station, Harvest FM, closed for three days due to a suspension order by the Lesotho Communications Authority (LCA), a regulatory body. According to the Country Report on Human Rights Practices (2008:326), the LCA reportedly received complaints from the Commissioner of Police that the station made inaccurate statements, as well as complaints from the principal secretary of communications science and technology that the station had incited persons to resist the removal of street vendors in the downtown areas of Maseru.

Freedom House (2011:388) reports that independent newspapers and radio stations in Lesotho routinely criticise the government, while the state-owned outlets tend to reflect the views of the ruling party. While the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2012:388) purports that radio is still the dominant platform for the public debate, incidents such as those cited above suggest that limitations to media freedom are imposed by the state from time to time.

1.3. The state of the media in Lesotho

There are a variety of media outlets operating in Lesotho, both public and private. These include the emerging two community radio stations explored in this study. The Commonwealth Secretariat (2012:16) posits that the government of Lesotho's opening up

of the media sector to the independent media sector in 1999 has led to growth in the private media, particularly radio stations. The state's electronic media nonetheless continue to dominate news coverage in all areas of the country. Radio Lesotho, operated by the state, covers the entire country, while the majority of private radio stations cover only the densely populated, lower-lying area of Maseru and its periphery.

The state controls the country's largest radio stations and its only television channel, namely Radio Lesotho, Ultimate FM and Lesotho Television (Commonwealth Secretariat 2012:16). Radio Lesotho and Lesotho Television have remained Department of Broadcasting services and are run directly by government and they exist solely for the dissemination of the government viewpoint and propaganda, and in the process effectively favour its rule over other parties (Matjama 2007:3). According to Matjama, the government of Lesotho has shown persistent reluctance to transforming these radio and television outlets into public broadcasters.

Thus in many areas, media freedom in Lesotho is constrained by government influence and ownership. The International Monetary Fund Report (2012:388) posits that the key challenge of media in Lesotho lies in the state's delays in adopting and implementing a media policy, which would result in the establishment of the relevant institutional infrastructure and legal framework to systematically address issues related to professionalism, ethics, conduct and improvement of media content, as well as coverage. For example, Freedom House (2011:388) states that in September 2010, the cabinet refused to send the delayed media policy to parliament for approval, and instead returned the policy to the Ministry of Communications.

1.4. Laws, ethics and code of conduct relating to the media in Lesotho

Although Lesotho is a signatory to international declarations of freedom of expression such as the Windhoek Declaration and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and Lesotho's constitution enshrines freedom of expression, there is no specific set of laws that regulate the media. Instead, there are pieces of legislation which impact on the media, as well as the principal proclamations introduced during archaic colonial rule (MISA 2012:47). As a result, government ministers and other officials have initiated libel and defamation suits against members of Harvest FM. For example, MISA/ IFEX (2011:1) reports that on 23 March 2011 Harvest FM received a civil summons, in which the Assistant Commissioner of Police Thakane

Theko claimed approximately 145.000 US dollars for defamation, with interest at a rate of 18.5% per annum from date of judgement (MISA/IFEX 2011:1).

MISA/IFEX (2008:1) posits that this occurred at the end of the suspension period of Harvest FM's broadcasting license, instituted by the Lesotho Communication Authority from July 21 to October 21, 2008. The LCA suspended the license on the grounds that the Harvest FM station failed to comply with the broadcasting rules. According to MISA/IFEX (2008:1), the station was suspended for twelve months, but nine months were set aside on condition that the station did not commit a similar offence within that period.

However, MISA(2013:49) argues that although Lesotho civil society activists and media practitioners are happy with the prevailing vibrant expression of freedom of speech and view this as evidence of democratic governance, there also prevail some concerns of lack of professionalism, revealed by lack of ethics and poor moderation of programmes, particularly on some political talk shows where presenters reveal their political support of political parties. MISA Lesotho (2013:49) posits that some radio stations are criticised for allowing some callers to make statements about others without verifying such allegations. For example, PC FM radio played recordings of secret meetings of political parties and revealed confidential cabinet documents, reading them on air without providing a source for the information. On the other hand, the Directorate of Corporate and Economic Offences (DCEO) has complained to MISA Lesotho that some radio presenters handle corruption issues in a manner that obstructs DCEO investigations.

1.5. The role of media in democratic society

Selinyane (2008:167) argues that media's influence in shaping the public's view of democracy is equally important as giving the citizens their freedom to choose to put forward their own line of thinking or reproduce and popularise the views of political parties. According to Selinyane (2008:168), the privately-owned media are however seen to exploit their freedom of expression by presenting inflamed information that may steer towards instability in the country.

Access to communication is one of the key measures of power and equality in modern democracies. According to Bennett and Entman (2001:1), people communicate to make their

interests and values known and learn about the status of government activities affecting their interests. Due to its wide range of communication channels, contents and styles, media communication can shape power and participation in society both negatively and positively. For example the public radio stations Radio Lesotho and Ultimate FM are used by government to communicate information that government wants to tell the nation. The phone-in programmes have allowed communication to shape the power and participation of society. Kapa (2013:5) asserts that the state-owned media still remains in the monopoly and is a propaganda machinery for those in power.

1.6. The role of radio in promoting audience participation

The advent of radio has had a significant influence in shaping political information and public opinion. According to Lewis (1958:8), public opinion is conceived as part of social processes and leads to the emerging of mass culture, and the power of mass media. Broadcast media in Lesotho is the most cost-efficient and accessed source of media for ordinary Basotho citizens (UNDP, Human Development Report 2009).

In a country such as Lesotho, which has geographically remote areas, there is incomplete media coverage of most regions except for urban areas. There is also an overall low level of formal education, with an estimated national literacy rate of 87.5 percent (Bureau of Statistics Lesotho 2013:2007). Radio remains the most popular media platform due to the Basotho's poor culture of reading. Similane (1995:2) argues that the role of the media has been dominated by the strong beliefs about its potential as a means of influencing, controlling or directing public opinion.

Media content is determined by a number of editorial processes. Primarily, media content is characterized by editorial agenda setting. Agenda setting is the selection and display of the news by editors and news directors in order to influence public perception of the most important issues of the day (Maxwell 2004:1). According to Maxwell, this allows authority of such gatekeepers over content, and enables them to influence the topics on the public agenda. MISA (2013:48) points out that radio stations in Lesotho have proven to be powerful in agenda setting and thus in influencing of people's perceptions.

Radio is the widest-reaching and most influential source of news and information globally. Furthermore, Fones-Wolf (2006:14) points out that radio stations are an instrument of the mass media that is indeed able to promote a new national self-awareness. According to Fones-Wolf, radio phoning-in is the most popular amusement in the United States; it epitomizes consumer culture and increases the size of audience at a phenomenal rate, rendering radio an integral part of citizens' daily life (Fones-Wolf 2006:16). Hence, radio plays a particularly significant role in emerging public communication processes, since it facilitates information dissemination beyond the transport limits of print media (e.g. poor roads, printing times and equipment), sidestepping the literacy limits of near-illiterate audiences, as well as bridging, to some extent, the spiral of silence for audiences who are marginalised because of their education, remoteness or non-access to written forms of communication (African Media Barometer 2011:54). In addition to receiving information, audiences can contribute programme content and feedback to radio programming through oral expression, thus they can overcome inherent limits to their education level. This is particularly significant in vernacular radio station programming where the mother tongue can be utilised, thus allowing audience members with low formal education to present their views and interact with others as fully-fledged adult participants in the social context, without feeling inferior to those who may speak more languages and have better written skills especially in the regional language of English.

Coronel (2011:10) posits that in many new democracies, radio has become the medium of choice as a less expensive and more accessible and effective instrument in promoting grass-roots democracy, by providing an alternative source of information to official channels and reflecting linguistic diversity.

1.7. The role of South African media in shaping the Lesotho media landscape.

In the regional media landscape, Lesotho media inherently compete with the large media spectrum in South Africa, by which the country is surrounded, thus enabling the population to access the neighbouring country's media relatively easily. This influences the media offerings within Lesotho significantly, as audiences may prefer the larger neighbouring media if the local content is not interesting enough. The long-standing practice of many Basotho spending some time working in the South African economy, particularly in the mines and

service industries, underscores this inter-relationship. African Media Barometer (2011:28) posits that South African radio stations, most notably the South African Broadcasting Corporation's Radio Lesedi which broadcasts in Sesotho, appear to be more accessible than local radio stations.

Certain programmes in adjacent South Africa have become models for various programmes on radio stations in Lesotho, such as Lesedi FM's morning drive show "Ha Re Ye", and "Matshohlo", the evening current affairs programme. Audience participation in programmes is presently a regular feature on some radio stations in Lesotho; for example, Harvest FM has introduced current affairs programmes, namely "Rise and Shine" and "Tsa Mabatooa" which provide platforms for public debates.

1.8. The situation of People's Choice (PC) FM and Harvest FM

People's Choice FM is one of the privately-owned radio stations in Lesotho. The station was launched in December 1998 and became a force that pulled in a lot of young people because People's Choice FM programming appeals to the political and economic needs of the Basotho (Journalism.co.za 2011). According to Journalism.co.za (2011), People's Choice FM has provided an alternative voice to the one-sided, state-controlled radio and television stations that monopolised the airwaves for more than thirty years since independence. People's Choice FM introduced a number of programmes that allow the members of the public to contribute their views in topics tabled by a show host, and raise other issues of concern to them. For example, the presenter of Thahameso is the same person who initiated Tsa Mabatooa on Harvest FM, which is a privately-owned Christian radio station in Lesotho, a partnership between its founder, Ntoetsi Moshoeshe, and Africa Radio Network. (www.radioafricanetwork.org.za/HarvestFM.html). Harvest FM was launched in May 2003. It has a mixture of Christian programming and current affairs programmes which were introduced in 2007 and focus on political issues. Sutton (2013) posits that in 2007, Harvest FM, following its improved financial performance, introduced a series of current affairs programmes that cover political and social issues to inform the public. Sutton adds that within the same period, the station was closed by the Lesotho Communication Authority repeatedly, due to the deteriorated relations between the station and the national regulator, the Lesotho Communication Authority (LCA) as well as the government.

1.9. General objective of the study

This study aims to investigate the role of the private media in promoting free public debate in Lesotho. This will be achieved through observing the two privately owned radio stations, namely Harvest FM and People's Choice FM. For this study, two current affairs programmes, Thahameso and Tsa Mabatooa were recorded from 25 June 2014 to 25 July 2014, with the purpose of analysing their content.

1.10. Specific objectives of the study

To identify whether the comments made by callers reflect free democratic debate

To identify the behaviour and attitude of callers when making their comments on the topic that the show host presents for debate

To identify the contribution and influence of show host comments on the guest and callers in the debate

To identify the influence of the guest comments on the debate.

1.11. Research questions

1. Do comments made by callers portray free democratic debate?
2. What attitudes and behaviour do listeners portray in the debate?
3. How do programme hosts influence the debate?
4. How do the comments of the guests influence the debate and portray democratic role modelling?

1.12. Delimitation of the study

The study is limited to cover only two privately-owned radio stations' programmes due to the time and financial restraints of the research project. In addition, it is limited to these programmes because they specifically focus on participation of listeners in free public debate. Recordings of the programmes were over a period of a month, from 25 June 2014 to 25 July 2014. Since the interest of the study is to identify the usage of the various strategies to express caller opinion, the occurrences of each communicative act are not contextualised within the

respective programmes but merely listed as phenomena in Chapter 4's findings. This approach allows an overview of trends in live public communication on air.

1.13. Assumption of the study

The assumption of this study is that private media provide education that promotes citizenship rights such as freedom of expression and right to access to information, both enshrined in the Constitution of Lesotho (1993:32). Talk shows in particular model dialogue about current concerns affecting the public and model communicative behaviour, both by the show host and the callers who raise issues and respond to points made in the Thahameso and Tsa Mabatooa programmes in relation to political leaders' behaviour.

1.14. The rationale of the study.

Broadcast media are a powerful tool for promoting democracy in any country, especially where they engage the public through free public debate in their news, and offer programming which educates and encourages citizens to participate in issues of concern to them. The citizens thus participate in political communication where they raise issues about leadership styles and how these affect the economic development of the country. African Media Barometer (2011:6) asserts that, as is common in most African countries, radio is the most popular media platform in Lesotho. For example, the African Media Barometer (2011:12) asserts that between 2007 and 2010, the private radio station People's Choice (PC) FM became more assertive and listeners aired their views more freely through phone-in programmes than they had before.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

Globally, mass communication media play a connective role in democracy. Gunther and Mughan (2000:3) posit that mass communications media are central to the dynamics of the relationship between governors and the governed in all types of political regimes. According to Gunther and Mughan (2003:3), the spread of literacy and advancement are enacted through communication technology, media have increasingly become the principal source of political information for the mass public as political discussion and information flowthrough family, community and other intermediary organisations. According to Gunther *et al.* (2000:1), the citizens and their elected representative communicate reciprocally inform and influence each other's efforts through mass communication media; hence, broadcast media have emerged as the most important source of political communication and information. Generally, governments prioritise television and radio differently from print media. Gunther *et al.* (2000:9) argue that radio and television were subjected to close regulation as the way authoritarian governments respond to media. According to Gunther *et al.* (2000:10), the twentieth century was characterised by the problem of wavelength scarcity, which left most of the democratic governments with little choice but to take an interventionist stance to resolve wavelength scarcity by awarding broadcast licenses.

Deane (2003:179) posits that some governments who saw that their power base was mostly in rural populations, liberalised other urban-based media but sought to retain control on the broadcast media, particularly radio with its much greater reach to the rural population. According to Deane, there are four mutually interlocking reasons that led governments to liberalise media in general, while controlling broadcasting as a key tool through which political control was exercised. This is particularly relevant for the post-Cold War period:

- New governments were swept into power in the wake of the end of the Cold War, accompanying the collapse of the one-party state, and a wave of democratic elections followed.
- The spread of new communication technologies effectively made the control of information difficult and other media expensive, rendering them less important.
- The increase of economic pressure to open up markets accompanied free access to information.

- There was pressure from donors in established democracies on developing countries to liberalise media as part of good governance, transparency, democratic government and respect of human rights (Deane 2003:179).

After 36 years of one-party rule, Lesotho is not an exception to the liberalisation of media during the 1990s, as outlined by Deane (2003:179), since broadcast media was owned and regulated by the government. However, the 1990s came with changes that resulted in liberalisation of the wavelength and to a proliferation of radio stations in Lesotho to about eight private and two community stations. In 1998, the electronic media began to open up as government licensed a number of new non-state broadcasters, both television and radio stations. African Media Barometer (2011:6) posits that Lesotho has two state-run radio stations, namely Radio Lesotho and Ultimate FM, arguing that both have fairly comprehensive reach throughout the country, and about eight privately run radio stations which only cover Maseru and its peripheral surroundings.

Lesotho is also governed by a multi-party government, which however steadily controls the national radio and television stations because it has not passed the bill that was intended to render them a public broadcaster. White and Bujitu (2005:8) assert that until 1998, the government of Lesotho had a monopoly over the electronic media through the only radio station, Radio Lesotho, and the single television station, Lesotho Television, operated under the Lesotho National Broadcasting Services. According to White and Bujitu, the state-owned media reflect the official position of the ruling party.

Radio is the mass medium extensively used in developing societies as a cost-effective means of providing information and education to diverse target groups. According to Gunther *et al.* (2000:11) radio harbours immense potential for helping to create, educate, and enlighten electorates widely, which is necessary for a healthy pluralistic democracy. Thus, radio has substantial democratic potential. Ramakhula (2009:2) illustrates that a number of private radio stations in Lesotho provide a forum for information sharing for members of the target audience community with radio reception, which results in equal access to information on matters such as agriculture and other relevant issues.

Deane (2003:181) asserts that the 1990s saw the dawn of a new radio age where radio stations began to organise their listeners as suppliers of information. This was a new era of

interactivity for radio broadcasting. According to Deane, the 1990s liberalisation of radio awakened a long-smothered public demand for debate and discussion in the newly-emerging democracies. The liberalisation of radio reportedly unleashed the pent-up energy both from private and commercial sectors, which was responsible for the mushrooming of radio talk shows, discussion programmes and phone-in programmes which have become some of the most popular programming, focussing on many aspects of concern to the public.

Kwak (2012:13) posits that in South Korea under the authoritarian government, the broadcasting media was in direct control of government. According to Kwak, the relationship between media and state was characterised by strong government control in pursuit of its interests and national priorities. For example, the commercial stations operating in South Korea were obliged to report summaries of their broadcast activities to government on a monthly basis. Lesotho Times (2015:1) posits that the Lesotho Communications Authority monitors all broadcast media and has authority to instruct them to provide information they have broadcast. For example, the advisor of the Prime Minister, Dr Fako Lokoti, wrote to the LCA complaining that Harvest FM allowed the Mahao family to defame the government by saying it had paid Lieutenant Hashatsi legal fees to sue the Mpaphi Phumaphe Commission of Inquiry that was investigating the cause of death of Lieutenant General Maapara Nkoe Mahao, the former commander of LDF, who was allegedly killed by members of LDF. (Lesotho Times 2015:1)

2.1. Relationship between broadcast media and politics

Worldwide, the media and the state are two of the most powerful institutions affecting the lives of the citizens in advanced industrialised and developing democracies, as Krauss (2000:15) describes. He further states that the relationship between the media and the state institutions affect society. According to Krauss, the linkage between the state and society is mediated by mass media communications, and shaped by the media organisations (ibid). The mass media are the major societal institutions that may either help or hinder state actors in propagating an ideology and enhancing their autonomy; for example, the media in its news function needs to acquire and disseminate information that state actors possess. The state, on the other hand, needs news media to broadcast information to build support for their policies and regime. As such, Pattyn (2009:79) asserts that the relationship between the

media, the people and government elevates media into a key position of influence between the people and government. According to Pattyn, the media derives content from the public and government, but shapes that content and sets the agenda for the political debate, thus cultivating political views of the people and helping to consolidate public opinion. According to Thorpe and Thorpe (2008:1130), the media makes people think and behave in a particular manner, however, they note that media may also play a negative role in that it may indeed instigate people to fight one another, or against the leader or the party in power (Thorpe and Thorpe 2008:1130). This was particularly evident in the 1994 Rwandan civil war. Nordenstreng (2007:2) views media as the fourth branch of government, playing the role of carrying out checks and balances for the various branches of government, namely executive, judiciary and parliament, and enjoying special status prescribed by the constitution of Lesotho of freedom of information.

For many years, broadcasting media have been a crucial source of information of politics. Negrine (1994:13) purports that the relationship between media content and public perception remains at the level of supposition and assertion. According to Negrine, there is however substantial support for the view that the media are indeed important in forming public perceptions. Gunther and Mughan (2000:5) argue that media in democratic society have never become entirely free from government control; for example, in Britain the government can stop the publication of stories that it unilaterally determines to have negative effect on the nation security, through the system called D-notices. Negrine (1994:1) purports that the BBC fell an easy victim of political intervention by the fact that it has always defined its position as being within the liberal democratic political system and endorsed impartiality as its main principle. Negrine argues that, despite having to acknowledge and reproduce alternative and radical viewpoints in order to ensure that most views are represented and recognised, the broadcasting institutions have in fact accepted parliament as the neutral pole.

Melber (2004:12) argues that the broadcasting media in particular has been regarded as the most effective mass media worldwide in shaping people's social and political perceptions, for good or ill. The accessibility, immediacy and intrusiveness associated with both radio and television have given an advantage to the broadcasting media over print media. Melber (2004:12) posits that politicians throughout the world are aware of the influence and power of the broadcasting media in creating conditions for widespread interpretation of political

debates, and providing a vehicle for presentation of diverse viewpoints. If placed in wrong hands, the media can be a dangerous tool; for example, the use of ethnic hate broadcasting on Radio Mille Collines, disseminating ethnic conflict propaganda in Rwanda, accelerated existing violence and contributed to genocide. Melber also points out that coup plotters on the African continent have always made use of broadcasting media to announce that they have overthrown the government. Such factors caused governments to have a strong interest in regulating the broadcasting, so as to ensure that this power is not abused over their own mandate.

Melber (2004:12) points out that the southern African states in particular ensure that political parties' access to broadcasting, in the run-up to parliamentary and presidential elections, has been skewed in favour of the ruling parties, as the ruling elites have realised that monopolising broadcasting ensures the influence necessary for them to remain in power. According to Melber, the elections on the African continent are won and lost on the nation's radio sets, because radio remains the dominant media with the capacity to overcome the problems of illiteracy, distance, linguistic diversity and press scarcity. In Africa, radio plays a far more significant role than both the press and television in reaching the majority of Africa's population, which as yet mainly resides in rural areas. Notwithstanding this assumption, Melber (2004:13) asserts that radio acts as a major platform for the political debate, allowing the citizens to meet (in fact, to hear) their political representatives, apart from its normative roles of providing information, education and entertainment. Deane (2003:182) highlights that even in countries where liberalisation has been slow or non-existent, there are radio talks catalysing major social change. For opposition parties, radio content raises awareness about the various people in power, and thus contributes to some level of political diversity. This raising of awareness even occurs if there is government control of programme content and news reporting angles.

Melber (2004:13) purports that mass media communications in African countries and other former colonies were initially developed to serve the interests of the settlers, not the indigenous population to advance democratic communicative rights, as was often claimed under the rhetoric of enlightenment. According to Melber, mass broadcasting media was initially established for the purpose of "interpreting government policies to the natives" and form their mind-sets as employable skilled labour. For example, Melber mentions that colonial

rule in Rhodesia passed the Official Secrets Act of 1970 that provided the regime with a tool to suppress unpleasant information about its policies, and to combat resistance from the black nationalists and white liberals (Melber 2004:13). Ironically, such acts have not been withdrawn after liberation from the colonisers, but indeed continue to serve the new governments. For example, after independence from Britain, the new ZANU PF government took over the broadcasting system that had been created to serve the minority interests. The first task was to transform the broadcasting media, and a BBC task team was commissioned to transform the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) into an institution that serves the interest and needs of the majority. Surprisingly, most of the BBC task team's recommendations were implemented, except the relinquishing of government control over the broadcasting sector, which remained under the **M**inistry of Information as well as being politically and financially dependant upon the government, and continues to be abused for severe information control by government.

Bennett and Entman (2001:1) posit that the debate over political involvement and communication is concerned with the involvement of citizens in public political communication. According to Bennett and Entman, access to communication is one of the key measures of power and equality in modern democracies, because people communicate to make their values and interests known and learn about the status of government activities affecting their interests. Thus, in the rapidly emerging democratic participation of audiences in Lesotho's public discourses, radio must be understood to be playing a significant role.

Cammaerts and Carpentier (2007:14) assert that communication plays an important mediating role regarding the facilitation of the debate. According to Cammaerts and Carpentier, the media and democratic practices promote the autonomy of the civil society. Norris (2010:11) argues that where components of civil society function effectively, the democratic public sphere helps to promote governance that is accountable to citizens and responsive to human needs. Similarly, through this process, an independent media can strengthen the responsibility of governments to all citizens and a pluralistic platform of political expression, bringing together interests of multiple parties.

2.3. Roles of the Media in the transition to democracy

Like any other politics, democratic politics involve communication and dialogue between and among political adversaries as well as supporters. Guo and Stradiotto (2014:2) posit that democratic transition is the interval between authoritarian and democratic politics. According to Guo and Stradiotto, in democratic transition the transfer of power is the key element of such change.

Transition occurs in various ways. According to Guo and Stradiotto, some change comes about through peaceful negotiations, hence communication and dialogue are crucial elements to democratic transition. Guo and Stradiotto (2014:3) postulate that democratic transitions are rarely achieved quickly, because some are brought about through revolution, while others come through peaceful negotiations. For example, South Africa's democratic transition came through peaceful, very complex negotiations. Norris (2010:10) posits that the spread of democracy has been extraordinary since the early 1970s, following the third wave of democratisation wherein more states around the world have held multi-party elections than ever before (Norris 2010:10).

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, as a first result of the demise of the Soviet Union as a superpower, was followed by the massive political changes that swept the former Soviet Union-dominated world. This collapse led to new governments and the transformation of media in most former East-Block (Warsaw Pact) countries (Deane 2003:179), as well as in countries beyond this treaty, which the Soviet government had influenced through political allegiances. According to Deane, the liberalisation of media and of radio in particular was the most significant factor for radical change during this period, and in many countries this marked the collapse of one-party states and resulted in a wave of democratic elections. This period was also characterised by the spread of new communication technologies, which made state control of information difficult and control of other media both more expensive and less worthwhile. Increasing economic pressure caused by opening markets, accompanied by free access to information and donor pressure on developing countries to liberalise media and invest in good governance, also characterised this period (Deane 2003:179).

The liberal tradition of maintaining free and independent media within each nation can play a vital role in the process of democratization by contributing towards freedom of expression,

thought and conscience (Norris 2010:6). According to Norris, this tradition leads to the notion of the public sphere, that represents the space between the state and households, where free and equal citizens come together to share information in order to deliberate upon common concerns and cooperate on solutions to social problems. Thus, in democratic societies, the media have played a crucial role in shaping healthy democracy. According to Bennett and Entman (2001:1), the shifting patterns of participation of the nations' democracies are typically linked to media processes as either causes or adaptive mechanisms. Carlsson (2006:6) asserts that the role of media in modern society is not only limited to the reporting and analysis of specific events, but that the media as a whole are indeed opinion builders of their own accord, tracing and critically analysing new trends and tendencies in society and providing decision makers with valuable information.

Coyne and Leeson (2009:1) assert that the media serves a dual role in development, by providing citizens with information regarding the policies adopted by policy makers and also serving a monitoring function on politicians. According to Coyne and Leeson, the media introduces citizens to new information, ideas and perceptions, which influence their beliefs systems. In this role, media serves as catalysts for gradual and dramatic change in society. Coyne and Leeson (2009:1) add that the media create common knowledge around existing institutions and policies. As one of their core functions, the media inform the public about politics, campaigns and elections. They influence what issues voters should be concerned about in elections and which criteria should be used in evaluating candidates (Lane 2007:1). They inform people so that they understand when they are being deceived or excluded from aspects of government. According to Bennett and Etman (2001:2), the nature of communication in public life thus affects how people feel about politics. For example, Edgar (2008) argues that media is more than a source of information because it provides news coloured with views and comments, and hence plays an important role in democratic countries. It can thus promote or undermine governments, by calming people down or playing to their passions.

Ramet and Matic (2007:224) argue that the expected role of media in contemporary democracies is to inform the people about political processes to enable citizens to make informed choices in election time. According to Ramet and Matic (2007:224), the media form a political forum for political debate and enable political actors to contest their ideas in public.

Ramet adds that the media facilitate access to civil society for different groups by making diverse opinions and ideas grow within the society. Media acts as a check against people in power trying to encroach upon the rights of the citizens. In other words, media takes to task those who try to undermine the democratic dispensation without being noticed. Hence, the media inevitably has an important watchdog role and it is generally thought that without independent media, democracy cannot exist.

Ramet and Matic (2007:224) argue that the relationship of media to civil society in a transitional democracy preoccupies media policy. According to these authors, the civil society focuses on advocating for the media policy to enable separation of the media from the state and their placement in civil society, as was the case with East and Central Europe media policies in the 1990s upon the demise of the Soviet Union as a powerful player. Carlsson (2006:6) points out that one of the fundamental cornerstones for healthy and independent media is the principle of public access to the official documents. According to Carlsson, the principle is important for the journalists in their investigative work and reporting, especially when scrutinising the exercise of power by the government and other public agencies. It is also important for open society and is an effective tool for monitoring and preventing corruption.

The media thus has a role in shaping culture. Ramet and Matic (2007:224) posit that the media contribution to the culture of democracy rests on their commitment to values of freedom of expression, tolerance, inclusiveness, pluralism and diversity. Dennis and Snyder (1995:ix) argue that democracy almost never flourishes without effective independent media. Hyden, Leslie and Ogundimu (2003:12) point out that the flourishing of privately-owned media in the 1990s played a significant role in the process of democratization by probing the government policies and behaviour. For Hyden *et al.* (2003:12), the role of the independent media is to foster the discussion in which issues of national and local concern are articulated in an open and free fashion with the expectation that they will be taken seriously by the public and the state.

Free media is essential to achieving stable democratic government. Diana (2010:1) points out that, in order for people to play an active role in the politics of their country, they must be informed. According to Diana, a free press transmits to the people information about their

leaders, policies and practices of national businesses. The key argument here is that the free and liberated flow of information reduces poverty. People with more information are empowered to make better choices that in turn promote successful business practices. Diana further argues that the link that functioning media has to economic progress lifts the question of freedom and viability of the media out of the purely political sphere.

The media thus constitutes the primary lens for citizens. Gunther and Mughan (2000:4) argue that the media, through the information they convey to the mass public, serve as the guarantors of the elites' accountability and popular control of government in democracies. According to Gunther and Mughan, media inform the citizens to assure a democracy that is both responsive and responsible by disseminating political information to check government power rather than magnifying it. It also assures the citizens free access to political information, which gives citizens the right to take up issues publicly with their governments.

Ramet and Matic (2007:224) argue that the expected role of media in contemporary democracies is to inform the people about political processes to enable citizens to make the informed choices in election time. According to Ramet and Matic (2007:224), the media form a political forum for political debate and enable political actors to contest their ideas in public. Ramet and Matic add that the media facilitate civil society access for different groups by making diverse opinions and ideas grow within the society. They argue that the relationship of media and civil society in transitional democracy pre-occupies media policy. According to the authors, civil society focuses on advocating for media policy to enable separation of the media from the state and their placement in civil society, as it was the case with East and Central Europe media policy in the 1990s. The placement of media in civil society enables lifting of censorship values and political influence on the media content, structure, editorial and staffing.

The media furthermore has a role in shaping culture. Ramet *et al.* (2007:224) posit that media contribution to the culture of democracy rests on their commitment to values of freedom of expression, tolerance, inclusiveness, pluralism and diversity. Hyden *et al.* (2003:12) argue that the role of the independent media is to foster the discussion in which issues of national and local concern are articulated in an open and free fashion, with the expectation that they will be taken seriously. Over the years, the degree of media freedom has increased in many

countries and the media had become increasingly instrumental in reflecting social demand and change. Foreexample, the multiplicity of media outlets towards the end of the twentieth century provided journalists, politicians and ordinary citizens with direct national and local conversation through the mass media (Copeland2010272).

Thus, media play an important role in promoting transparency and accountability. Norris (2010:11) asserts that the independent media have often been regarded as important for promoting government transparency and accountability, especially where investigative journalism highlights cases of corruption and misconduct. According to Norris (2010:11), government also requires accurate information about public concerns and social needs in order to be responsive to development challenges. Lack of information about communities and culture fosters social intolerance that leads to conflict. For example, during hurricane Katrina in the USA, television and radio provided much local information, which was essential in that time of crisis.

Bromley and Romano (2012:68) contend that in the 1980s, the media played a surrogate function when the Chinese and British governments engaged in negotiations about the future of Hong Kong without involving formal representation from Hong Kong citizens, and left the media as the only channel through which the public would voice its interests and concerns. According to Bromley and Romano, the surrogate function of the media encompasses numerous tasks such as communicating, reflecting public opinion and providing forums that promote communication between officials and citizens. Hence, Coyne and Leeson (2009:2) argue that media serves a dual role in development. According to Coyne and Leeson, media provides citizens with information regarding policy adopted by policy makers. The media in this role serves as the catalyst because it introduces citizens to new information, ideas and perceptions, all of which influence their belief systems.

Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng and White (2009:29) argue that a typical way of expressing the tasks and role of the media in society is the formulation used by most public broadcasters which is to inform, educate and entertain. According to Christians *et al.* the role of media or journalists has the components that describe journalistic practice, purpose and obligations. Christians *et al.* (2009:29) argue that free media in democratic society are at liberty to follow any particular purpose. For example, media have a choice to reinforce social

ties or challenge them. Media in democratic society can provide information about events or a commentary. In addition, media can be a forum for diverse views and political advocacy such as providing a two-way channel for citizens and government.

Christians *et al.* (2009:30), argue that the natural role of media is to act as a vigilant informer, which applies mainly to collecting and publishing information of interest to audiences and distribution on behalf of the sources and clients that include governments, commercial advertisers and private individuals. According to Christians *et al.* (2009:32), the media roles can be classified into the following normative roles: monitorial roles, facilitative roles, radical roles and collaborative roles. A monitorial role refers to the cases where media, seeing themselves as the neutral observers, report objectively about the world. A facilitative role refers to the cases where media is distanced from the major power and seeks to provide citizens with a platform to express their views and participate in the political process. A radical role refers to the total oppositional approach to the prevailing power to the extent of inciting revolution. Lastly, a collaborative role refers to the case where media directly serves government and other centres of power (Christians *et al.* 2009:30).

In democratic transition, the media have various roles to play. Gunther *et al.* (2000:4) point out that in democratic transition, the media have more than one role to play. Although media can sometimes be manipulative and subversive, counteracting individual freedom and political choice, media on the other hand often ensure that the political information disseminated serves as a check to government power rather than magnifying it. Ramet and Matic (2007:224) argue that the role of media in contemporary democracies is to inform the people about the political process to enable the citizens to make informed choices at election time. The media in this issue are the forum for political debate; they enable political actors to contest their ideas in the public arena. According to Ramet and Matic (2007:224), the media contribute to the culture of democracy through their commitment to the values of freedom of expression, independence, tolerance, pluralism and diversity.

Rausch (2006:3) posits that mass media are the main institution of the public sphere necessary for democracy. According Rausch (2006:3), media ideally contribute to the public sphere by providing citizens with programmes debating issues and encouraging action. On the other hand, Hyden *et al.* (2003:12) posit that, although journalists and researchers were given

leverage to scrutinize government and leaders of political parties, however the government of the day took all necessary precautions to ensure that government files remained inaccessible to members of public, including journalists and researchers, which enabled the individual officers to continue to protect the information as if it were their private domain. This opens the door to corruption, where information is leaked through bribery.

Islam (2002:6) argues that the divide between the reach of radio and that of other media is far greater in developing countries than in industrial countries, because of literacy and income constraints affecting supply and demand of information. As pointed out above, the media influence citizens' behaviour and attitudes towards politics. Gunther *et al.* (2000:3) argue that the political elites are aware of the power of the media to structure citizen behaviour and attitudinal orientations towards politics, and develop policies tailored to suit their economic, social and political purposes.

Radio in newly-formed democracies is a preferred medium of communication. Coronel (2011:1) posits that FM and community radios have been effective instruments for promoting grassroots democracy by airing local issues and providing an alternative source of information and as well as language diversity. Media provide the voice to the marginalised by giving them a place in the media to participate in public debates (Coronel 2014:6).

Islam (2002:10) asserts that the media do not only disseminate information, but it can also manipulate public opinion and can raise issues to unprecedented levels of importance in the public eye. According to Islam, the media are able to accelerate the rate at which news is transmitted, influence the audience to whom it is transmitted and affect action.

Gunther *et al.* (2000:18) argue that framing is another role that media has in democracy by presenting social problems such as unemployment, poverty and health issues to be discussed by citizens, with the aim of influencing their attitudes and behaviour.

Furthermore, priming is a media role in democratic transition. Despite framing and agenda setting, the media prime the response of the citizens to the agenda and change the criteria the people use to evaluate presidential candidates. According to Gunther *et al.* (2000:17), priming refers to the capacity of the media to isolate particular issues or events or themes in the news as a criterion for evaluating politicians.

In newly and recovering democracies, there are several constraints which inhibit media from performing their positive role in democracy. Cornel(2009:3) argues that these include government control, race for market share and journalistic practices. According to Cornel, governments in democratic transition may impact on the positive role of media through monopolistic ownership and control of information. Cornel further points out that the media firms, in competing for audience and market share, may in fact degrade the quality of media reporting, influenced by the advertisers and reporting predominantly what the target audiences want to hear.

2.4. The legal environment for media

A well-balanced legal environment is necessary for free media. Islam (2002:13) posits that an appropriate legal system attempts to balance free speech against abuse by the media. In democratic states, the media is protected from the arbitrary exercise of government power. The guarantees for legal environment are secured by applicable legislation that recognises the rights of public access of information.

Islam (2002:6) points out that some of this legislation does not expressly cite the rights of journalists, but naturally, media representatives share the same rights of access to information as the general public. Islam adds that effective freedom must apply broadly to public institutions and this would offer the journalists the opportunity to inform the public of crucial determination made at the committee level, rather than at the plenary level when the important policy debate might already have been concluded. According to Islam, freedom of information law should include a general right to access to judicial proceedings.

However, Islam points out that there are some exceptions to the right of access of information. Limits that are expressly and narrowly defined in the legislation are necessary in a democratic society to protect legitimate interests that are consistent with international norms. This means that the legislature has an exclusive power both to identify secrets and a particular interest to be protected, and to define particular parameters for exceptions.

Islam (2002:6) argues that an enabling environment recognises the societal values of journalists' ability to protect the confidential sources and information obtained from those sources. According to Islam, in many legal systems law and professional codes of conduct

reflect the conclusion that the protection of journalists' sources is a fundamental condition for effective news gathering in democratic society. Further, Islam (2002:7) points out that, in many countries, several legal arrangements determine the conditions under which private and public agencies obtain and access public information, even though the constitutions of some countries broadly delineate the basic rights of individuals to freedom of speech and information.

Gunther and Mughan (2000:4) posit that, in democratic states, media pluralism is institutionalised. According to Gunther and Mughan, the media is protected from direct political control. For example, political control in Lesotho is exercised through legal frameworks such as the Official Secrets Act of 1970 inherited from the colonial regime that provide the government with the tool to suppress unpleasant information about its policies.

There are many steps shaping the effective democratic society and formation of media law and institutions, such as a broadcast ombudsman (Islam 2002:6). According to Islam, more often governments in both advanced and transitional democracies make efforts to build effective media systems that advance democracy without sufficient understanding of the complex legal environment that influence the process. Krug and Price (2002:2) argue that shaping an effective democratic society requires steps such as formation of media law and that media institutions are most important.

White and Bujitu (2005:4) posit that the constitution of Lesotho enshrines the right of freedom of expression, but the provisions limit the right of freedom of expression generally in three forms:

The first form of limiting the rights of freedom of expression is provided by Section 14 (2) (a) and (b) the clause contained in the constitution of Lesotho, which allows the suspension of certain rights for the purpose of protecting the reputations, rights and freedom of persons or private lives of person concerned in legal proceedings, preventing disclosure of information received in confidence and maintaining the authority of and independence of courts (Constitution of Lesotho 1993:32). Ramakhula (2009:7) concurs that the constitutional section on freedom of speech and information is not supported by media-specific legislation or access to information laws. According to Ramakhula, as a result of the absence of relevant media laws, media practitioners continue to be harassed.

A second control mechanism is that the constitution of Lesotho, section 14 (2) (a) provides for laws to restrict the freedom of expression in the interest of defence, public safety, public order, public morality and public health (Constitution of Lesotho 1993:32). Freedom of expression includes the right to seek, receive, express and disseminate opinions and ideas orally or in writing through any media (Carlsson 2006:1). According to Carlsson, lively and independent media are essential components of a complex system of checks and balances that characterises democratic societies. Judging from these, the situation in Lesotho is not ideal.

The third form of control of freedom of expression is that section 14 (2)(b) of the constitution of Lesotho provides for the protection of the reputation rights and freedom of persons regulating the technical administration or technical operation of telegraphy, post, wireless broadcasting or television (Constitution of Lesotho 1993). White and Bujitu (2005:6) point out that the laws related to the regulation of the broadcasting industry typically deal with matters such as the establishment of regulations to oversee broadcasters, as well as regulation and licensing of broadcasting services.

According to White and Bujitu, none of the regulatory authorities are independent. For example, Lesotho has not passed the legislation ensuring access to receipt of information, which grants journalists the right to access information held by organs of the state (ibid). The draft bill on access and receipt of information has not been formally introduced into the parliament.

Krug and Price (2002:3) argue that in many countries the freedom and independence of the media are guaranteed not only by laws and establishment of media institutions, but by the culture or practices accepted by the society. According to Krug and Price, there are democratic societies with several different profiles of media, therefore there is no matrix for media development that can be considered an essential part of democratisation. For example, even among democratic countries the level of media freedom varies. Russia and the United States of America have quite different attitudes towards media and the concept of media. According to Krug and Price, even within the same democracy, certain types of news coverage may be regulated while other types may be unregulated. For example, economic and social news coverage may not be regulated, while political news coverage is regulated.

Krug and Price (2002:2) posit that the media industry, whether public or private, plays an important role in any economy by providing support or opposition for those who govern by providing a voice for the people. For example, laws that create the structural underpinning of independent media are necessary for the development of civil society, but on their own, they do not guarantee how the media will function (Krug and Price 2002:2). According to Krug and Price, for the media to function, the society must value the role that media play. The laws alone are merely important building blocks; implying that the creation of a culture of effective independent pluralistic media has an important role to play. For example, one society cannot take the laws of another society and plug these into its own process of transition.

Islam (2002:10) asserts that institutional protection for media freedom can be through the establishment of self-regulatory councils which determine codes, honesty, fairness, respect for privacy and general standards that regulate the media. According to Islam, these councils are already established in some industrial countries and are emerging in some of the developing countries. Islam further argues that establishment and functioning of the councils are not a panacea; rather, this requires leadership and willingness of the media professionals to improve their work.

Pattyn (2009:79) argues that self-regulation is quite a weak form of regulation compared to official laws and perpetual market forces. According to Pattyn, self-regulation tends to remain a cosmetic window-dressing of the media industry and its professionals, with little impact on practical media operations and performance. Pattyn adds that media people use self-regulation as a tactical willingness to be accountable to the public, yet their professional values and work practices are supported by a culture of autonomy. The self-regulation councils are also a way of showing that journalists, publisher and media owners are responsible without official regulation.

On the other hand, self-regulation councils are used as defense mechanism strategies as they protect the media against themselves. For example, there are some media professionals who resort to corruption to source information, applying strategies such as bribes; while on the other hand, the media councils' task everywhere is to protect the rights of public audiences and sources by giving the public an opportunity to complain about bad or unethical

journalism. The councils give the public some empathy if not a direct voice on media performance. (Pattyn 2009:79).

Islam (2000:9) posits that in many developing countries, media personnel lack technical expertise, thereby hampering economic and political reporting. According to Islam, such expertise includes direct involvement in researching, analysing, organising, writing and broadcasting the news, as well as managerial skills.

White and Bujitu (2005:11) assert that some of the journalists in Lesotho have cited the low level of education available for journalists as professional training for journalists is a major problem. There are no tertiary education qualifications available, apart from the Diploma in Mass Communications offered at the Institute of Extra Mural Studies affiliated to the National University of Lesotho. Although Limkokwing University of Creative Technology from Malaysia operate in Lesotho its journalism programme have not been accredited by the council on higher education established to regulate higher education in Lesotho.

The situation is further worsened by the absence, or at least lack of an agreement, on national codes of conduct for journalists, as well as on media ethics for the mass media industry. In addition, White and Bujitu (2005:11) point out that the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in Lesotho has published a draft of ethics for journalists but has however met with resistance in the Ministry of Communications, Science and Technology responsible for media.

2.5. The Lesotho political landscape

Lesotho has a history of political instability and fragile media freedom. In the 1950s a number of political parties emerged. The two major parties were the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) and the Basutoland National Party (BNP). White and Bujitu (2000:8) note that in the 1965 elections the BNP gained a majority win over the BCP and became the first democratic government in Lesotho. After five years, in the 1970 elections, the BCP narrowly won the elections over the BNP, however, the elections were annulled and the constitution of the Kingdom of Lesotho (the then Basutoland), was suspended by Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan, who declared a state of emergency. King Moshoeshoe II was dethroned, but later was allowed to return as a ceremonial head of state with no political role.

According to White and Bujitu (2005:8), the BNP ruled by decree until 1986 when the military coup led by Major General Justin Metsing Lekhanya forced the party out of office. The military council granted certain executive powers to King Moshoeshoe II, but after political disagreement the king was forced into exile and his son Letsie III was installed in 1990. In 1991 the military council under the leadership of Major General Phisoane Ramaema, who toppled Lekhanya, drafted the current Lesotho constitution, which was promulgated in 1993 in order to pave the way for democratic elections after twenty-three years of decree rule. The BCP had a blanket win in the elections (White and Bujitu 2005:8).

After five years (1998), Lesotho again held elections. Despite the fact that they were declared free and fair by a variety of observers, angry supporters of the BCP and the BNP and some other opposition parties went to the royal palace gate where they protested for weeks, claiming voting fraud. This was the trend in Lesotho politics until the 2012 elections, when none of the participating parties in the elections won the two thirds majority needed to form a government as the Lesotho constitution provides. This trend is related to the role the private-owned media played in the provision of civic voter education through various programmes.

The Commonwealth Experts Team Report (2007:11) reports that freedom of expression in Lesotho did exist, with a number of radio programmes featuring political party representatives coming to the stations and talking about their party's manifesto and handling call-ins. Kapa (2013:5) asserts that, following the historic May 2012 parliamentary elections which resulted in a democratically elected coalition government, even the ministers now take part in public debates on phone-in programmes broadcast by private radio stations on key national issues.

2.6. The Lesotho media landscape

Until 1998, the government had a monopoly over the electronic media through the only radio station Radio Lesotho and television station Lesotho Television, operated under the Lesotho National Broadcasting Services (LNBS). In 1998 the electronic media sector expanded as government licensed a number of new non-state broadcasters, both radio and television.

The government licensed a number of private radio broadcasters including Moafrika FM, People's Choice FM and Joy Radio FM and a few religious radio stations, namely Catholic Radio

FM and later Harvest FM and Jesu Ke Karabo (African Media Barometer 2011:12). The government also licensed additional television stations, including the Christian television station Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), the South African multi-channels satellite subscription broadcaster Multichoice and its sister terrestrial subscription broadcasting service M-Net, which are presently operating in Lesotho, although their licenses are not renewed and continue to operate through satellite.

2.7. Role of media in education for liberation

Media play a central role in educating society about human rights. Lipset (1959, cited in Friedman, Kremer, Miguel and Thornton 2011:4) argues that education promotes democratization. Huntington (1991) claims that education contributed to the third wave of democratization in the 1970s and 1980s.

Cheung (2009:57) argues that the influence of media in society in fact exceeds that of the education system. According to Cheung, media production is one key dimension of media literacy education worldwide that has enacted liberation. According to Cheung, society should engage in media in order to express their opinion about public issues.

Kubey (1997:15) on the other hand argues that technologies and media should play an empowering and liberating role at school level, helping pupils develop skills towards democratic citizenship and political awareness. According to Kubey, pupils should be given the understanding of the structures, mechanisms and messages of the mass media; in particular, the pupils should develop an independent capacity to apply critical judgment to media content.

Kubey (1997:35) asserts that it was not until the 1990s that the attention of media education focused on the significance of media audiences as important role players in media content production. According to Kubey, there is a need to understand audiences not simply as passive receivers of content determined by the station managers, but indeed as the product of the mass media.

Freira (1970 cited in Kubey(1997:233) asserts, "Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity, or it becomes the means by which men and women deal

critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation.” According to Freire, freedom is acquired by conquest, not as a gift. He adds that, “It must be pursued constantly and responsibly.” According to Freire, freedom is not an ideal located outside of man, nor is it an idea which becomes myth (Freire 1970). Kubey (1997:233) points out that a most notable benchmark for the liberation struggle was the role of Paulo Freire’s works on theology and education, which created the revolutionary climate of resistance in South Africa and popular interest in an education which advanced democracy in contrast to a domesticating education which accepts the status quo of oppression. According to Kubey, it is an education which regards knowledge as being constructed by learners. In this regard, learners are understood more as creators than as consumers of knowledge, and education makes sense of the experiences of both teachers and learners. The role of teachers here is to help learners make sense of their own experiences, not to impose interpretations on their behalf.

The chapter, has shared the light on the role played by media, globally and in the context of Lesotho in advancement of free platform for citizens to participate in political debates as the study seeks to explore the role of private-owned radio stations in promoting free political debate.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology and the design used in this study. The chapter provides the description of the research approach, the data collection and the data analysis techniques used in this study. The purpose of the study is to investigate the role of two talk-show programmes on private media in promoting free public debate in Lesotho. In this study, the researcher will focus on the role of programme hosts, studio guests and caller expression in the debate.

The purpose will be achieved through observing the two current affairs programmes Thahameso and Tsa Mabatooa broadcast on two privately-owned radio stations, namely Harvest FM and People's Choice FM. These have been recorded and transcribed for one month, with the purpose of analysing the transcriptions and grouping them in a way relevant for analysis. The observed comments will be analysed for statements that reveal explicit or implicit contributions to democratic debate, attitude and behaviour of the listeners portrayed in the debate, influence of programme host on debate, and attitudes and contributions of the guest to the debate.

3.1. Research approach

The research follows a qualitative approach, in order to explore and describe the role of two radio programmes within the broadcast media in promoting free debate in Lesotho, namely, People's Choice FM's Thahameso and Harvest FM's Tsa Mabatooa. Fossey *et al.* (2007:17) define a qualitative research approach as an overarching term for research methodologies aiming to explore, describe and explain persons' experiences, behaviours, interactions and social context without the use of statistical procedures or quantification, but through textual data or words.

Williams (2007:67) asserts that qualitative research is a holistic approach that involves the discovery of information. According to Williams (2007:67), qualitative research involves purposeful use of given criteria for describing, explaining and interpreting collected data. Qualitative research builds its premises on inductive reasoning.

According to Merriam (2002:11), a qualitative inquiry is found to be most appropriate when the researcher seeks to understand the phenomena and to uncover the meaning of a situation for those involved in a process. This study is going to use the case study approach because the aim is to explore the social behaviour among listeners who phone into the free debate programmes, the guests invited to the shows and the influence of the show host on the debates, on both People's Choice FM and Harvest FM radio stations in Lesotho.

3.2. Data collection technique

The researcher in this study used case studies of People's Choice FM and Harvest FM to explore the democratic communication in these two talk shows aimed at promoting free debate in Lesotho. Creswell (2003) and Williams (2007:68) assert that a case study enables the researcher to explore in-depth, a program, an event, an activity, a process or one or more individuals. According to Williams, a case study can be either on a single case or several cases bounded by time and place. Therefore, a case study requires a defined time frame.

Merriam (2009:46) posits that a case study is the analysis of a group, an organisation or a person, in order to make a generalisation about a larger group. Merriam (2009:46) further argues that a case study, by definition, gets as close to a subject of interest as it possibly can, by means of direct observation of a natural setting.

Baxter and Jack (2008:545) argue that qualitative case study methodology provides tools for the researchers to study the complex phenomena within their context, using a variety of data sources. Similarly, this study focuses on analysing the role of two radio stations' programming in promoting free debate in Lesotho. Yin (1994:13) argues that a case study is an investigation of a phenomenon within its real life context, while on the other hand, Rowley (2002:17) posits that a case study is suitable for contemporary events when the relevant behaviour cannot be manipulated.

3.2.1. Instruments for data collection

Data was collected through use of an MP audio recorder and stored in its memory; the recording of the Thahameso show was done from Monday to Friday, 25 June to 25 July 2014, from 06:00 am to 09.00 am. Tsa Mabatooa was recorded on the MP audio recorder from 08.30

pm to 10.00 pm on Wednesdays, from 25 June to 25 July 2014, and the show on Fridays from 25 June to 25 July 2014 was recorded from 09.00 pm to 00.00 am.

To identify key statements relevant to this study, relevant comments by show hosts and callers were transcribed and listed in a table (see Appendix 1). They were grouped by the name and date of each show. Comments in Sesotho are also translated into English by the author, who speaks Sesotho as her mother tongue, for further discussion in the treatise. The orthography used for Sesotho follows the rules as prevalent in Lesotho, as verified by a language professional in Lesotho. Greener (2008:83) posits that qualitative research data for analysis can be prepared through transcription.

3.3. Sampling

Non-probability sampling was used to select the targeted programmes for the study. Palys (2008:697) argues that when a researcher is interested in a particular case, he may employ purposive sampling strategy. The researcher used purposive sampling to select the programmes with distinctly political content among other programmes of the radio stations chosen. The purposive sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand and gain insight and therefore must select a sample that informs the objective of the research (Sharon and Merriam 2009:230). Purposive sampling is one of the most common sampling strategies whereby the groups and participants are preselected as a criterion relevant to a particular research question (Patton 2002:5).

Menckel and Carter (1985:73) point out that purposeful sampling enables researchers to select information-rich cases to study in-depth. Information-rich cases are those that offer much insight into issues of central importance to the purpose of inquiry. In other words, these samples are chosen because they are content-rich and informative about the phenomena the researcher is investigating (MacMillan and Schumacher 2006:319).

3.4. Data analysis

The data for this study is analysed through content analysis. Leedy and Ormond (2001) in Williams (2007) define content analysis as a detailed and systematic examination of the contents of a particular body of materials for the purpose of identifying patterns and themes. Content analysis is designed to identify specific characteristics from the content in human communications (Williams 2007:69).

Prasad (2008:1) argues that content analysis is the study of the content with reference to the meaning, context and intentions contained in the message. According to Prasad, content analysis is the scientific study of the contents of the communication.

Trace (2001:1) asserts that content analysis can be defined as an overall approach; a method and an analytic strategy that entails the systematic examination of forms of communication and the objective documenttion of patterns. Hence, content analysis is generally applied to narrative texts such as speeches, transcribed interviews and published literature to clarify the content and language of these textsthrough close examination.

Prasad (2008:2) posits that content analysis can be seen as a method of observation in the sense that, instead of asking people to respond to questions, it takes the communications that people have produced and investigates them. This method is appropriate to this study because the researcher has recorded and transcribed the communication from the programs without interacting with the people producing such communication.

Trace (2001:3) posits that qualitative research in the form of content analysis is important for analysing data to allow themes to emerge naturally, rather than attempting to impose a preconceived set of themes on the data. Prasad (2008:3) argues that content analysis, like any other research method, conforms to basic principles, namely, objectivity and systemisation.

3.5. Target population

The target population of this study are the Thahameso programmes from People's Choice FM and Tsa Mabatooa programmes from Harvest FM, over a period of a month, between 25th June and 25th July 2014. The report comprises the analysis of seven Tsa Mabatooa programmes in Sesotho, recorded on the MP recorder, eight Sesotho transcriptions of Tsa Mabatooa and twelve Sesotho transcriptions of Thahameso programmes.

People's Choice radio uses both English and Sesotho in their programming. Thahameso, as the name designates, is presented in Sesotho from 6.00 am to 9.00 am, from Monday to Friday. It is predominantly a phone-in programme and sometimes hosts a studio guest. In addition, the listeners to these debates code-switch between English and Sesotho. Harvest FM radio predominantlyuses Sesotho in their programming; Tsa Mabatooa is not an exception, it is

presented from 8.30 pm to 10.00 pm on Wednesday and from 9.00 pm to 12.00 midnight on Friday.

The particular interest of the researcher is on the communication patterns of show hosts, guests and callers, hence, their comments are sub-divided into a number of categories to identify the elements of democratic communication within the programmes.

3.6. Reliability and validity

Patton (2001) argues that validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study. Qualitative research is the reliable method for a research study that aims to explore human attitudes, attributes and behavior. Roberts (2006:41) asserts that reliability and validity are ways of demonstrating and communicating the rigor of research processes and trustworthiness of research findings. In this study I have selected enough samples to demonstrate the behavior, attributes and attitudes portrayed in the programmes. Prasad (2008:2) asserts that objectivity means that analysis is pursued on the basis of explicit rules which would enable other researchers to obtain the same results. A systematic approach means that inclusion and exclusion of content is done according to some consistently applied rules. I have to the best of my ability selected objectively without judging, adding or reducing the information to fit my perception or interest.

3.7. Conclusion

The chapter has provided the description and stages of research methodology and design followed in the study. It has also provided the information about the reliability and validity of the methods used in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

4.0. Introduction

The chapter is comprised of the analysis, presentation and interpretation of the findings resulting from this study. The researcher has employed thematic content analysis and presented the data into sub-themes.

Firstly, in Section 4.1, the type of person who communicates, the category of communication, the sub-theme are used as the headings, and statements made are reported verbatim, but without noting during with day's programme they were made.

Secondly, Section 4.2 of the chapter provides the interpretation of the researcher findings from the show hosts', guests' and callers' comments made on both People Choice FM "Thahameso" and Harvest FM "Tsa Mabatooa" political talk shows.

4.1. Data presentation and analysis

This part provides show host comments and questions, guest comments and callers/listeners comments on Lesotho colonial political affairs up- to 2014 when the study was conducted.

4.1.1. Show host questions and comments on Lesotho colonial political affairs in the debates

Political debate

Was Lesotho ready for independence when she gained her independence?

4.1.2. Guest comments on Lesotho colonial political affairs in the debates

Political Debate

The British made no mistake to put Ntsu Mokhehle as prime minister. This conclusion was reached after assessing and analysing him in 1959 that Mokhehle cannot be given a chance to be a prime Minister of lesotho. Therefore in 1960 Lesotho held its first local government election and they were won by the BCP. In 1965 there was another election won by BNP.

4.1.3. Caller comments on Lesotho colonial political affairs in the debates

Political debate

I was born and grew up during the British rule in Lesotho. There was no stock theft. In a case where herd boys have slaughtered and eaten a sheep, they were arrested and made to pay at the local

chief. Police during the colonial rule were most respected people in the society. But now it is no longer the case, instead the thieves are roaming around carry firearms at daytime, to rob Basotho of their livestock and sell them on the black market in South Africa. This has tended to be the order of the day. During the olden days, the death sentence was actively enforced. When someone kills a person it was known very well that the same will happen to such person. It was also a shame to be imprisoned; as a result the ex-prisoners suffered discrimination. But that law has been shelved, instead serial killers we are asked to pray for them. Due to democracy some of the laws of Lesotho are not enforced. If laws were enforced we will be free from corruption and livestock theft.

Political debate

The coalition governments is not a new phenomenon; it started way back from Moshoeshoe the first time, where the three chiefs Moshoeshoe, Moletsane and Lethole formed a tripartite to defend their land. In this tripartite they wanted to be led by Moshoeshoe. However he declined and passed it to Moletsane and he accepted. The tripartite was mainly to defend the country. It was spoiled by Mohato that offended Lethole by requesting him to come and work in his fields. The other coalition that existed in Lesotho was formed by the political freedom fighters, who were fighting colonialism. This coalition was broken by Ntsu Mokhehle who turned his back on chiefs naming them bloodsuckers. In a nutshell Basotho cannot form a sustainable coalition. We do not have patriotism. Mr. Masoetsa revealed that our political parties' leaders do not have patriotism.

4.1.4. Show host comments and questions on Lesotho political affairs from independence to 1993 in the debate

Question

Is that him in his book?

4.1.5. Guest comments on Lesotho independence political affairs to 1993 in the debate

Political debate

You will recall that I mentioned two churches and the Boers when I started my presentation. Now I am going back to Leabuo's resolutions and to all the instability caused by Mokhehle and Boers. He decided to leave his alliance with the Roman Catholic Church, which is a Western European church, and sought assistance from Eastern European communists. This soured the relationship between him and the church. However, the communists assisted him with weapons. On his return from Eastern Europe, he made an official address to his proponents at the Mejametalana airport and said, "I ran around to seek solution for the instability. When I have got the solution, the Boers are complaining

and condemning my decision, claiming that this was unnecessary because they have been protecting me.”

Political Debate

In 1969 there was a political alliance between Pretoria and BCP to be in premier John Vorster and Hendrik van den Bergh. The same year Koenyama Chakela was gunned down in Maputsoe accused of violating his political amnesty by visiting Ntsu Mokhehle in Botswana, where he assured the BCP support of the military to fight the South Africans in Angola and Mozambique.

Political debate

In December 1982, BCP continued their mission to overthrow Leabua by bombing the bridges and some facilities in Lesotho and this mission was supported by the Boers. At this point in time, they were pressuring Mokhehle to overthrow Leabua at all costs. The Boers even threatened to evict him from Vlakplaas, because they realized that supporting Mokhehle to unseat Leabua was too costly. Alternatively, they thought of giving him an alternative base in Transkei. However, they sympathized with him and assisted him through closing borders for Lesotho. This made it very hard for Lesotho.

Leabua had to send a delegation, comprised of Hlahala, Manyeli and Choloane, to negotiate and pray Pretoria administration to open borders. Surprisingly, when this delegation arrived in Pretoria they were asked whether they knew one fellow who wanted them to meet in Durban. PW Botha ordered his government to give the delegates some allowances and book a hotel for them, so that they can fly to Durban the following day, to meet this fellow mentioned. The mentioned fellow was Ntsu Mokhehle, Botha revealed to them that they have instructed him to overthrow Leabua a long time ago but he has failed. Botha revealed that they have send Mokhehle to partner with whoever would accept their strategy of rigging elections for BCP to win and gain power.

Political debate

In 1993 Ntsu Mokhehle ordered his brother to run a primary election in constituencies so that they can come with their preferred candidates. The rigging strategy was clearly revealed in one of the constituencies in Qacha's Nek where the preferred candidate was defeated several times. This was achieved through taking out a ballot from the pool and making the preferred candidate a winner.

The intelligence report continues to reveal that the 1993 elections ballot papers were counted by the BCP members at Lakeside Hotel in the eastern part of Maseru.

Political debate

The intelligence report also contains the information about the preparations of overthrowing Major General Metsing Lekhanya. The Boers prepared for the deportation of Mokhehle to Lesotho. They knew that Lekhanya will not allow Ntsu Mokhehle to rule and have a state funeral for him. Lekhanya as a patriot cannot allow this to surface. Therefore they had to overthrow him so that when they go, planned elections will be powerless.

Major Factors behind downfall of Major General Lekhanya in 1991 are:

This indicates that the major general was considered to be a threat to a planned rigging of 1993 elections. Although his government was the one, which was planning for the formulation of the national constitution of Lesotho leading Lesotho into a national election.

The people who were planning to topple Lekhanya were agents of South African intelligence and some members of the Lesotho Defense Force. This was a joint mission. (Paragraph 2 on page 2 of the intelligence report). Now the jigsaw puzzle to unseat the major general took shape when some intelligence officers from South Africa (SA) met the senior officers of the Lesotho Defense Force(LDF) at the lavish hotel in the Maseru city center, to set the stage and agenda to topple Major General Lekhanya under the pretense of demanding salary increments which they knew the major general will refuse because of the structural adjustment programme SAP carried out by the government,s was recommended by the IMF. Major General Ramaema handed power to the BCP government in 1993, with the surplus of 20 million derived from structural adjustment programmes.

Political Debate

I believe that the majority of you were old enough after 1993 elections when Chief Rets'elisitsoe Sekhonyana was complaining about rigged election. He called it "Pampiri sekokoto" arguing that it was impossible for BCP to win 100% of the election.

Political debate

Remember when I begin I said the BCP was spreading the propaganda that Leabuoja was assisted by the Boers with yellow maize meal and black blankets in 1970 to win the general elections. Although they supported him, they believed that Mr. Leabuoja was highly unpredictable and could not be trusted and had no intentions of becoming a South African puppet. The BCP leader, who was then desperate to become the prime minister of Lesotho requested the South African government of Vorster not to divulge publicly that he has assisted him. While on the other hand Leabuoja had no

problem with the maize meal gift being divulged publicly. So Vorster told Mokhehle that they have no obligation to keep their assistance to him a secret.

These are the caliber of people that Basotho elected to power and who led this country into disaster. The other five groups which were with the BCP at the Vlakplaas were never given an opportunity to rule their countries except the BCP in Lesotho. What Basotho should understand is that from the beginning of the 1970s elections, Boers were already choosing a partner who can be trusted to perpetuate apartheid rule. They assessed them and found that Leabuoja does not qualify to be used for the long term. They observed that Leabuoja's character, as a chief by birth and uneducated Mosotho man, does not have devil tricks. Therefore he is a patriot to Lesotho and Basotho. For these reasons he does not qualify for the Boers' mission. They took Mr. Mokhehle and analysed him and come to the conclusion that he is a bird of the same feather as them. He was not the same as Mandela and Kaunda and other Fort Hare folks. Ntsu Mokhehle is not trustworthy because of his character of power mongering. The Boers knew that he is a power mongerer at all costs, therefore he cannot be a threat to their mission.

Political debate

I want to start the history from 1970s occurrences. Since then we have been fed lies about the political problems of this country beginning when Leabuoja rigged the outcome of the 1970 elections. We are told that Mokhehle counteracting through seeking support from the Boers is a pure lie. With me here I have the South African intelligence report, which negates all lies that have been fed Basotho over years. We have to reveal all lies. You need to know the truth of why the British people concluded that they could not give power to Mokhehle to rule in Lesotho.

In 1970 there was a third election held. These are elections which other political parties agreed to nullify because of the discrepancies surrounding them. Consequently, in 1974 Ntsu Mokhehle left the country and formed the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA), which failed to unseat Leabuoja Jonathan from governance.

Ntsu Mokhehle, returned to Lesotho and in 1993 won the elections with 100%, but he failed to rule this country with 100% mandate. It seems that the congress party members suffer dementia. I know dementia as the disease that attacks women, especially at 60 years of age. However I realize that even men have the same problem, because the congresses fed Basotho poison that Leabuoja persecuted the congress without provocation.

Ntsukunyane Mphanya wrote his biography especially about his life in the BCP. In this book he says "we were delinquents and decided to attack the police and disarm them at all police posts in the

country.” This is from page 100-102. In these pages he describes how they planned their operations. The aim was to destabilize the government of the day then. All those who agreed to engage in this operation refrained, except Ntsukunyane, who took all congress party members to attack the Mapoteng police and disarmed them. In the event the alarmed police there sent a message to Teyateyaneng police station and other nearby police post to assist them. The delinquents were beaten and arrested.

In response to this book T’seliso Makhakhe wrote an open letter to Mphanya, which reads as follows: (as one of the missionaries; it is an open letter to Mr. Ntsukunyane Mphanya 06-12-2011.) Dear Mr. Mphanya I have read with avid concentration your “My Life in the Basotho Congress Party”. I have read with horror and disbelief of your political naivety, your political cons aid and your self-righteousness and the total disregard of pertinence. I am mystified that at the age 45 you foolishly induce your innocent unarmed political followers Mats’ekha to present themselves for a massacre by police and the other slaughters and horrors that had been perpetrated. You flee to initiate the whole blood-curdling episode as your achievement of the republic of Mats’ekheng.”

Political debate

This was interpreted by the United Nations as five groups including the BCP having been responsible for more than 1.6 million war related deaths in neighboring states in the past decades and the cause of economic damage of 50 billion pounds (approximately 170 billion rand) (UN). If you may fairly divide the deaths among them each has killed about 300 000 people. BCP entered this country accounting for about three hundred thousand deaths and economic destruction in the neighboring African countries of 170 billion rands.

Political debate

The politicians interpret the constitution in a way that benefits them, not the public. The interest of LAVETTA is the establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission so that there can be peace in Lesotho. Youth should learn the truth about the congress and national party. We see people becoming fanatics of the congress and national parties. When we look at SA, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has worked for their unity and the country. We have to consider that the 1970 incidents have resulted in the death of people. We appeal to those who have ignored that men, women and children were killed and buried in mass graves. We are saying this has been caused by the intolerance. We have to stop loving the leaders rather love our country.

Political debate

The book written by Mphanya shows that Ntsu Mokhehle lived in Vlakplaas, but it does not provide much on the activities he was engaged in. As result we approached him to tell us where was the Vlakplaas and what was Ntsu doing there; he has not provided clarity. Furthermore we have read another book that has one sentence that indicates that Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle lived in Vlakplaas. This was from the report of the SABC which shows that, Mamasela said Ntsu Mokhehle lived in Vlakplaas. The report also reveals that he was there to seek weapons. The documentations that points to the involvement of Ntsu Mokhehle in Vlakplaas do not spell out his role in Vlakplaas, as Mr. Masoetsa implicates him in the killing of about 300 000 people. The names that appear in the Makatolle newspaper are the names of the LLA soldiers who were from Central Africa heading to start fighting in Lesotho. Unfortunately, most of them have been arrested in South Africa. Thus, when Ntsu realized this was an obstacle, he devised some strategies, which made South Africa to easily allow them to pass through to Lesotho, where they were heading to fight. As a matter of fact Mr Mokhehle said "If the enemy obstructs your mission, you have turn it into an opportunity to accomplish your mission."

Political debate

My name is Fusi Koetje from Ha Mmamathe. In response to Mr. Masoetsa presentation we heard that there was a gentleman who was here last week to counter that information and therefore to us that issue has been threshed out. We felt that there was no need to come for it again, that would be a repetition. However we want every matter to be logically presented. When LLA was formed we were invited to work in Lesotho not in SA. Therefore we are not part of what happened there.

African Union (AU) had laws which prohibited member states from attacking one another so we had to train under the wing of those who were permitted to do so, such as the ANC and PAC. Consequently our relationship with the ANC and PAC was soured by the fact that we refused to help them to fight in SA. TheBCP was saying their objective was to fight in Lesotho, not elsewhere. The BCP argument was that they will not be accountable for the LLA members who can be killed in SA. Therefore I want to pass the issue of SA because it has been hammered out and we are satisfied with the way it has been handled.

Political Debate

We had never been the part of the Boers' army. Even if there are some who have been, we cannot deny it because we were not there, and therefore we are not sure of it. However there were some of the members of the LLA who were arrested and delivered in the hands of the Police Mobile Unit (PMU) in Lesotho. Hence we do not want the operations of LLA to be revealed and discussed in

public, when some people want to express their resentment to those whom they have issues with. Our plea is that this issue should be treated with the necessary care it deserves, because it entails some painful elements. Some of us here, we live in villages where there are some families who do not know where their children ended.

Political debate

My name is Masitha Kesi, from Fobane Ha Tumo. As my colleague has rightly pointed out, the issue of LLA is a very sensitive issue just because it occurred during difficult times, when some lives and property of Basotho were damaged. It needs to be handled with care by governments and this can be achieved through establishing a truth and reconciliation commission. We want all people who were members of LLA to testify in order to close this chapter so that Basotho could know the truth why LLA was formed. Some of us left our jobs because our parents were persecuted. Fortunately, among the LLA members we had some members of the police mobile unit PMU who did not like the administration of the boer who was commanding the unit.

Political debate

We are here to respond to what Mr. Masoetsa has said about us, particularly where it was said that the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) killed many people when we were in South Africa (SA). The truth is that the leadership of the BCP fled to Zambia where they had the intention of forming the Lesotho Liberation Army. As a result, they sent the information to the members of the BCP who would like to join this army and some of us responded from different places and dates. When the members of LLA arrived in the SA they were arrested and killed in magnitude in the Free State.

Positive attitude

As human beings, we have relationships and we have to maintain them. It is our interest to respect them although they have been shaken by Leabua in 1970 when he refused to hand over power to the BCP democratically; instead he suspended the constitution until 1986 when he was overthrown. I also want to point out that whenever there is no unity, the enemy infiltrates easily and deepens the division. In 1970-1974 there were still some people who felt that there should be negotiations; however, they failed and in 1974 BCP leadership fled to Zambia where they formed the LLA. The aims of forming the LLA were to reinstitute the constitution and have democratic rule. We have won the battle because the negotiations led to the democratic reformation in Lesotho.

Guest Negative attitude

My analysis today is going to focus on emptying the lies that Basotho have been fed. In order to achieve my objective I am going to start with the Congress Party slogan which says: if you are not a Congress member, you are National Party member. Today I am going to talk about the BCP and the BNP under the leadership of Ntsu Mokhehle and Leabuo Jonathan (respectfully). I will also relate the story of politics within the church context. The churches that I am referring to are the Lesotho Evangelical Church (LEC) and the Roman Catholic (RC). These two churches allied with these two political parties (respectfully). What I want to convey today is that if the Congress Party was not allowed to rule this country (Lesotho), we would not be in this political dilemma. Therefore some people will realize that they have been fed lies when they were told that Ntsu Mokhehle was the prophet. The British knew that if they can give Ntsu Mokhehle power to rule this country, he is going to destroy it. Even the Boers were aware of that and they were of the same opinion because Ntsu Mokhehle was not trustworthy.

Negative attitude

Mphanya, after he has done all this evil, announced Mat'sekheng as a republic and himself as a president of it. Because he managed to cause a problem or episode which Mr. Makhakhe described as foolish inducement of his political party followers to the whip? As a result, the Congress Party published the propaganda that without provocation Mr. Leabuo persecuted them. Most of them were killed, tortured and some fled to Botswana. When they were in Botswana, they had a split and some of them, including Mokhehle, fled to countries such as Tanzania. While in Tanzania, they have been untrustworthy. As a result, Congress men were expelled and returned to Botswana. Even in Zambia they were expelled because they have joined forces with the Boers whom their government was regarded as a crime. Later on, they returned to Botswana and concentrated on their individual business until Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle was secretly deported to Vlakplaas where he joined forces with Mr. Mamasela.

When in Vlakplaas, they formed an army of killers under the leadership of Dirk Coetzee under his leadership there was a general who was leading a group of the National Liberation Front[Army] of Angola, the National Mozambique Resistance [Army] and Lesotho Liberation Army of Ntsu Mokhehle and Buffalo Battalion from Angola and northern Namibia. These were groups that Dirk Coetzee was commanding.

Negative attitude

Lesotho was burnt because of the power mongering. It is worth mentioning that in September 1998, the military rose to make the government powerless. The sections of the Commissioner Judge Langa

report that spelled out the illegitimacy of the LCD government were rewritten because Langa showed that it was a pure lie that the LCD won the elections; rather, the elections were rigged. To counter this, the Lesotho Foreign Affairs Minister Monyane Moleleki took a journey to his closest friend Mugabe to seek advice and the next day the report was withheld in Zimbabwe. Remember we are talking about the Congress Party.

Positive attitude

We need to return to King Moshoeshoe's principles of nation building, by pulling together to ensure that a truth and reconciliation commission is established, and then we close this chapter. We also appeal to the public security institutions to comply with the terms and references of their portfolios. We have learned the Moshoeshoe strategies of nation building and these are unity, truth and reconciliation.

4.1.6. Caller comments on Lesotho's independence political affairs up to 1993 in the debates

Political debate

Lesotho gained independence at the right time but the problem of Lesotho is the political rulers. The governments from independence did not do enough for her economic development.

Political debate

Mr. Masoetsa talked about Eugene Alexander de Kok . I read about him in the book named "Toll Assassin". Dirk Coetzee inherited this from Eugene Alexander de Kok, intelligence assassin of South Africa. This man is the one who imprisoned Mandela, Steve Biko and others. Chief Leabua had a meeting with the Prime Minister of South Africa Hendrik Verwoerd, on the 6th September 1966 and that is same day he was stabbed on the neck and four times on the chest, in parliament and his briefcase disappeared until to date because of their meeting with Chief Leabua. It was because in that meeting he was convinced that Leabua was not what he was, not a bad person as he was portrayed. Eugene Alexander de Kok also killed a finance minister who was investigating the secret money invested in Swiss banks. Eugene de Kok and Vorster edged out PW Botha from the government as Thabane was edged out from the LCD in 2006. However, when Botha became president he placed them where they belong and taught them a lesson.

In a nutshell, Leabua was clever enough to realize that he can't defeat the giant SA physically and he resorted to peaceful measures to gain Free State. In conclusion, the very same assassin had a relationship with the Basotho Congress Party.

Political debate

You also indicated that Leabuo brought artillery from Korea. It is true, I am one of the soldiers who received them from the airport, and the very same artillery was taken by the SANDF in 1998 and some of them have been destroyed while some were never returned. I have observed that the congresses are weak and evil. The 1993 army unrest was caused by politicians.

Negative attitude

There has never been peace in this country. People have been using grinding stone because they are afraid of dogs. Besides that, they have been fighting one another over the Boers' cattle. Each and every year tension rises and also subsides with time. All are the plans of the devil. People can actually kill one another. If you can ask the politicians what they are fighting over, they will not tell you, because they are used by the devil.

Positive attitude

Let me contribute into this topic you have put on the table to be debated. There was a scenario of comparing the performance of the old car and the new car. Definitely my answer was that the new car will be more powerful and efficient. The scenario says if till today people are still scared of Leabuo Jonathan, it shows that the car was powerful. People do not fear a gun but its sound. But what is dangerous is what is from the gun. Even those people who use guns know that when the gun makes a sound they have to take a cover. It is because there is a danger in the silence of the PM, he might be dangerous or be dangerous to him.

In 1993 Retselisitsoe Sekhonyana invited me to use army to destabilize government of Ntsu Mokhehle. When I refused, I was hated. I want to highlight a point of Khoarai commission's recommendations, that seek all who were involved to be charged, was ignored and facilitation of reconciliation. He also recommended those who are guilty be released with their terminal benefits.

4.1.7. Show host comments and questions on Lesotho political affairs from 1994 to 2014 in the debates

Political debate

We are going to discuss the petition handed to the PM by the Basotho National Party Youth League, the case of the principal secretary of the Ministry of Communications, Science and Technology, Nonkuleleko Zaly, and the official trip of the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister to Namibia to discuss the issues of the SADC organ on politics hand-over to Lesotho, discuss the memorial service

of Mr. Mosotho, the political analyst, and discuss the arrest of the four employees of the Ministry of Local Government and Chieftainship and Parliamentary Affairs allegedly for fraud of 53 million.

I want to know more about the judgment of your case.

I am closing this case and passing on to my interview with the principal secretary of police. There is one former president of the appeal court who has not paid the bank loan. The bank has appealed to the court for assistance.

Political debate

The Principal Secretary (PS) for police says they completed the feasibility study which revealed that the police residence and police stations' offices are dilapidated. There is about 50 million needed to improve the conditions of offices and the police line residence. We have awarded a tender to about ten suppliers to deliver police uniforms which, I am delighted to say, some have already [been] delivered. The total amount of the money spend on the uniforms is about 20 million. However we still have the challenge of the suppliers who do not deliver in time.

The prospects we have is that the feasibility study of vehicles appropriate for the terrain of Lesotho to deliver police services has been completed. The police are working very hard in investigating fraud within the civil service. We have an agreement with SAPS to train our police in forensic audit. We also have an agreement with SAPS to assist in establishment of the Lesotho Mounted Police Service Air Wing, in order to patrol and intensify internal security.

Political debate

I am waiting for the honourable Ts'olo Temeki to remind us about the retreat of the cabinet ministers held in Berea BMI, where they were trained by the consultants from New Zealand on how to govern in a coalition government.

Political debate

We have been informed that the negotiations agreement document of the coalition partners will be released on return of the delegation led by the deputy prime minister to New Zealand, because there might be some information from that trip that may be essential and required to be included in the document.

Political debate

In my hands I have two documents. We are going to debate the prevailing political situation in Lesotho resulting in 'Sobopele' and 'Setjamele'. These are the two factions of the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD). Our debate will be based on the press conference, that announced the agreement signed by the Democratic Congress and the national executive committee of the LCD. Therefore I am inviting you callers to debate on the issues raised at the press and the statement issued by the national executive committee in relation to the press conference held by the other group which is not accepting the decision of the executive committee of leaving coalition government. I have named them "Sobopele" and "Setjamele". These two documents have caused the instability in the country. I will read the documents for you.

Political debate

Basotho, here are the issues and I will not say anything on them; they are there to be debated by you. The telephone numbers are 51519899 and 21219899. The programme you are logged on to is Tsa Mabatooa, a political debate program. I was at the press conference and got this document from the LCD members that gathered at the LCD site gate and the police allowed them to continue with the press conference.

Steering Questions

We know that when you fight you do not put forth unfounded arguments. When you give me documents, who will I say gave me documents?

Did the executive committee consult you when it signed the first coalition agreement?

Are you clear with our debate topic today?

Let us leave out the secretary general. You said the executive committee implements the decision of the annual conference. Is this the end of the coalition partnership and is new partnership the decision of the conference?

Help us to understand why Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle left you aside when forming government? Tell us whether it is true that he said he did not call you to follow him?

Where did the BCP ministers come from? Who do not have empathy with you?

Don't you think that the intention of the Congress Parties to come together will help you?

Political debate

The constitution should be made to be in the interest of the public. We had the government of one party which had a chance to close this loophole, but they neglected it.

Political debate

I don't want us to tabulate what transpired throughout, but now we realize that it has subsided. May be there will be some who can explain the situation better when some cannot. What is still prevailing is the strong language used in political rallies. Therefore can we say that we have stability in this country?

People in the past weeks were frightened so much that they were asking Mofumahali whether it is safe to come to Maseru. You can imagine men asking a woman instead of protecting her.

You are now taking us back to square one where we will continue to close with grinding stones.

There is an SMS here from someone who says he was closing with wheel barrow and a bag of cement this means that people fortified their security by putting heavy objects on door ways. explain this idiomatic expression.

Steering Questions

How do you explain the current situation?.

I thought you are brave, now you surprise me?

What are you referring to when you say by force or "ka matla mponyane?". Does this mean it is not yet over?

Political debate

The Ministry of Local Government through the department of Decentralization is leveraging power to the communities to run their own affairs such as formulating plans and policies.

Host influence on caller's attitude

Let me help you, even if physically he is not part of the delegation, he is a part of the decision. They are going to learn from a stable country ruled by coalition. When you have problems, you always call the SADC.

Let me help you. I presented to you that this trip about learning how New Zealand is ruled by coalition government is not all this thing you are saying.

They did not choose to go, but it is assistance from the Commonwealth.

Did you practice what you learnt when you were in the Berea BMI?

The coalition government partners decided to put aside the issue of opening parliament in order to give the New Zealand trip a chance.

The idea of the New Zealand trip does not address the disputes within the coalition government. Do you think that the coalition leaders have learned the three principles Mr Ts'olo has highlighted?

Derides callers' view

I said we are debating [the] Nonkululeko judgment, but you decide to deviate to the police.

Steering questions

Does it help to point fingers?

Bullet 5 of the of the document from the press conference reminded the members that it is in their power to elect and remove the executive committee.

Does the leadership of the LCD encourage members to renew their membership, or do you wait until the moments like this to disown members?

You are now confused as the some LCD members say the executive committee implements the decisions of the conference. But Thabo says it decides for the members.

I am going to investigate why the secretary general has been suspended indefinitely. The allegations have indicated that she is the one who is dividing the government.

People are of the idea that there should be negotiations. What is your opinion?

I protect the LCD members. They have not mentioned the ABC; rather, they said “other parties’ members”. Withdraw your allegation, Samalula.

You should stop intruding in other people’s affairs.

What kind of relationship did you have with Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle when you arrived in the country during the BCP rule? The expectation would be that he would form government with you, instead of the people who were not in struggle like you.

What is the problem that delays the formation of a truth and reconciliation commission?

People who are able to monitor and analyse the political situation say it is not yet over.

What should be done to bring stability in this country? When you look, the prime minister of this country is being silent and not responding to allegations made against him. We thought after the Manthabiseng Convention Center press conference, whereby the leader of the LCD announced that they have accepted that the ABC leader does not want coalition government, he will respond to that in the press conference he held at the state house, but he said nothing in relation to that allegation. He assured the nation that there is still stability in the country. Instead, in his political rallies, he speaks to his followers to stop arguing over the radio stations.

What does the silence of the prime minister mean?

If you are able to listen to what you are saying, I am telling you that you have revealed great things.

Basotho like the monarchy because it is the symbol of our unity. His majesty was honored by internationals because he represented Lesotho in the African Unity as an ambassador in the campaign of nutrition. Do you really respect His Majesty’s decisions? We are in the week of the commemoration of his 51st birthday. The country is celebrating the 48th year of independence of Lesotho. What have we achieved as a country?

Was Lesotho ready for independence when she gained her independence?

What has independence brought to Lesotho?

Do you think we can develop in isolation?

Don't you think decentralization of power is going to be a solution?

Let's look at the patriotism preached by the leaders during their campaigns.

Don't you think that grassroots plan of decentralizing power will counter all these problems?

This morning around 5am when I come to work, I passed through Loreto Clinic. I found a women queing for the services; in the past there was no such cases. Is this the sign of development?

Every week we have agricultural extension officers in the villages talking to people. Would this not help us to know ourselves and our needs?

How do we contribute in developing plans and policies?

Is there anything that you can link to independence?

Influence attitude and behaviour

Today we are not going to continue with the debate that changes our mindset. I want us to debate two things. Basotho are popularly known of forming coalitions. While on the other hand they are notoriously for destroying coalitions, because they like cheating. I want us first to define coalition and how it works.

We are debating the issue of coalitions.

Influence attitude and behavior

I want us to be positive and constructive in our debate today.

Steering Questions

How does power mongering affect the coalitions/associations?

Does the untrustworthiness affect the coalitions/associations?

Do Basotho have patriotism?

4.1.8. Guest comments on Lesotho political affairs from 1994 to 2014 in the debate

Political debate

In 1994, Ntsu Mokhehle wrote a letter to F.W de Klerk which I have here. In this letter, he requested de Klerk to send the military to disarm the Lesotho Defense Force. Since at that particular time SA was in political transition, De Klerk had to communicate Ntsu Mokhehle's disarmament request to Nelson Mandela.

Political debate

In response to Mr. Mokhehle's request, de Klerk, in consultation with Mr. Mandela, advised him to forward the matter to the SADC. This concurs with the report of His Excellency President Sir Ketumile Masire and President Robert Mugabe's commission of 11-12 February 1994. President Masire on 22 January 1994 invited de Klerk and Mandela to Gaborone in order to discuss the crisis of Lesotho. He had also invited Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle to brief them about the security situation in his country. However Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle did not attend, rather he sent Deputy Prime Minister Selometsi Baholo accompanied by Senator Kelebone Mapeo, Minister of Justice Advocate Phisofo and the cabinet secretary.

Political debate

This letter reads as follows: "Allow me sir to assure you that any hostile reaction from the outside world would be handled firmly by my government because, like any government, we are faced with the inability of protecting the nation's interest of the provocation of bloodshed undermining the authority of the state." The letter was written on 14 January 1994. Remember at this time, he was already powerless. (Page 3, Paragraph 4)

Mokhehle writes to Robert Mugabe this letter: "In this regard, I request your excellency to provide a special team to provide intelligence services to operate in important places such as the government complex, cabinet room and ministerial offices and residences and telephones as a matter of urgency."

Political debate

In 1994, the government was overthrown by His Majesty Letsie III after the BCP alleged to

have humiliated and cursed his father in parliament in response to the letter His Majesty Bereng Seeiso wrote in confidence to Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle to unpack his removal from the throne by the military rule therefore requesting him to facilitate his reinstatement to throne. Mokhehle knew very well the caliber of parliament members, he decided to table the matter in parliament for them to harass His Majesty King Bereng Seeiso. Mokhehle did not take precautionary measures necessary for the sensitive matter like this.

Political debate

The commission comprised of Presidents Robert Mugabe and Ketumile Masire came to Lesotho and interviewed all stakeholders in the governance of Lesotho, including the NGOs. The two presidents got a warm welcome from the Basotho. Their findings revealed that the government of Ntsu Mokhehle was playing a blame-shifting game. Initially, Ntsu Mokhehle indicated that this unrest is caused by Rets'elisitsoe Sekhonyana. Then, the commission interviewed the politicians including Sekhonyana who pointed out that the army is unstable because of Ntsu Mokhehle's inflammatory statements. They went back to him with this view and he switched to His Majesty Moshoeshe II who then went to Matsieng to talk to him. In their interview, Letsie III showed a strong intention of re-institutionalization of his father to avoid the embarrassment.

Page 11, paragraph1: They returned to him with the views of monarchy. He told them that he cannot amend the constitution because he will be running the risk of violating the constitution. He has to have a public referendum. Mugabe and Masire concluded that there is no law above the nation. Mugabe and Masire asked Bereng whether he had the intention to overthrow Ntsu Mokhehle. He strongly denied this allegation because he knew his role is to advise those elected to govern. He denied that, before he was sent to exile, he tried to exercise the executive power. He said to them, "I don't want to be a prime minister". The presidents went back to Mokhehle who changed his statement, that it was not the king who wanted to overthrow him, but the commander of the LDF.

The presidents went to Major General Mosakeng that is alleged to unrest the government. In response, the commander of the LDF, Major General Mosakeng, told the presidents that the instability is incited by the members of the government who infiltrated the army with perks to promote their own agendas that divide the army.

Mokhehle was overthrown three times within five years.

Political debate

In 1994 we had the Interim Political Authority (IPA), which changed the electoral model of Lesotho, but in 2007 they ignored the very same model formulated by them. We had a crisis that led to the intervention of His Excellency President Ketumile Masire, who failed to assist in resolving the problem of Lesotho because the intervention was never taken into consideration and used for the benefit of the Basotho. SADC Troika was intervening during his government, but today he says we do not need foreign intervention. In 2009, when the army conspired to kill him, we had another foreign commission to investigate the cause of the conspiracy. It is amazing if he says we don't need foreign intervention.

Political debate

The 1998 elections were held and resulted in burning of some towns of Lesotho. The Langa Commission came to Lesotho and investigated the outcome of the elections and released a report which indicated that it is a lie that the LCD won all the constituencies except one in Mokhotlong. The report was rigged. On the 12 October 1998, Lesotho was sacrificed to appease Mugabe. There were irregularities that lead to the annulment of the elections. The government of Lesotho bribed somebody in Gauteng to rewrite the report that removed the LCD from government. The South African intelligence's report confirmed that there was a rewriting of the report and was published nearly a week later. The name of the re-writer is known to the source, which is the Mail & Guardian newspaper.

In 1998 Mr Mosisili, without any pressure exerted on him, said if there are some discrepancies reported from Langa's report, he will resign from government. He cannot rule with government elected illegitimately. However, he did not resign when discrepancies were reported.

I am referring to what he said publicly, not what he was told to do.

Political debate

Let me put aside the report and return to my introduction. Indeed I am saying it is unfortunate that Congress ruled this country. They have nothing to offer this country when

one counts their splits since 1994. The Mokhehle government was symbolized by the “bojela thoko” and pressure groups. It is because one of these groups wanted to usher power over Mokhehle that they split in 1997. In 2002, the LCD split under leadership of Mosisili when Maope and other 27 members left the LCD. After this incident, Mosisili vowed publicly that if LCD can split again under his leadership, he will resign, but in 2006 when Thabane left the LCD, he did not resign.

Political debate

Pakalitha Mosisili, it is in his government where United Nations (UN) have reported Lesotho as an off-track country, meaning it that has lost its way. It is in his tenure that in the UN development index 2011, Lesotho ranked 150 out of 187 countries. It rarely meets its international headlines despite its persistent internal political and economic problems.

Political debate

Except when its long-time ruler missed his well-produced statement in support of the Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe, saying that as Africans we would rather misgovern ourselves than be better governed by foreigners. This statement was written in March 2012 and he repeated the same statement in July 2014, forgetting that all foreigners were invited by him. Paragraph 4 says we rather misgovern ourselves than have what foreigners can do.

Paragraph 4 of the United Nations report reads as follows: When an epidemic of corruption catches, the ideas such as 2007 government of Lesotho’s scandalize official state of art whereby brand new Lexus and Mercedes Benz cars used by ministers and senior official in government were sold to them for partly 3000 and 4000 maluti. Petty tutoring within the ruling class, with number of some scanty debates is the order of the day. Barely a month passes without a newly political party formed, or an existing one splits. None of this is for governing the country, but a bigger slice of some state scarce resources. From the days of Leabuoja Jonathan, when he lost the election and refused to hand [over]power, the silliness of Basotho politicians seems to know no bounds.” The document was written during Pakalitha Mosisili government that talks about him.

Political debate

Mosisili and his proponents are saying, when parliament is closed, people are not able to account for corruption or administration of money allocated by the parliament. In his regime, parliament has been allocating a budget, but there was never a time parliamentarians monitored the administration of the money allocated by them. During Phakisi state funeral in Mokhotlong, corruption occurred in his government. There were many paid hotels in Maseru, but the funeral was held in Mokhotlong. All this appears in public accounts' committee statements, but Mosisili had never said a word. He tend to speak and forget his words. He must note that some of us do not easily forget like him.

In a foreword, Thahane and His Majesty King Letsie III signed for their views. Pakalitha Mosisili complained about all the evil and corruption done by the people in his party in his leadership, but never acted.

Pakalitha, in the same document's preface, complained about moral decay of the society, unemployment and deepening poverty and stock theft that is the order of the day. He called it a desperate situation, but he had done nothing. It is in his regime where a cupboard cost 1.5 million, where corruption in the order of 350 million occurred. During his tenure in government, his office bought a can of Coke at the cost of 100 maloti, Liquifruit cost 70 maloti and 19kg of gas was bought at 900 maloti.

In 2009, when the army conspired to kill him, we had another foreign commission to investigate the cause of the conspiracy. It is amazing if he says we don't need foreign intervention.

Again in 2012, Mosisili split from the LCD to form the DC. When consoling his followers, he said the Egyptians that you see, you will never see them again, referring to the LCD. He added that they are leaving "seholo se senang bohloa" (empty ants' house).

Political debate

I wish Tom can open the parliament so that they can cross the floor as planned. I bet within six months it will be over, because they are going to fight each other. The majority of them do not have permanent office space and are still renting and that is going to be the cause of their fight, except the BCP which has inherited the estate of the Congress Party. Look at the trend of the BCP since all the splits. Its membership is not growing; instead it deteriorated in

2012 where it had been elected by only 2440. In this case, we are referring to the mother body of all Congresses Parties. You will recall, in 1993 it won 100%.

If Tom Thabane opens Parliament they will only last for six months and they will be fighting over rent of the CP estates at the main circle and railway station.

The congresses are uniting to run away from the accountability, because Matsoso has been reinstated to dust the dockets that gathered dust during his regime. Some used to sit over the dockets to protect the congress, hence why they are crying very loud when being fired. Some of them went to Luthuli to request the ANC to mediate. Unfortunately Mantashe was already briefed about them and send them back come to face their embezzlement of state resources cases. Instead, you want to overthrow Tom Thabane. Return to your country where prorogation is legal. Rather face your consequences.

Negative attitude

The problem of Mosisili is that he thinks we all have dementia like him. His proponents and prophets are spreading lies that the foreign investors are withdrawing because of the parliament prorogation. Some of the foreign investors and embassies closed during the Mosisili government.

We are left with only three embassies that have special interests and they will never withdraw. These are the Chinese, South African and American embassies. China will never leave Lesotho because of their economic interests. It wants to be an economic superpower. The American Embassy is here mainly to monitor China's movements wherever it operates. Americans are also continuing with the Millennium Challenge agreement. The South African embassy is here to monitor its irritating neighbor. Lesotho is an irritating neighbor to South Africa. The other interest is the Highlands Water Project.

Again, Mr Mosisili, I heard him recorded in one of People's Choice programmes hosted by Seoli saying "We must confront each other with truth." Now I am confronting him with that truth.

Political debate

It is amazing that the issue of prorogation is being misinterpreted by experienced people in leadership of this country. They should be educated in the administration of the country but are without knowledge of the laws of this country. It is shaming to hear him sending Metsing to ask his coalition partners to open the parliament. I am not expecting it from him because he knows that when the prime minister has advised His Majesty, it is final. I have not seen where it is stated that he can go back and ask him to change what he has advised him to do. In these 15 years that he has governed Lesotho, he has been advising His Majesty on a number of things, inclusive of "proroguing parliament during our parliamentary tenure." This happened and people were even surprised as to why His Majesty is opening parliament twice within five years and it was in his government. It is amazing to hear that His Majesty was wrongly advised.

Political debate

I was expecting Mr. Mosisili to teach his proponents about the relationship between the prime Mmnister's office and His Majesty in relation to this matter. He is the one who is supposed to teach them that it is no longer Thabane's decision but His Majesty's decision because he has discretion to accept or refuse the advice. In this matter, he has accepted, so the person who is hailed at the moment is not a politician but the head of the state. They are challenging the integrity of His Majesty.

Political debate

The very same people who are hailing His Majesty, they took an oath putting their hands over the Bible, saying that they vow that they will be trustworthy to His Majesty and his heirs as well as his successors. So when he has prorogued the parliament, they are in the forefront to discredit their oaths.

Political debate

There is nowhere the constitution prohibits the prime minister to exercise his power. If one is charged with the responsibility of governing the country when there is maladministration, he is the one to be accused. Government is not a game played by children. When things go wrong in government, the blame is put on Thabane, not Metsing or Maseribane, because he is the one in charge of government. If his power can be given to other members of

parliament, it will be like a game. If the prime minister fails to perform his duty as expected, that is when the parliamentarians can use their constitutional right and pass the motion of no confidence in parliament. At the same time, coalition government was not formed for the benefit of a group of parliamentarians, but for the Basotho. This group, therefore needs to be consulted in everything. Unfortunately whatever they are saying they have not consulted the electorate about it. Basotho have elected them, but are dying because of poverty. The same group ignores such cases, feeling that their agendas and interests need to be pushed no matter what people experience in the villages.

Political debate

If His Majesty can open the parliament because of a noise made on the street, something will be wrong. If the prime minister advises His Majesty to dissolve the parliament when they make a noise he has to reverse his decisions, then he will have to make a nation address speech from the throne. A proper procedure is to allow government to make necessary arrangements for the opening of the parliament, such as preparing a nation address speech for His Majesty. Lately, there is no business other than to overthrow the government.

Political debate

In order to achieve this, I am going to have 29 public gatherings in the Likhoele constituency under the principal chief of Likhoele. If I was in parliament, I would be going to the Mokhotlong constituency where I used to meet every person to hear their needs. If you have followed my history in parliament, I started on the same note of asking useless questions, but later I realized that I have to take the public's concerns to the relevant officers to solve them. I am currently working on the issues of catering for the king's birthday in the Mokhotlong constituency even though I am no longer its member of parliament, simply because it is in me to assist people where they have problems. There are some people who buy the elections for their own benefit. The challenge with this caliber of parliamentarians is that they don't have the obligation of helping the people in constituencies, because they have spent their monies to be elected. Therefore, such communities have no right to demand service from such members of the parliament. The problem of our electorates is selling their votes to electoral candidates.

Political debate

I think that there some countries who are already interested to read the Facebook wall that has this information. I was expelled from Radio Lesotho when I was telling the nation that the problem is not lack of consultation. The presenter was receiving threatening phone calls from the minister. I always wonder how are we to survive in his government with threats to staff like this. Our democracy is fragile. The question is, what is that they are fighting for? They have done so many things, including the coming of the SADC to Lesotho without consulting the prime minister.

Political debate

Mr. Metsing's strategy to overthrow Thabane was delayed by the closing parliament without a stated time of opening. As result, that closure could be nine months or a year. He assisted Thabane to prorogue parliament because the deputy prime Mmnster did not state the time of opening of parliament. If they are saying they are referring to Thabane when they want the reopening of parliament, who closed the parliament? The problem with human beings is that they hear what they want to hear, not what is being said. Thabane does not own parliament; it belongs to His Majesty.

Negative attitude

After examining the presentation by Lesotho, the Pretoria delegation suppressed the military intervention request and instead advised military reformation. When Ntsu Mokhehle realized that the mission of bloodshed had failed, he tried Mugabe for military intervention.

Idiomatic and biblical expression

They were leaving this empty ants' house carrying death in a pot. (2 Kings 4:38-41).
"Whenever the congresses unite they always connive in bad intentions". In addition, the congress parties' members unite due to the crisis; when it is over, they fight each other again. Now Mosisili said to us, Metsing has proposed him and has accepted him and signed. The congress parties BCP, LCD BBDP, DC and LPC say they have reconciled.

Positive attitude

Yes, if the remaining faction of the BCP was clever enough they would keep quiet and put rent into their pockets. Mosisili once said to us this country does not need foreign intervention; we can resolve our political disputes on our own. I suspect that he is suffering from dementia, because he has forgotten that he once sought foreign intervention and ignored their recommendations. For example Masire and Mugabe in 1994 made recommendations to resolve the political crisis of Lesotho, but government decided to ignore them until 1998 when they sought Langa's commission intervention and he made recommendations and they ignored them once again. Leon in army commission also recommended and they too were ignored. Masoetsae is saying this because all the foreign interventions sought never used for the benefit of Lesotho.

Influence on attitude and behaviour

We may think of that because the Minister of Communications Mr Mochoboroane pointed out that if His Majesty is not opening the parliament and giving the LCD and the DC the government, the army will take over. I don't think Lieutenant General Kamoli will do that because he knows that the responsibility of the army is to protect the government of the day, not to topple legitimate governments. I don't think we will see the commander of the army driving His Majesty to the parliament to open it. I am sure the army is fully aware that the soldiers who involve themselves in politics face the consequences of such actions alone in courts of laws. Not unless they have not seen it happening.

I was surprised to hear Mr. Mosisili saying that Thabane, when he attends the army functions, is tiptoeing around the soldiers. The prime minister is also a minister of defence, and they work directly with the commander of the army.

Negative Attitude

Mantloane does not appear in the law but I am referring to a game played by the parliamentarians when doing all petty things in parliament. Last week I met two members of parliament for the DC from Lebakeng and Malingoaneng, asking me why am I throwing stones at them because they knew very well that they are playing, you understand Mr. Ntoampe. I disagree with the allegation that the IPA was formed by force.

If Mr. Metsing and Mr. Mosisili are genuine, members of the congress would indulge in coercion. If the people who call themselves the congress don't believe in debates, I don't think they are authentic. The founder and leader of the congress believed in debates for the people to judge between the truth and lies.

Positive attitude

Mr. Ramokotla said I am a lair. When I said I was head-hunted for this job I told the people who approached me that I am not bought with money because I care for integrity. Although I need money like anyone else I cannot compromise my principles. I can't be seated here and say Thabane is right while he is wrong. Mr. Shila, had I ever sat here debating that Thabane wanted parliament to be open? Did I say he was right for fighting for parliament? I don't drink alcohol therefore I am always sober. Was there any time I was making noise on the streets about not being consulted? I am referring to the press conferences Metsing had held at the Black Swan and the Manthabiseng. Didn't have them?

4.1.9. Callers comments on Lesotho political affairs from 1994 to 2014 in the debate

Political debate

The congress government ignored political infiltration into the army and it is recurring. In 1998 the Leon commission recommended similar things. What you said about Mosisili and foreign intervention is exactly what I told him. Today the congresses are the ones planning a coup against Tom Thabane. By so saying they prevent him from seeking intervention to defend himself. You also indicated that Leabuo brought artillery from Korea; it is true I am one of the soldiers who received them from airport and the very same artillery was taken by SANDF in 1998 and some of them have been destroyed while some were never returned.

Figurative expression

You are not fighting them but divulging their carelessness. "Because thokolosi e hlasetse kajeno" proverb.

Political debate

I thank you very much, because I am a LCD youth member. Now I got the answers to the questions I had about the DC visitors we had at the LCD leader rally on Sunday. These have

eased the disillusion we got from various radio stations. You are a God-sent messenger because we did not know of the ulterior motives of the congresses' reconciliation. At least we know the caliber of leadership we have; we are wondering what our leadership want because they are already in government.

Political debate

I wonder if our coalition partners understand that the prime minister is for the country not a certain party. It is a necessity for the cabinet ministers to attend his public gatherings. I am talking like this, because last week the prime minister was in Quthing, and the deputy minister for the Ministry of Local Government did not attend such, but later the same week he went there for road construction sod turning.

In 1998 when Buthelezi was an acting president of SA, he fulfilled the desire of the congresses and sent SANDF to Lesotho and there was bloodshed. Similarly Metsing, when he was acting prime minister, wrote to SADC about the uncontrollable situation in Lesotho.

In response, the SADC sent a Namibian. This was a shock to the prime minister when he was recalled from a rally in Leribe and was informed that he has an urgent important visitor. It is surprising if Metsing can claim that he is not being consulted, while he is capable of doing such things without briefing the prime minister. He has been doing lots of things without consulting the PM, but he had never heard him roaming around and complaining. For example, he fired Minister Thahane and the principal secretary of the Ministry of Communications and many more without consulting the prime minister.

Political debate

I attended a press conference at Manthabiseng Convention Centre held by the LCD Executive Committee, when Mr. Metsing clearly said that the LCD continues as a coalition government and denounces the agreement signed with the DC.

Political debate

I wonder if the LCD will not be cheated by DC when it comes to proportional representation seats in the coming elections. If you can still recall that in 2007, the LCD led by Pakalitha Mosisili, had a partnership with the NIP; after elections they allocated NIP only four seats

and the majority belonged to the LCD. I am afraid that history is going to repeat itself, since the DC is the one dominating in this case. Back at home in the Lebakeng constituency, members of the DC are lobbying LCD members to join, because their leader and the national committee have already joined DC.

Political debate

Metsing claims that government is three-legged, while his party is limping with one committee instead of three which their constitution provides. He should also tell us which law calls for His Majesty to open the parliament while it is prorogued. He wants the parliamentarians to come back and sing the national anthem again in parliament.

Political debate

On Sunday, I attended the LCD rally. At this rally I heard the commander of the army speak and say the prime minister was wrongly advised. This was the shock of my life. The army commander at the political rally!

Political debate

In 1998 the Basotho National Party dragged the army into the mission of overthrowing the BCP government. As a result, some of the junior officers including myself were imprisoned. I am scared that the congresses are once again dragging the army into a coup. Unfortunately I realize that they have fallen into the temptation of accepting this. Consequently they will suffer the consequences.

Political debate

It seems that this had been misunderstood. My suggestion was certainly not that I was saying the army will intervene. Let me explain myself. I said Mr. Kamoli and Ts'ooana will assist with their role in the state council.

Political debate

I would like to ask you a question, Mr T'sehlana. What caliber of politicians do we have? I heard Metsing saying that prorogation is undemocratic. I want to know whether there are

some parts of the constitution which are undemocratic. Is this the caliber of the politicians Lesotho has?

Political debate

Now I am totally lost - is the problem of the coalition government the prorogation? Over this particular radio station I heard some people say the investors are leaving Lesotho because of prorogation. Are these people saying this because they have realized that the Basotho are ignorant and won't follow up what they are saying? I want to know whether the LCD problems started after prorogation.

Political debate

Furthermore, we want to know whether these people we have elected represent us or their own interests in parliament. I also want to know whether they are at liberty to do as they wish without consulting us in constituencies. My question is: Is it them or Basotho who want to overthrow the Prime Minister in Parliament? In the previous government, we had never heard of His Majesty signing; it was always done by the then prime minister. His Majesty is right to eliminate selfish interests.

Political debate

Last week, I phoned to inform you that on Monday I was attacked. As a result, I have intensified security. When fighting there should be strategies. I personally went to the prime minister to inform him about the situation, and he allayed our fears, saying these are just threats for you to flee the country so that Lesotho appears to be unstable. Don't be surprised if the report from New Zealand could say people have learned love and sympathy for everyone. That will be a pure lie, because it is not yet over.

Political debate

I was once a member of parliament and advocating for the Makhaleng constituency development. By so doing, I attracted a lot of criticism and insults from various principal secretaries of ministries. Consequently, I decided to report the matter to Mr Thabane. In his response, he said I should expect worse as long as I stood for the truth and as an advocate

for the community. He further said that the people will support you if what you are doing is for their benefit.

Political debate

The problem is not the law, but a particular person in this who is a power mongerer. The leader of the LCD said from the onset that when he was cheated, some people were asking why was he silent. Even in this case, we may say the silence of the prime minister means concern. That silence might be important, but it depends on the angle which you are looking at it. My advice to our leaders is that they must seek a foreign mediator constituted by the white people, because black people obey them. Apart from that, democracy is the white people's governance orientation. It is only the white people that can assist in restructuring governance in Lesotho. This conflict can't just be resolved by the ordinary people who will be tempted to take sides.

Political debate

In 1993 and 1998 we fought for the liberation of this country from petty things. Lesotho requires firm and instructive mediation which is capable of giving them binding recommendations.

Political debate

I am the member of the LCD from Mphahle's Hoek constituency No 51. We have heard that Metsing and Maseribane have agreed to negotiate, but we have not heard from the ABC. My own observation is that the coalition government will collapse due to selfishness and hatred. I therefore call upon the Basotho to pray to prevent the bloodshed in Lesotho. What I have realized is that the leadership of the LCD destroys the party. I have a problem with the suspension of the secretary general because it leads to the spilt of the party. However, this country will be governed, no matter what.

Political debate

When listening to people on the street raising their dissatisfaction about the government, one simply realises that they do not anticipate the consequences and danger of dissolving parliament and being governed by the LCD and DC. To avoid this, we are required to protect

the coalition government. We need mediation to calm down Metsing so that he can cancel their agreement with the DC. Personally, I dislike the partnership of the LCD and the DC. Surely some of you know why I dislike this partnership.

Caller attitude

I thank the heaven and PC FM and your guest, because you have informed the Basotho and now they know the truth rather than a skipping rope game played by Metsing. Now I have an answer to what Mosisili was referring to when he sent Metsing to ask for the parliament to be open. Kindly provide Metsing this documentation to read, so that he can refrain. These are my views as a politicians, not PC FM. Metsing is no longer referring to his initial agenda of consultation and cheating in allocation of senate positions.

Caller attitude

You had great staff for those who love this country. This calls for the formation of a truth and reconciliation commission in order to uproot the propaganda which has been spread, that the National Party members have killed the Congress Party members.

Positive attitude

Fortunately, I was part of the cabinet of ministers' retreat in TY where we were trained by New Zealand consultants about coalition government. I learned three things: appreciation, tolerance and trustworthiness. These three things are not expensive for the sake of Lesotho.

Biblical expression

When you read Corinthians 11:13-15, you will realize that people like evil more than righteousness. I promised to give you some documents, and now Masoetsa has done it. The children of the congresses have been fed this propaganda and have terrifying resentment.

Negative attitude

The leader of the LCD has handled the national issues carelessly, because he asserts that they partnered with the DC to fight prorogation. This is not true, because he announced their partnership on Wednesday, while parliament closure was announced on Saturday. Mr. Mosisili, at the rally in Mapoteng, indicated that their agreement was signed two months

ago. Mr. Metsing has to tell Basotho the truth, that parliament was closed to counter their agreement with the DC.

In the past, there is nowhere where the parliament had to monitor how state funds are spend and held those who have misused them accountable. He is just using this as propaganda and to frustrate the cabinet services. He is also misleading this nation, because he quotes the constitution where it suits him, because there is nowhere in the constitution that provides for him to form a government with 25 seats in parliament; rather, it provides for 60+. Since this was in his favour, he is silent about it. He is not fighting the fact that he is a deputy prime minister without the provision of the Lesotho constitution.

Negative attitude

The LCD statements contradict and Metsing wants to be with the DC, that is all. I don't trust him anymore. Metsing is just playing with words. He does not have vision in all his agreements particularly with the DC. He didn't anticipate that his decision will split the party. If their pain emanates from the breaking of the procedures, the coalition government will continue until 2017. But if he has a hidden agenda. The government is going to collapse.

Positive attitude

Mr. Metsing is clear; he wants peaceful rule in Lesotho, However, he doesn't have the power to open the parliament.

Negative attitude

Mr T'sehlana ,why are you lying to us? We understand that it is His Majesty who signed, but he was advised to do so. Therefore, we are talking to the advisor. Secondly, Mr. T'sehlana, you are implicating Mr. Mochoboroane and Mr. Metsing. We are fully aware that the parliament will not be open. In addition, we don't have power to send His Majesty into exile, not unless it will be the prime minister who will do so. In addition, we are also aware that Mr. T'sehlana is not employed to benefit the public, but rather to canvass for his employer. However, I foresee the prime minister ruling without parliament.

Negative attitude

Mr. T'sehlana, today has totally changed. I don't remember where the parties asked His Majesty to open the parliament. The party leaders know the law even more than Mr. T'sehlana does. The leaders were sending Metsing to ask the prime minister to advise His Majesty to open the parliament, because he is the only one who has absolute power to advise him to do so. Ms. Puseletso and Mr. T'sehlana, I beg you, don't misinterpret these people in the manner that infringes their rights to express their views on the debated issues.

Positive attitude

I apologize for that. Ms. Puseletso, why don't you stop Mr. T'sehlana when implicating other parties. I reckon your license provides for that. It is your responsibility to stop him and protect the radio. Mr. T'sehlana, you must go around with caution because we are aware that you are canvassing, not delivering public services.

Positive attitude

Mr. T'sehlana is telling us the truth. I know the congress that I was a member of congress until I fled the country. They have to tell us if His Majesty is a joke. The congress in 1993 have overridden our candidate by the one liked by leadership; however, justice was delivered. The congresses are untrustworthy.

Negative attitude

There is nothing good that is going to happen as long as we have Metsing and Mochoboroane in this government. They are untrustworthy, those people. We are watching him. They must be clear. They have been chasing away the PS that won the case in the courts. This country does not have a future under their leadership. When fighting the DPP dismissal, what are they trying to conceal?

Negative attitude

T'sehlana, you have got bread now and you have left us in Sankatana. When I am listening to Mr. T'sehlana, he likes peace. Why don't you advise for negotiations?

Negative attitude

The situation in the country is not yet stable. The situation in the country is like the dog known to be harmless, but in most cases, it bites people. People are trying by all means to win the battle; people are applying their techniques. We are in the revolution period. The situation in this country is more dangerous than ever, because it is deceitful.

Negative attitude

It is not yet over. You will learn from the people who went to New Zealand who returned back, saying New Zealand is not the same as Lesotho. This means that their observation is not going to change the situation. The struggle is still continuing. They say that they are not fighting; they have put ignorance in front of those who do not read the situation. You must learn from their words because we cannot read a human's heart. There is a Sesotho proverb which says, a human's horns are in the stomach. Haven't you heard people who are saying they are not the ones who are fighting? They have just used an ignorant person who proposed the motion of no confidence to the prime minister.

Polite behaviour

Even though I may appear to be brave, I am still frightened by the situation in the country. I have been crying for the truth and reconciliation commission. The leaders of this country have been running away from this request because they want to retaliate.

Political debate

In 1998 there was a problem with elections. I am telling you that there have been rows, that the criminals have hijacked their government. After every elections in the country, we have foreign intervention, exclusive of the 2002 elections. Even in the recent election, we had mediators because the previous ruling party, the DC, assumes that its government has been hijacked. They are in the process of plotting a coup. If Thabane is not attentive, they are going to overthrow him through a coup or in parliament, if he can open the parliament.

Positive attitude

You are not the only one who realized his silence. When he was here in Mphosong, he said he will not respond to them. You will recall that in the previous government the prime

minister had never said a word. The only person who was fighting was Thomas Thabane, the then minister of foreign affairs.

Positive attitude

The Prime Minister must be quiet, but there are some people who have to respond. For example, Mr T'sehlana was expelled from one radio station. He is right to stop them. They may try to remove the butterfly from the electric bulb with a force that may destroy the lamp; it will be dark. He is right to rebuke his followers to refrain from all noise and corruption.

The Prime Minister knows what he is doing. Have you ever seen someone playing “koroasetina” in the blanket with him?

Negative attitude

There are petty things that he should not respond to. But there are some issues that he needs to respond to, to assure the nation. The petty issues will be handled by Mr T'sehlana and Mr Thakalekoala. The previous rulers were silent. Mr. Leabua was quiet when youth and army persecuted the nation, until he was overthrown, and Ntsu Mokhehle was silent until he was overthrown by Bolofo. Even the split of the DC from the LCD was the result of too much silence of Pakalitha Mosisili. I am saying leaders should come forward to assure and allay people's fears when situations like these arise. The congress failed to rule alone. Silence in some instances is dangerous. Because when people are persecuted and flee to South Africa, they will leave him for good.

Biblical expression

I am glad to access this information, because we don't get this information at Mokhotlong. However, I do provide this Bible quotation. 1Timothy 6:12 says we must fight a faithful battle and keep faith. In addition, Jesus asked the men who accused the woman caught committing adultery to stone her if they are not sinful. The Bible says they all ran away and there was left only the woman and Jesus.

Biblical expressions

God has created a person with one mouth and two ears. It means that you have to listen more than talking. There is another saying which says an empty vessel is noisy.

Idiomatic expression

Every person vomits what he has eaten. Lekhoakhoa must keep quiet and he will know what they are up to with their speech.

Idiomatic expression

Logically, a horse pulls a cart, not the other way.

Comparison

Politics are different from the family where the conflicts are resolved through silence and avoiding arguments. If ever you kept quiet when they named you, people will accept that you are a prostitute. If ever I kept quiet when I was called a renegade who cannot get an army burial, people were convinced that I am a renegade. While in politics you will be silent forever, because people will conclude that silence means concern. People listen to radio stations that provide them with burning issues and participate in their debates. For example, people listen to PC FM because it gives them issues to debate, unlike rural areas where people do not read newspapers: they take what they are told by these people.

Negative attitude

The challenge of the coming negotiations is that the other partner has already made the decision that he withdraws from the coalition government. We rather bid him farewell and prosperity in his new agreement.

Negative attitude

Always the people have their own interests. Yesterday while I was walking on the streets of Hlotse, I heard that I am the one who planned the burning of the T shirts. For the negotiations tomorrow, I wish them fruitful deliberations. Provided Mr. Metsing truly has not cancelled their agreement with the DC tomorrow, negotiations are just but a formality.

Negative attitude

The coalition government does not have vision. There is a quotation of Martin Luther King which says, if you don't have a vision, you are dead. We have to pray for these leaders to have vision, or help in development of the vision.

Positive attitude

I want to protect the ABC. Thabane showed that they are looking forward to the negotiations. Leaving aside our political interests and affiliation as the Basotho nation, we are looking forward for the negotiations, too. However, the challenge is the agreement between the LCD and the DC. Mr. Metsing announced their partnership in the presence of Mr. Thabane and he did not refute it.

Positive attitude

We are looking forward to the negotiations hoping that Mr. Metsing is not going there for fun because of their new partnership with the DC.

Negative attitude

Mr. Metsing is already engaged with DC. Why is he going to the negotiations? The prorogation is lawful and who can resist what His Majesty has done lawfully.

4.2. Interpretation

4.2.1. Show host's comments

At the beginning of every show, the talk show hosts in both the Thahameso and Tsa Mabatooa political talk shows which have been recorded , transcribed and translated. present the topics to be debated and invite the listeners'/ callers' and guests' participation on the issues presented but throughout all the programmes callers deride such topics by debating the history of the volatile political environment in Lesotho, revealing the influence of South Africa in steering the instability in Lesotho, also relating such information to the current issues debated.

For example, the talk show host presents a topic to be debated as follows: " In my hands I have the two documents that describe the current political situation in the coalition government." The callers instead of focusing on the topic presented decide to bring issues of

what happened in the past. The congress governments ignored the infiltration of politics into the army and now this is recurring. In 1998 the Leon commission recommended similar things. What you said about Mosisili and foreign intervention is exactly what I told him. Today the congresses are the ones planning a coup against Tom Thabane. By so saying they prevent him from seeking intervention to defend himself. You also indicated that Leabuo brought artillery from Korea. It is true, I am one of the soldiers who received them from the airport and the very same artillery was taken by SANDF in 1998 and some of them have been destroyed while some were never returned. You are not fighting them but divulging their carelessness. "Because thokolosi e hlasetse kajeno" proverb.

In some of the talk shows the host introduces a programme by presenting a number of issues he/she wants to be debated but specifies some issues, or one issue, he wants listeners to focus on.

For example, in the Tsa Mabatoa programme, the talk show host presented about five issues in his introduction of the programme but channelled the listeners to focus only on one topic he had an interest in. As a result, he derides listeners who do not follow his interests. "We are going to discuss the petition handed to the PM by the Basotho National Party Youth League, the case of the principal secretary of the Ministry of Communications, Science and Technology, Noknuleleko Zaly and the official trip of the prime minister and deputy prime minister to Namibia to discuss the issues of the SADC Organ on Politics hand-over to Lesotho, discuss the memorial service of Mr. Mosotho the political analyst and discuss the arrest of the four employees of the Ministry of Local Government and Chieftainship and Parliamentary Affairs allegedly for fraud of 53 million."

While the Thahameso talk show host introduces the programme in this manner: "I don't want us to tabulate what transpired throughout but now we realize that it has subsided. Maybe there will be some who can explain the situation better when some cannot. What is still prevailing is the strong language used in political rallies. Therefore can we say that we have stability in this country?" Here the talk show host does not provide a specific topic for debate and this allows the callers/listeners to bring anything which interests them and they want to share in relation to the prevailing political situation in Lesotho.

“The Basotho like the monarchy because it is the symbol of our unity. His Majesty was honored by internationals because he represented Lesotho in African Unity as an ambassador in the campaign of nutrition. Do you really respect His Majesty decisions? We are in the week of the commemoration of his 51st birthday. The country is celebrating the 48th year of independence of Lesotho. What have we achieved as the country?” Here the show host influences the manner in which the listeners/ callers will debate in the programme by generalizing that the Basotho like the monarchy. In this programme the show host has influenced the callers’ behavior and attitude towards the topic to be discussed by posing a question, which says “Do you really respect His Majesty’s decision?” Naturally every human being likes to be associated with good and positive things.

4.4.2. Guest comments

“The British made no mistake by not making Ntsu Mokhehle a prime minister of Lesotho. This conclusion was reached after assessing and analysing him in 1959 that Mokhehle cannot be given a chance to be a prime minister of Lesotho because he is not trustworthy. In 1960 Lesotho held its first local government elections and they were won by the BCP. In 1965 there was another election won by the BNP.” This is one of the comments made by a guest on Thahameso that had an influence on callers’ attitude in the debate. It also reveals the attitude of the guest and has influenced how the callers/listeners participated in the debate. For example this listener/caller says “I thank you very much, because I am a LCD youth member. Now I have the answers to the questions I had about the DC visitors we had at the LCD leader rally on Sunday. These have eased the disillusion we got from various radio stations. You are a Godsent messenger because we did not know of the ulterior motives of the congresses’ reconciliation. At least we know the caliber of leadership we have; we are wondering what our leadership want because they are already in government.

“We have to work very hard to ensure that the coalition government completes its five years term that ends in 2017. I would like to answer those who wonder why am I working in the Prime Minister’ office. The reason is that we have a common goal of alleviating abject poverty. The church I am the teacher in has a motto of reaching out for people to have food. As result, I am going to shake most the parliamentarians in their constituencies. I have been called to assist people to understand how we can alleviate poverty together as the nation. The propaganda spread to people has to come to an end.” Here the guest is appealing to the

listeners/callers to join forces to protect the coalition government and allow it to complete its five years term.

4.4.3. Callers comments

“The coalition government does not have vision. There is a quotation of Martin Luther King which says if you don’t have a vision you are dead. We have to pray for these leaders to have vision or help them in development of the vision.” This is a negative comment that arose in the debate from one of the callers while debating an issue of the volatile political climate of Lesotho.

“The challenge of the coming negotiations is that the other partner has already made the decision that he withdraws from the coalition government. We rather bid him farewell and prosperity in his new agreement.” The listener/caller is contributing to the debate on the political environment created by the LCD when they decided to quit the coalition government partnership and sign a partnership agreement with opposition party Democratic Congress(DC).

“In 1998 there was a problem with elections. I am telling you that there have been rows that the criminals have hijacked their government. After every election in the country we have foreign intervention, exclusive of the 2002 elections. Even in the recent election we had mediators because the previous ruling party DC assumes that its government has been hijacked. They are in the process of plotting a coup. If Thabane is not attentive, they are going to overthrow him through a coup or in parliament if he can open the parliament.” At this point the caller uses history to describe the current coalition government problems by tracing Lesotho’s post election problems as far back as 1998 where the opposition took to the street to contest that the elections were not free and fair, explaining that the DC is not happy about the elections outcome and the formation of the coalition government.

Caller says, “I am glad to access this information, because we don’t get this information in Mokhotlong. Adds that, 1 Timothy 6:12 says we must fight a faithful battle and keep faith. In addition, Jesus asked men who accused the woman caught committing adultery, to stone her if they are not sinful. The bible says they all ran away and there was left only the woman and Jesus.” The caller/listener expresses his gratitude for having a platform for debate such as PC FM and also uses the biblical expression to describe his view in order to avoid being

caught in a situation of bad-mouthing the political figures who created the prevailing political situation.

“Politics are different from the family where the conflicts are resolved through silence and avoiding arguments. If ever you kept quiet when they named you, people will accept that you are a prostitute. If ever I kept quite when I was called a renegade who cannot get an army burial, people were convinced that I am a renegade. While in politics you will be silent forever because people will conclude that silence means concern. People listen to radio stations that provide them with burning issues and participate in their debates. For example people listen to PC FM because it gives them the information they want to hear.”

In some of the talk shows there are some callers and listeners who have opted to use some biblical expressions and figurative expressions to express their views avoiding libel or law suits since Lesotho still has some archaic laws that are sometimes used to silence media and those who participate in political talk shows such as Thahameso and Tsa Mabatooa and in other radio stations and newspapers. For instance, “When you read Corinthians 11:13-15, you will realize that people like evil more than righteousness. I promised to give you some documents and now Masoetsa has done it. The children of the congresses have been fed this propaganda and have a terrifying resentment.”

In this data I have observe the repetition of information from one caller in both Thahameso on PC FM and Harvest FM political talk shows. The example of the repetition is “In 1993 and 1998 we fought for the liberation of this country from petty things. Lesotho requires firm and instructive mediation which is capable of giving binding recommendations.”

“In 1998 when Buthelezi was an acting president of SA, he fulfilled the desire of the congresses and sent SANDF to Lesotho and there was bloodshed. Similarly Metsing, when he was an acting prime minister, wrote to the SADC about what he described as an uncontrollable situation in Lesotho and my personal experience within the army.” The caller here is sharing his own personal experience in the army where there was political infiltration that led them to fight within the army.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.0. Introduction

This chapter provides the discussion on what the researcher has discovered from both the literature review and the recorded and analysed data from the People's Choice FM Thahameso programme and the Harvest FM Tsa Mabatooa programme.

5.1. Discussion

The aim of this study was to investigate the role of the private radio stations in promoting free public debate in Lesotho. In order to achieve this aim, the researcher reviewed global literature on the role of mass media, especially radio, because it was the specific media being focused on. The literature reviewed revealed that globally mass media communication, radioinclusive, plays a connecting role in democracy. Gunther and Mughan (2003:3) posit that mass media communication is central to the dynamics of the relationship between governors and governed in all types of regimes. This was also investigated from the two private radio stations, which the researcher sampled for the specific objective of finding out whether radio has a role to play in promoting free debate in Lesotho.

In the data collected, the researcher is focusing on identifying political debate, idiomatic expressions, biblical expressions and negative and positive attitudes in the comments, questions and speech made by show hosts, callers and guests in the programs, that reveal the role of private radio stations in promoting free debate.

Fones-Wolf (2006:14) points out that radio stations are an instrument of the mass media that are indeed able to promote a new national self-awareness. According to Fones-Wolf, radio phone-in is the most popular amusement in the United States; it epitomises consumer culture and grows the size of audience at a phenomenal rate, rendering radio an integral part of citizens' daily life (Fones-Wolf 2006:16). Hence, radio plays a particularly significant role in emerging public communication processes, since it facilitates information dissemination beyond the transport limits of print media (e.g. poor roads, printing times and equipment), sidestepping the literacy limits of near-illiterate audiences, as well as bridging, to some extent, the spiral of silence for audiences who are marginalised because of their

education, remoteness or non-access to written forms of communication (African Media Barometer 2011:54). In addition to the receiving of information, audiences can contribute programme content and feedback to radio programming through oral expression, thus they can overcome inherent limits to their education level. This is particularly significant in vernacular radio station programming where the mother tongue can be utilised, thus allowing audience members with low formal education to present their views and interact with others as fully-fledged adult participants in the social context, without feeling inferior to those who may speak more languages and have better written skills, especially in the regional language of English.

In the data collected from both Tsa Mabatooa and Thahameso, all listeners are awarded an equal opportunity to contribute to the show. This is revealed in all programmes where show hosts invite the listeners to contribute to the topic debated. An example of this is where the host decides to cut short the recording she was playing, for the audience to have a chance to give their views on the information provided.

“This recording is long and I stop it here to award you an opportunity to debate. Right in front of me I have the high court charge sheet where three LCD members, T’sitso Phooko, Motlatsi Marapo and Ramot’sabi Moisa from Thetsane constituency sued the LCD, the national executive committee and leader Mr. Mothetjoa Metsing. This case will take place on the 4 August 2014 at 9.30 am. The complaint is about the agreement signed by the LCD National Executive Committee and DC.”

In some cases, where the show host feels that in the programme there was a side of the story which was not represented, he/she extends an invitation to people to take the liberty to debate the issues that concern them. For example, a show host on Thahameso in PC FM, at the end of the programme when the guest revealed sensitive information about certain politicians, extended an invitation to anyone who wanted to counter what her guest Mr Masoetsa presented, to come forward. “I announce here that I have already found such a person. We will be here tomorrow if the marketing department permits me to continue with the discussion”.

Another example of a liberty awarded to listeners is revealed where the show host has just posed a question and invited listeners to call the studio phone numbers to respond to the question posed. “Can we really say there is stability in the country? Callers contribute on

51519956 because line 21219956 is not working. Are you saying we have peace, or is this dog just lying?"

This has also been observed in Tsa Mabatooa where a show host presents information and invites listeners to phone in and debate the issue tabled for debate,

"Basotho, here are the issues and I will not say anything on them, they are there to be debated by you. The telephone numbers are 51519899 and 21219899. The programme you are logged on to is Tsa Mabatooa, a political debate program."

This is the example of the liberty provided to the listeners to contribute to the programme content.

"Today we are going to debate the problems of MKM where workers have boycotted their duties. Here, a serious problem is that the (MKM) issue is highly politicised by the opposition parties, which claim that Thabane in his elections campaigns promised to resolve the problems of MKM but has failed.

Besides that, Mr Thabo Thakalekoala will call into the programme to enlighten the Basotho about the position of the government of Lesotho on the chairmanship of the SADC Organ of Ppolitics, Defence and Security. There are some rumours that Lesotho is going to take the chairmanship of the SADC Organ of Politics, Defence and Security. For clarification, we are going to talk to Mr Thabo Thakalekoala to give us the real story. You indicated that the commander of the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) is leaving; who is going to host the Indian Deputy Commander?

Furthermore, I am going to have Mr Monyake, the member of parliament for the Stadium Area constituency no. 31 and the founder of the Progressive Democrats' Party (PDP) to talk about his part in the launch. Finally, I will talk to the leader of the newly formed party Revolution Alliance of Democracy (RAD)."

Lastly, here is another example of how show hosts on radio provide an opportunity to listeners to contribute to content freely without intimidation.

"We are going to discuss the petition handed to the PM by the Basotho National Party Youth League, the case of the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Communications, Science and Technology, Noknuleleko Zaly and the official trip of the prime minister and deputy prime minister of Namibia to discuss the issues of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security hand- over to Lesotho, discuss the memorial service of Mr. Mosotho, the political analyst, and discuss the arrest of the four employees of the Ministry of Local Government and Chieftainship and Parliamentary Affairs allegedly for fraud of 53 million."

In order to achieve the objective of this study, the researcher had the specific objective, to identify political debate, attitude and expressions in the comments made by the show hosts, guests and the listeners/callers in all programmes sampled. Firstly, the researcher discussed political debate in these two programmes by show hosts, guests and listeners/callers, followed by the attitude shown by show hosts, guests and listeners/callers. Lastly, the expressions given by show hosts, guests and listeners/callers were traced. Political debate was divided into three categories, i.e., political issues relating to pre-independence Lesotho, independence and the period of 1994-2014.

Equitable opportunity to voice opinions on air has been portrayed in the political debate observed in both the Thahameso and Tsa Mabatooa programmes sampled in this study, where the callers have contributed their experiences and knowledge of political issues of the pre-independence and independence eras. For example, a caller/listener shared his experience of political infiltration in the army as follows:

“In 1998 the Basotho National Party dragged the army into the mission of overthrowing the BCP government. As a result, some of the junior officers including myself were imprisoned. I am scared that the congresses are once again dragging the army into a coup. Unfortunately, I realize that they have fallen into the temptation of accepting this. Consequently, they will suffer the consequences.”

Coronel (2011:10) adds that in many new democracies, radio has become the medium of choice as a less expensive and more accessible and effective instrument in promoting grass-roots democracy, by providing an alternative source of information to official channels and reflecting linguistic diversity. For example, one caller freely reveals the conspiracy planned by politicians a decade ago, without fearing of prosecution.

“In 1993 Rets’elisitsoe Sekhonyana invited me to use the army to destabilize the government of Ntsu Mokhehle. When I refused I was hated. I want to highlight that the point in the Khoarai Commission’s recommendations that seeks all who were involved to be charged, was ignored”.

The caller compares what he has read about with what the show guest has presented and provide a comparative analysis of situation he read about with what has recently happened in the Lesotho politics. He provides a link between the history and present political situation

in Lesotho for example he is quoting the activities of Vandeberg during apartheid and the situation that led Tom Thabane to leave LCD and form ABC. He states,

“In a nutshell, Leabuoja was clever and realized that he can’t defeat the giant SA physically and resorted to peaceful measures to gain Free State. The very same assassin had a relationship with the congress party”.

Krug and Price (2002:2) posit that the media industry, whether public or private, plays an important role in any economy by providing support or opposition for those who govern, by providing a voice for the people. For example, laws that create the structural underpinning of independent media are necessary for development of civil society but alone they do not guarantee how the media will function (Krug and Price 2002:2). According to Krug and Price, for the media to function, the society must value the role that media play. The laws alone are just like important building blocks; meaning that creation of culture of effective independent pluralistic media has an important role to play. For example, one society cannot take the laws of another society and plug them into the process of transition. The guest who is invited to counter what has been said about their movement, provides the content as follows:

“We are here to respond to what Mr. Masoetsa has said about us, particularly when he pointed out that the Lesotho Liberation Army(LLA) killed many people when we were in South Africa (SA). The truth is that the leadership of the BCP fled to Zambia where the leadership had the intention of forming the Lesotho Liberation Army. As a result they send the information to the members of the BCP who would like to join this army and some of us responded from different places and at different dates. When the members of the LLA arrived in SA, they were arrested and killed in large numbers magnitude in the Free State”.

White and Bujitu (2000:8) posit that in the 1965 elections the BNP gained a majority win over the BCP and became the first democratic government in Lesotho. After five years, in the 1970 elections, the BCP narrowly won the elections over the BNP, however the election were annulled and the constitution of the Kingdom of Lesotho, the then Basutoland, was suspended by Prime Minister Leabuoja Jonathan, who declared a state of emergency. King Moshoeshoe II was dethroned, but later was allowed to return as a ceremonial head of state with no political role. The guest in Thahameso programme puts it as follows:

“The British made no mistake to put Ntsu Mokhehle as prime minister. This conclusion was reached after assessing and analysing him in 1959 that Mokhehle cannot be given a chance to be a prime minister of Lesotho. In 1960, Lesotho held its first local government elections and they were won by the BCP. In 1965 there was another election won by BNP. I want to start the history from the 1970s occurrences. Since then we have been fed lies about the political problems of this country, beginning when Leabuaa rigged the outcome of the 1970 elections. We are told that Mokhehle counteracting through seeking support from the Boers is a pure lie. Masoetsa says, “I have the South African intelligence report, which negates all lies that have been fed Basotho over the years. We have to propagate all lies. You need to know the truth that the British people concluded that they could not give Mokhehle power to rule Lesotho.”

In 1970 there was a third election held. It is after these elections that political parties agreed to nullify them because of the discrepancies surrounded them. Consequently, in 1974 Ntsu Mokhehle formed the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA). However he failed to unseat Leabuaa Jonathan from governance.

On the same issue the guest who was invited to counter the allegations made that they killed thousands of people as members of LLA begins by stating that “as human beings we have relationships and we have to maintain them. It is our interest to observe them although they have been shaken by Leabuaa in 1970 when he refused to hand over power to BCP democratically, instead suspending the constitution until 1986 when he was overthrown. Where there is no unity the enemy penetrates easily and deepens the division. What happened in 1970-1974, there were some people who felt that there should be negotiations, however they failed, and in 1974 the BCP leadership fled to Zambia where they formed the LLA. The aims of forming the LLA were to re-institute the constitution and have democratic rule. We have won the battle because the negotiations led to the democratic reformation in Lesotho.”

These presentations indicate that the radio station has provided a platform for the guest to provide the information to those who were not present then, in order to know why Lesotho politics are so volatile up to date. For example, a listener phones in and says,

“The LCD statements contradict and Metsing wants to be with the DC, that is all. I don’t trust him anymore. Metsing is just playing with words. He does not have vision in all his agreements, particularly with the DC. He didn’t anticipate that the decision will cause a split in the party. If their pain emanates from the breaking of the procedure, coalition government will continue until 2017, but if he has a hidden agenda it is going to collapse”.

Another caller says,

“The leader of the LCD has handled the national issues carelessly, because he asserts that they partnered with the DC to fight prorogation. This is not true because he announced their partnership on Wednesday, while parliament closure was announced on Saturday. Mr. Mosisili, at the rally in Mapoteng, indicated that their agreement was signed two months ago. Mr. Metsing has to tell the Basotho the truth that parliament was closed to counter their agreement with the DC.”

The caller says,

Mr Metsing is not telling the public the truth when says the parliament is monitoring the public funds. He further adds that he does not tell the public that is not fighting the fact that he is a deputy prime minister without the provision of the Lesotho constitution.”

Although some callers have freely expressed their political convictions in these two studied programmes, there are those who have used some biblical, idiomatic and other expressions to express their political conviction, hence a need to cover them too.

Political conviction

A statement made by one of the guest invited to Thahameso to provide an analysis of the political situation in Lesotho includes historical information with a strong political view:

“Let me put aside the report and return to my introduction. Indeed I am saying it is very unfortunate that congress ruled this country. They have nothing to offer this country when one investigates their splits since 1994. Mokhehle’s government was symbolized by the “bojela thoko” and or pressure groups. It is because this group wanted to usher in power over Mokhehle and as a result BCP splited and formed the LCD in 1997. In 2002, the LCD splited under the leadership of Mosisili when Maope and other 27 members left the LCD. After this incident, Mosisili vowed publicly that if LCD can split again under his leadership he will resign, but in 2006 when Thabane left the LCD he did not resign.”

“Lesotho was burnt because of power mongering. It is worth mentioning that in September 1989 the military rose to make government powerless. The sections that pose the illegitimacy of government of Lesotho government was rewritten because Langa showed that it was a pure lie that LCD won elections rather elections were rigged. To counter this Lesotho Foreign Affairs took a journey to his closest friend Mugabe to seek advice and the next day the report was withheld in Zimbabwe. Remember we are talking about the Congress Party.”

This part provided the guest’s conviction about the political situation in Lesotho.

Biblical expression

Guest says “Pakalitha Mosisisli said to his followers the Egyptians that you see today you see them nomore in this case he was refering to LCD without realizing that he going into deep end by forming DC with a pot logo.

“They were leaving this empty ants’ house carrying death in a pot as the prophet Elijah in (I Kings 4:40) told the children of Israel that the death is in the pot.” The guest was using this phrase to describe that Mr Mosisili thinks he is running away from the LCD to something better when he forms the DC, but unfortunately their logo was a pot.

Caller says “When read Corinthians 11:13-15 one will realize that people like evil more than righteousness.” He further says “Puseletso I promised to give you some of these documents, however Mr Masoetsa has done it.” He added that, the children of the congress members have been fed this propaganda and therefore have a terrifying resentment.”

These biblical expressions used by both a guest and a caller provided how far the political leadership have gone astray, but avoiding to use direct speech, which may lead to conviction.

Idiomatic expression and comparison

Caller says, “Every person vomits what he has eaten. Lekhoakhoa must keep quiet and he will know what they are up to with their speech.” The caller here uses idiomatic expression to describe the speeches made by the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) Executive Committee and its leader in their press conferences and rallies, without directly quoting them.

The caller furthermore uses the comparison to describe the previous partnership that resulted in the unrest in Lesotho politics where the LCD, under the leadership of Pakalitha Mosisili, cheated the NIP in seat allocation in the 2007 election.

“I wonder if the LCD will not be cheated by DC when it comes to proportional representation seats in the coming elections. If you can still recall, in 2007 the LCD led by Pakalitha Mosisili had a partnership with the NIP. After elections they allocated the NIP only four seats and the themajority belonged to LCD . I am afraid that history is going to repeat itself since the DC is the one dominating in this case.

Back at home in the Lebakeng constituency members of the DC are lobbying the LCD members to join, because their leader and the national committee have already joined the DC”.

The caller expresses his concern about the silence of the prime minister on the assertion made by the LCD executive committee that they are leaving the coalition government. In his view the prime minister was supposed to come forward and make a state address on the issue of concern.

Conclusion

The Commonwealth Experts Team Report (2007:11) reports that freedom of expression in Lesotho exists with a number of radio provided programmes where political parties’ representatives come to the stations and talk about their party’s manifestos and handle call-ins. Kapa (2013:5) asserts that following the historic May 2012 parliamentary elections which resulted in a democratically elected coalition government, even the ministers now take part in public debates in phone-in programmes broadcast by private radio stations on key national issues. For example, the show host of Tsa Mabatooa says,

“ I am waiting for the honourable Ts’olo Temeki to remind us about the retreat of the cabinet ministers held in Berea BMI, where they were trained by the consultants from New Zealand on how to govern in a coalition government”.

The data collected, shows a talk-show host cutting short the information presented to the listeners in order to allow them to express their views on the information presented to them.

Another example is of the show host announcing that the debate is going to be on the petition handed to the prime minister, fraud cases that involves the people in government, and the case that involves the ruling party. In the previous government that would not have been allowed. I conclude that there is still room for more research in this area because Lesotho political volatility continues every day. For example, after the completion of data collection there has been a lot that occurred that has not been covered in this study such as assassination of Lieutenant General Mahao, which is associated with the infiltration of politicians into the Lesotho Defence Force.

5.3. Recommendations

The researcher recommends further study of democratic radio programming, as the findings revealed by this study indicate that news and many debates have emerged in Lesotho relating to political instability , which resulted in intervention by the Southern Africa Development Community political organ.

Research opportunities in this area would include a historical overview of the evident knowledge of the callers about the history of their politicians, as emerging from their comments, a linguistic study of the rhetoric used to explain public annoyance about politicians, the strategic overlap of Sesotho proverbs and English idiom (as studied by Moabi 2014) and lastly, there is ample opportunity to compare the two programmes to other democratic radio programming both in Lesotho and abroad.

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