NAMIBIA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Is language a barrier to public's participation in the law-making process? An analysis of Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Namibia's Parliamentary proceedings in the official language.

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Declaration

    I, *Immanuel Kooper,* hereby declare that the work contained in the thesis entitled "An analysis of the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings during the 2017 and 2018 Parliamentary sessions is my own original work, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in the past submitted it at any university or other higher education institution for the award of a degree.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the issue of language as a barrier to the rights of the public's participation in law-making process and the impact of the live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings by the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). It further looked at the role of the media, specifically NBC, in the facilitation of the citizens' participation in law-making and processes of parliament. The objectives of the study were to establish the role of the NBC, in the facilitation of citizens' participation in the law making and processes of parliament. It also critically analyse the extent to which language is a barrier to the public's participation in the law-making process and finally analysed the impact of Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings in English on the citizenry. For the purpose of data collection, the researcher employed the qualitative research approach by conducting interviews with Namibian citizens. The study revealed that the role of the media in facilitating citizen participation in law-making and parliamentary processes is critical and significant because the media create knowledge and awareness on governance issues and parliamentary functions such as the law-making process. The study also found that language is a barrier to the citizens' participation in the law-making process. Based on these findings, the study recommended that translation be considered during the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings and that a dedicated radio and television channel be established to involve more citizens in the law-making and processes of government.

Keywords: Citizens, law-making, language, barrier, parliament, proceedings, participation, translation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a brief overview of the study, which investigates the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings by the National Broadcaster (NBC) in the official language and the subsequent impact of these broadcasts in English on the country's citizens. The following issues are described in this chapter: the background of the study, the problem statement, the objectives and the significance of the study, and the limitations and delimitations of the study. A summary of the methodology and the definition of key terms are provided.

1.2. Background of the study

A free, open public space is the cornerstone for a thriving democracy, where development is influenced by open dialogue concerning people's lives because it gives them room and opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes of a government (Lugalambi, Mwesige, Bussiek, 2010). The role of the media in this regard continues to be critical as it informs society about their right to participate in the governance of the country (Bouchet, 2003). The independent media, free from government intimidation, somehow play a significant role in creating knowledge and awareness about governance issues and parliamentary functions, for example, the law-making process (Bouchet, 2003).

The establishment of the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) under the Namibian Broadcasting Act 9 of 1991(2) gave NBC the mandate and objectives to inform and entertain the citizens of the country (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991). NBC backs the learning and accord of the nation-state and harmony in the country (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991). NBC is to afford and publish data applicable to the well-being and growth of the country to encourage the use and acceptance of the English language (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991).

Based on the Broadcasting Policy of the country, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) should contribute to limitless possibilities for all sectors of society, be it the public sector, civil society, or industry (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991). There is doubt that the national broadcaster's live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings and processes in the official language (English) reaches all citizens in all four corners of the country to become well informed and participate. This study is therefore needed to investigate the role of the media, specifically NBC, in facilitating citizen participation fully, without prejudice in the law-making and processes of Parliament.

The study further aims to investigate the issue of language as a barrier to the rights of the public's participation in law-making processes and the impact of live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings by the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) on the citizens of the country. The researcher took as an example, the law-making and governance processes during the Parliamentary sittings of the 2017/2018 calendar year of Parliament.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Parliamentary proceedings are conducted and broadcasted in English which may leave a high chance that some citizens do not follow the proceedings due to the language barrier. The use of English in parliamentary proceedings does not encourage public engagement because the literacy levels of a particular segment of the population, especially among the rural poor, are still low as per the 2011 Namibia Population and Housing Census (2011 Housing and Population Census, 2011). Suppose the public is denied a chance to participate in issues that involve them due to the language barrier. In that case, they are certainly denied their human right to participate in issues of national concern (Frydman, 2011).

Although the 2011 national census statistics indicate the literacy rate at 88.27% of the population, English as the first language is spoken by only 0.8% of the population hence, the English proficiency by Namibians is indeed at a second language level (Wolfaardt, 2005). Using English for parliamentary proceedings and processes leaves a high chance that some citizens do not follow the proceedings due to the language barrier. It does not encourage engagement by the majority of the public due to the low level of literacy,

especially among the rural poor (Frydman, 2011). In the main, the study aims to investigate the issue of language as a barrier to the rights of the public's participation in law-making processes and the impact of the live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings by the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The researcher took as an example the law-making and governance processes, during the Parliamentary sittings of the 2017/2018 calendar year of Parliament. The decision to choose the 2017/2018 calendar year of Parliament has no significant bearing on the overall outcome of the research study as laws, regardless of being dealt with or passed by Parliament during the mentioned years or the years prior or currently, remain relevant to the research problem. Throughout the literature search, the researcher did not come across similar studies conducted in the country apart from a study conducted in Nairobi, Kenya by Airo Joseph .S. Okong'o, depicting similarities but different research problems and outcomes.

1.4. Objectives of the study

The main aim of this study is to investigate the extent to which language is a barrier to the public's participation in law-making processes. The study further aims to analyse the role of the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings of the 6th Parliament during the 2017 and 2018 parliamentary sessions in influencing public participation among citizens. Several objectives underpin the study:

- To establish the role of the NBC, in facilitating citizen participation in law-making and processes of the Parliament.
- To critically analyse the extent to which language is a barrier to the public's participation in the law-making processes.
- To analyse the impact of Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings in English on the citizenry during the 2017 and 2018 Parliamentary sessions.

1.5. Significance of the study

Many citizens if not all of those attending or following parliamentary processes and proceedings through the media, specifically the NBC, may benefit from the study. The government will be able to engage the citizens meaningfully through the media, especially the national broadcaster, if broadcasts in other native languages are considered, to reach the majority of the population. Civic education on parliamentary

processes and proceeding may be beneficial that can be translated into various vernacular languages to accommodate as many citizens as possible.

1.6. Delimitations of the Study

The study was conducted in Windhoek which is the capital city of Namibia and the seat of the Namibian Parliament. The NBC headquarters are also located in Windhoek, making it easier to gather the required information to back the research study.

1.7. Summary of Methodology

The study employed the qualitative research approach, and interviews were conducted with Namibian citizens. A sample size of 10 participants from a population of Windhoek residents was purposively selected to participate in the interview process, probing the issues, for example, the language barrier and live broadcasting of proceedings on television. Another population used in the interviews were the lawmakers consisting of 10 Members of Parliament, purposively selected from 138 elected Members of Parliament that included the Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairperson of the National Council. These interviews conducted with the citizens, lawmakers, and the manager for programmes of the national broadcaster (NBC) were to explore the significance of the only use of the official language and the importance of live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings on NBC. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, required health protocols were observed, by applying the needed social distancing measures when interviews were conducted. Data analysis was done through thematic analysis following a deductive approach based on the existing theory and knowledge. Emerging themes were also well noted.

1.8. Definitions of Key Concepts

Parliament: The legislative pillar of government consisting of the National Assembly or Lower House and the National Council, the Upper House or House of Review.

Parliamentary Proceedings: Deliberative issues guided by rules of order and procedure under the standing rules and orders. Precedents and practices commonly employed in the governance of deliberative assemblies.

Public Participation: Public participation is the involvement of the public in addressing problems that affect the citizenry and is an essential element of democracy (Concepta, 2018). People, civil society organizations (CSOs), and any other person or institution impacted the development of policies and laws that affects them.

Public Service Broadcasting: Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) is broadcasting made, financed, and controlled by the public, for the public. It is neither commercial nor state-owned, free from political interference and pressure from commercial forces. Through PSB, citizens are informed, educated, and also entertained. The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) is a public service broadcaster and has editorial liberty to provide Namibians with a variety of quality programmes, including local content.

Live Broadcast of Parliamentary Proceedings: Live broadcast or transmission through various types of media for example TV, radio, and the internet which is broadcasted without interruption or delay.

Law-making process: A form of the state activity proposed on the creation (or revision) of the legal norms to guide the governance process.

1.9. Thesis outline

This study proceeds as follows:

Chapter 1 is a description of the overview of the study. Following issues were highlighted in this chapter; the background of the study that deals with the concept of public participation and the important role the media plays, the significance of broadcasting parliamentary proceedings live, and what impact it has on the citizenry. The study briefly looked at the history of the Namibian Parliament and the bills passed during the 6th Parliament, specifically focused on the 2017 and 2018 parliamentary sessions.

The statement of the problem identified language as the barrier to the public's participation in the law-making processes while the objectives analyzed the role of NBC's live broadcasting of the parliamentary proceedings.

The chapter further looked at the significance of the study, its delimitations, and the summary of the methodology used and defined the key terms used in the study.

Chapter 2 presents the literature review looking at the situational analysis that focuses on the NBC's live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings and the citizens' participation in the law-making processes.

The chapter analyses literature concerned with democratic governance issues and the role of the media on matters of development of a country. Television and broadcasting policy matters are analysed, and the relevance of public service broadcasting in the context of this particular study.

English as a language, in the African context and being the official language of Namibia, the role it is playing in participatory democracy was looked at in this chapter.

The theoretical framework focuses on Habermas' theory of the public sphere, of which tenets are that opinions are formed around social and cultural needs within a society and that human rights are to be appreciated freely and not be selective and advantageous to a few segments of society.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology underpinning the study. It describes the research philosophy, the research design, the research approach, the location of the study, the population, and sampling methods. It further describes the data collection and analysis methods and the reason for a pilot study and clarifies the validity and reliability of instruments used. The chapter describes the ethical issues and highlights the limitations encountered during the study.

Chapter 4 deals with the presentation and analysis of data and presents and discusses the research findings under thematic sub-sections in line with the study objectives.

Chapter 5 concludes the study and mainly sets out the recommendations for the study in question.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the empirical literature related to the study. The study seeks to examine in-depth the various available literature and studies which was conducted already and which are directly related to the topic under study. It looks at the relevance of Public Service Broadcasting as well as the NBC television broadcasting policy and ICT framework, the situational analysis of the impact of live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings by the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation, and finally, the significant role of the media and television broadcasting itself on the citizens of the country. Data analysis was done on different thematic areas based on the literature used for this particular study. The review of guidelines on the coverage of live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings was done to provide the framework for the study.

2.2. The Parliament of Namibia

Parliament Building

The Parliament of Namibia has a bicameral system composed of two Houses which is the National Assembly, the Lower House, and the National Council, the Upper House, also known as the House of Review (Wiese, 2003). After the first democratic elections

in November 1989, the first Constituent Assembly was formed with 72 members who drafted the Constitution of Namibia, and independence was achieved on 21 March 1990 (Bertelsmann-Scott, 2004).

The Constituent Assembly was renamed the National Assembly. The constitution determines that the legislative power rests with Parliament, which consists of the two chambers, namely the National Assembly with seventy-two elected members plus six members appointed by the President and the National Council with twenty-six members (Weylandt, 2017). Upon the Constitutional amendments in 2015, Ninety-six elected members plus eight members appointed by the President gave a total of hundred and four members for the National Assembly and forty-two members for the National Council. Three members each represent the fourteen regions of the country in the National Council (Weylandt, 2017). The National Council was formed by chapter eight of the Namibian Constitution, in 1993, after the regional elections held in the previous year (Weylandt, 2017).

Bills passed during the 6th Parliament (2017 and 2018 Parliamentary Sessions);

Amidst various parliamentary processes, debates, the tabling of reports, and many other activities and functions of Parliament, the below table indicates, as an example but not limited to, some of the bills deliberated on and passed into law during 2017 (Weylandt, 2017) and (Andreas, 2019). The selection of the Bills passed during 2017 and 2018 has no significant bearing on the overall research problem and outcome of the research study, as laws, regardless of being dealt with or passed by Parliament during the mentioned years, the years prior, or currently, would remain relevant to the research problem.

Bills passed 2017	Bills passed 2018
Nature Conservation Amendment Bill [B.22 – 2017]	Seed and Seed Varieties Bill [B.1 - 2018
Access to Biological and Genetic Resources and Associated Traditional Knowledge Bill [B.4 – 2017]	Administration of Estates Amendment Bill [B.23 – 2018]
Witness Protection Bill [B.2 – 2017]	Public Service Amendment Bill [B.18 – 2018]

Whistle-blower Protection Bill [B.1 – 2017]	Namibia Deposit Guarantee Bill [B.14 – 2018]
Controlled Wildlife Products and Trade Amendment Bill [B.6 – 2017]	Basic Education Bill [B.4 – 2018]
One-Stop Border Post Control Bill [B.8 – 2017]	Medical and Dental Amendment Bill [B.6 – 2018]
Regional Councils Amendment Bill [B.23 – 2017]	Pharmacy Amendment Bill [B.5 – 2018]

The information on the passing of the abovementioned laws during the live broadcasting of sessions during that time, including many other parliamentary processes and proceedings in the official language (English), might not have adequately reached all citizens of the country. It, therefore, remains an untested reality that the citizens became well informed on these laws and parliamentary processes. As quoted from Lijphart (1997), citizens should participate fully, without prejudice in the law-making processes of Parliament because not all of them participate and engage in this democratic system, despite its importance (Adhiambo, 2018).

National Council Chamber

National Assembly Chamber

2.3. Public Service Broadcasting

The concept of public service broadcasting is to "inform, educate and entertain" (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). Public service broadcasting aims to embrace the notion that television should broadcast programmes people want to watch, which, on the other hand, should address broader social issues such as education and the promotion of citizenship (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). Various research studies and outcomes brought forth the interconnectedness of technology, economic, political, and cultural dynamics even

though it is separate forces but have jointly produced a new era for public service broadcasters (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009).

Public Service Broadcasting has brought definite concerns that (some) viewers do not necessarily choose what it is, in their own best interests to watch, which is described as the citizen rationale for PSB. On the other hand, television viewing may affect the broader population that is ignored by the individual viewer (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). With the first concern, censorship of harmful content is manageable to protect the vulnerable such as children, while socially beneficial programmes, can else be promoted with the blocking of content that might cause harm (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). The origin of these concerns is to be examined, as the broadcasting environment has changed to determine the current impact of live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings by the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation.

Public service broadcasting needs to be relooked in the wake of digital broadcasting, as worthy public service content that attracts viewer attention is significantly weakened, therefore requiring more pioneering practices to reach viewers in delivering these messages (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). There might be citizens interested in parliamentary affairs and following live parliamentary broadcasts, as television viewing tastes are heterogeneous (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). Provision can be made for a diverse and balanced range of programming under the public service broadcasting concept that can increase viewership (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). Dissemination of diverse information is also significant for the political discourse because the communication of multiple views and opinions is important for democratic systems to work properly (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). Access to information becomes critical because it creates the understanding of one's immediate surroundings and the world at large, even schemes or structures that hampers development in any country (Keyter, 2019). Chomsky (2012) states that chances are created if systems are understood, which allows for participation and implementation of much-needed public services (Keyter, 2019).

Public institutions such as Parliament should be proactive to allow for programme content with a greater benefit to society, such as the broadcasting of parliamentary processes and activities (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). This is so because some people are

paternalistic, a view that they are inept to choose in their best interest, hence failing to attain an ideal result for themselves (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). The public broadcaster, therefore, would have made the best choice by broadcasting parliamentary processes live to accomplish the public's welfare (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). Nevertheless, in some broadcasting cycles, paternalism is prevalent where public broadcasters deliver programming not considering peoples' choices (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). This phenomenon is attaining less recognition lately as these types of controlled broadcasting could be biased towards content that people want to watch versus those in their greatest interest (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). Paternalism may however work to censor the broadcasting of damaging and unpleasant content, but more so, will work well in favour of the broadcasting of live parliamentary proceedings (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007).

Television viewing is associated with some distant effects which might be either positive or negative, therefore the researcher will classify parliamentary broadcasts under positive effects which, from the social stand-point might seem low in terms of following the trend but are justified because of their social impact as it is simply having educational as well as social or public benefits (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). Programmes with educational value can be viewed as part of the PSB concept, therefore, the coverage of parliamentary processes should as such be wide-ranging to smoothen civic understanding, be impartial, and have knowledgeable debates (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). Television is a powerful medium to build citizenship and a tool to deliver information and arouse curiosity in diverse topics such as policy issues and or the law-making process (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007). The provision of factual information and current affairs will build an informed society that can influence government and other interests to the advantage of many (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007).

Armstrong & Weeds (2007) quotes William Haley, Director General of the BBC, who wrote in 1947 that "the public service broadcaster's aim must be to make people active, not passive, both in the fields of recreation and public affairs". This statement by William Haley augurs well with Jürgen Habermas' ([1962] 1989) public sphere that people should spontaneously partake in politically significant matters aimed at attaining common ground without government and market interference (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009). Garnham (1986) states that the common and balanced politics of the contemporary civilisation can only be embraced by public service broadcasters that operate without government and

market interference which subsequently calls for greater accountability and participation from the public (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009). Paddy Scannell (1989) like Garnham (1986), criticises opinions, diminishing broadcasting as a way of societal control, ethnic normalisation, or philosophical parody. He (Paddy Scannell (1989), supports Habermas' notion that radio and television have made access to the public sphere for all people, where traditional, civil, spiritual, political events and entertainment are placed in an open domain and public life, balanced in a way never possible before (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009). Scannell (1989) further claims that public service broadcasting could be the gateway where common knowledge in a society can be upheld for the benefit of all (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009). Stuart Hall (1992) praises subsidised public service broadcasters which empower the audience and give representation to ostracised groups, and that broadcasting must be turned into the space where cultural diversity is created, shown cased, and epitomised (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009). With the arrival of digital technology, public service broadcasting now involves ordinary people, public participation and the insertion of user-generated programming are seen as an important approach for public service broadcasters to salvage their spot in extremely modest situations (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009).

2.4. The NBC Television Broadcasting Policy and ICT Framework

The establishment of the NBC under the Namibian Broadcasting Act 9 of 1991(2), gave NBC the mandate and objectives to inform and entertain the citizens of the country (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991). NBC backs the learning and accord of the nation-state as well as harmony in the country (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991). NBC is to afford and publish data applicable to the well-being and growth of the country and to encourage the use and acceptance of the English language (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991).

Based on the Broadcasting Policy of the country, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) should contribute to limitless possibilities for all sectors of society, be it the public sector, civil society, or industry (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991). Lately, ICTs play an important role when it comes to e-governance locally and internationally, as interconnectedness and communication become much easier, even among citizens across the globe (Gwalugano, 2020). The embracement and maximum usage of ICTs, have contributed to notable progression and upsurge by countries lately,

as the economies globally are reliant on benefits derived from ICTs, and for Namibia which is a developing country, ICTs will play a significant role and contribute immensely to its economic growth and progression (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991). Other benefits will be the readily available information and access that will assist citizens in their day-to-day interactions since they will also be able to jointly deliberate and partake in the governance of their country (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991). The citizens will be able to feat on the escalating prospects of electronic communication, information, and services (Namibia Broadcasting Act 9, 1991). The country will be able to develop its content and service providers via the ICT platforms that are competitive in international markets and with it, create job opportunities and economic expansion (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991).

ICTs play a remarkable role in the communication process, considering the speed at which the information flow is taking place among the public, which on the other hand, has created new means for citizens and institutions alike to interact and bring together new forms of social involvement and connection (Sefora, 2017). The technology-abled public sphere is created in the communications domain, which establishes a social discourse that is not time-bound, nor considers the location or political affiliation of a community (Sefora, 2017).

The advent of digital technologies has changed the broadcasting environment significantly, as relaxed spectrum limitations allow for more channels for viewers to choose from, while encryption may result in broadcasters adhering to demands from viewers (Armstrong & Weeds, 2007).

The awareness levels of the day-to-day work of Parliaments are increased with continuous live broadcasting of Parliamentary Proceedings (Okong'o, 2016). Okong'o (2016) quotes Miller (2008) that over 60 countries globally are currently broadcasting parliamentary proceedings in their respective legislatures, including a greater majority of the Commonwealth States such as South Africa, Botswana, and Nigeria. Okong'o (2016) further quotes Mwaura (2008) who states that the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings intends to provide scholastic worth to the public, not familiar with the dealings and practices of parliament by giving the audience a direct and immediate understanding of Parliament at work, other than they would have received from reports

or annotations from parliamentary reporters. The open-door policy of many parliaments allows for more involvement from people and organisations to contribute to the work of parliament (Okong'o, 2016). Parliaments want people to be well informed of their work and therefore allow parliamentary proceedings to be broadcasted to a wider audience (Okong'o, 2016). Okong'o (2016) further states that live parliamentary broadcasts may lead to amplified consciousness and gratitude towards the work of Parliament and improve civilised behaviour and insight towards it. The more citizens participate in Parliamentary debates, the more it may lead to accountability from the politicians alike (Okong'o, 2016). Television promotes consciousness towards the work of parliamentarians, therefore it is convincing to the audience, that indeed their issues are being taken care of (Okong'o, 2016). The live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings is seen as a rise in advancing events of Parliament, therefore, it is increasing the participation of the public in the governance of a country and leads to increased accountability and transparency in the work of parliament (Okong'o, 2016).

Okong'o (2016) states that Surtees' (2007) reasoning that parliaments working together with the media creates a straight connection between the legislature and the various electorates and societies, while also looking at opportunities to portray optimistic images of proceedings to avoid apathy and frustration.

The CPA study group of MPs reaffirmed the importance of media as a tool to promote civic engagement and recommended the removal of any obstacles to establishing an informed society (Temple & Temple, 2018). Transparency and accountability are two important characteristics to be natured in any democracy when it comes to the broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings by a public institution such as parliament (Temple & Temple, 2018). People became interested in parliamentary affairs and are increasing universally, therefore, many parliaments are working around the clock to allow people and various entities to make any contributions to their work (Temple & Temple, 2018).

Many parliaments across the globe are regarded a norm, to record and broadcast parliamentary proceedings lately and this is outlined in a survey conducted in 2003 by CPA and CBA, finding that most Commonwealth National Legislatures record their parliamentary proceedings (Bouchet, 2003). Broadcasters should be accorded the

opportunity for continuous feed, as electronic access to parliamentary proceedings is critical during both Chamber and Committee sessions (Bouchet, 2003). Norman St. John-Stevas states that televised parliament would, at a stroke, restore any loss it has suffered to the new mass media as the political education of the nation (Wandera & Mugubi, 2014).

2.5 An analysis of NBC's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings

This section will present and analyse literature concerned with public participation in law-making and the role of media in promoting such participation, democratic governance issues, and the role of the media in the development of a country. It further looks at the language as a resource for development and a human right, English being the official language of Namibia, and the role it plays in a participatory democracy.

Finally, the section covers the theoretical framework which focuses on Habermas' theory of the public sphere. Some of the tenets of Habermas' public sphere state that opinions are formed around social and cultural needs within a society and human rights are appreciated freely and are not selective and advantageous to certain segments of society.

2.5.1. Public Participation in law-making

An open and free public space is the cornerstone for a thriving democracy, where development is influenced by open dialogue concerning people's lives, as it gives them room and opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes of a government (Lugalambi, Mwesige, Bussiek, 2010). Public participation is an essential component in the law-making process of any constitutional democracy that seeks to facilitate the contribution of those possibly affected by decisions made by the state (Mboya, 2016). Ballard (2007) states that participation and democracy, although complex is good for democracy as it promotes debate and allows for opposing voices (Sefora, 2017). Citizens need to be consulted to express their needs and desires through specific laws which are to be enacted by parliament before it becomes binding on them (Mboya, 2016). The public participation principle is a growing trend across the world and is thus embraced in democracies to enhance policymaking, transparency, accountability, and sound governance (Sefora, 2017). Citizens are committed to policies, projects, or programmes in which they are involved in from their planning and preparation stages (Mandizvidza, 2017). Public participation, therefore, can be seen as a tool to empower, and thus critical

in the autonomous governing process, as it is also an instrument through which parliament fulfills the requirements of the constitution and takes responsibility for the laws it enacts (Mboya, 2016). Arnstein (1969) gives citizen participation a definite term of "citizen power" and states that it is the redeployment of power that allows them to purposefully involve themselves in all political and economic processes of government (Chingaipe & Msukwa, 2012).

Stakeholder involvement and citizen building have become an integral part of many governments in their policy-making agenda (Democracy, 2009). Citizens can encourage socially beneficial programmes that can collectively benefit them as a society because they are involved in the primary stages of policy development and processes (Chingaipe & Msukwa, 2012). The citizens are actively and extensively involved in the processes of government that exemplify their role in self-governance (Sefora, 2017). Democracy becomes stronger and vivacious once citizens participate because leaders are held responsible and kept in check not to abuse their power (Democracy, 2009). Governments become aware of what citizens want if they participate, therefore they can make pronouncements that are advantageous to all citizens (Democracy, 2009). The wrong notion that a chosen government can make laws at will are synonymous with many citizens but these laws are derived from the customs and traditions of the populace and therefore can be changed with time, as pragmatic to everyone through various systems of democratic processes, for example, the representative democracy, which is synonymous with the Namibian governing system (Democracy, 2009). The idea of common power reflects the dreams and aspirations of the people once they are consulted and can be seen as a significant part of the coordination of checks and balances and an all-inclusive governance process (Mboya, 2016). Public participation, therefore, plays a critical role in legislative and policy functions at both the national and regional levels (Mboya, 2016). Golubovic (2010) states that citizen participation is viewed as an important element in policy-making and participatory democracy and this is in support of representative democracy, that is to ultimately function properly (Chingaipe & Msukwa, 2012).

There are different forms of citizen participation which is the direct and indirect participation. The indirect participation deals more with managing territories and how representation is functioning, while the direct participation flagged under instrumental vs

transformative participation, involves those citizens that give the leadership a chance to achieve set goals and others who are fully involved in the decision-making processes that impacts on their lives respectively (Chingaipe & Msukwa, 2012).

Citizen participation is explicitly recognized in the Namibian Constitution, Article 17 which states that *"All citizens shall have the right to participate in peaceful political activity intended to influence the composition and policies of Government, and to participate in the conduct of public affairs, whether directly or through freely chosen representatives"* (Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, 1989). The constitution further states in Article 95, subsection (k) that "*the State shall actively promote and maintain the welfare of the people by adopting policies aimed at encouragement of the mass of the population through education and other activities and their organizations to influence Government policy by debating its decisions*" (Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, 1989).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted in 1948) in Article 19, which deals with the right to freedom of expression too, states that *"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers"* (Dragu, 2013). On the other hand, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (adopted on 27 June 1981) also states that *"Every individual shall have the right to receive information, express and disseminate his opinions within the law"* (AI, 2006). Any limitations on freedom of expression should be vindicated only in the perspective of international law or statutes which is those confined in Article 19 of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and others as mentioned above (Bouchet, 2003).

The concept of public participation is recognised through international and regional agreements and forces states to enhance participation, accountability, and transparency (Sefora, 2017). The Manila Declaration on People's Participation and Sustainable Development (1989), as Theron (2009) states, gives modalities on public participation that also resonates with the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation (1990), and are outlined as follows;

- Authority lies with the citizens, who are the genuine players of progressive transformation. The citizens are well aware of what is good for them and will positively impact and influence their existence. If authority lies with the citizens, they ought to spearhead the development process, which they own and run properly (Korten, 1990).

- The government should be true to itself and allow citizens to put up and follow their programmes. The government executives should be aware and acknowledge that citizens are not self-evidently receptive to change but rather choose to actively participate in self-growth. A cordial relationship between government and citizens becomes beneficial thus citizens become empowered to successfully implement their development programmes. This can also be seen as mobilisation other than empowerment (Korten, 1990:44; Theron, 2008:41-73).

- With the relevant information at their disposal, citizens will be able to hold government executives answerable because they freely dispose of their authority and spearhead the development of the communities and themselves as resources are also in their control.

- Those assisting in the development agenda of the citizens should be well aware of their role as supporters only because their valuable contribution will be the yardstick displaying the improved quality of the citizens which will be the determining factor of their future.

(Sefora, 2017).

Theron & Mchunu (2014) further states that International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) (2002) came up with core values for public participation exercise which is;

- *The public should have a say in decisions about actions that affect their lives.*
- *Public participation includes the promise that the public's contribution will influence the decision.*
- *The public participation process communicates the interests and meets the process needs of all participants.*
- *The public participation process seeks out and facilitates the "involvement" of those potentially affected.*

- *The public participation process "involves" participants in defining how they participate.*
- *The public participation process communicates to participants how their input affected the decision.*
- *The public participation process provides participants with the information they need to participate in a meaningful way.*

(Sefora, 2017).

Better public participation is seen as able to improve excellent and valid decisions in the public sector organisations, and have the prospect of addressing the shortcomings in a democracy and uplifting abled communities that will work together (Barnes et al., 2003).

Although some parliaments made public participation a key priority, strategies to fully adopt this principle is taking time to come to fruition with some parliaments (Sefora, 2017).

Government officials can assist the citizens to establish all-inclusive participatory forums to deliberate on goal-oriented issues, and inclusive marginalised groups to be part of the policy and decision-making processes (Barnes et al., 2003). Underprivileged societies are mostly excluded from decision-making processes on various grounds such as lack of access to resources, ignorance, and improper access to the media (Sefora, 2017). Dzur (2008) states that the inequality spectrum only benefits those with resources as many are denied their voice in institutions of government, therefore, losing trust in the legal and political systems (Sefora, 2017).

Many democratic governments have forged partnerships with public and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) for sound governmental practices because citizens' participation in developmental issues, has taken the middle ground as a significant condition for attaining enhanced sustainable development, which is an element of a development strategy that is centred around the people (Moriyole & Adesopo, 2015). Many actors in the development sphere have emphasized the need to safeguard citizen participation in policy and developmental processes (Moriyole & Adesopo, 2015). Olaleye (2004) argues that this development not only brings about a liberal decrease in material deficit and

social disparities but also encourages the growth of human competencies and abilities (Moriyole & Adesopo, 2015).

2.5.2. The role of the media in promoting public participation, law-making and parliamentary processes

The role of the media continues to be critical in informing society about their right to participate in the governance of a country (Bouchet, 2003). The key element of good governance is the participation of citizens in the democratic processes because the representation of citizens in parliament or other institutions of government seems not to be rigorous nor widespread, therefore, the media close this gap by allowing multiple voices the chance and agenda for deliberations (Chiyamwaka, 2007). The media is regarded as the fourth estate of democracy along the three pillars of government, therefore can strengthen the government's performance through checks and balances (Ukka, 2019). Sims & Koep (2012) assert that news agencies or papers cannot be closed down even by a presidential directive or through laws that infringed on freedom of expression even if the state does not concur with views expressed in the media (Keyter, 2019). The media uplift the government and civil society's capability to maintain the input and participation of the public in the decision-making processes (Chiyamwaka, 2007). The Hansard Society (2011) outlines the shortfall between the citizens and parliaments in fulfilling the principles of democracy as expanding because of political apathy, drawn-out accountability processes, unclear and complicated laws and policies, and the dwindling traditional media coverage in the wake of the increasing new media landscape (Sefora, 2017).

There should be an equal measure between the rights of the public to know, against that of the individual's right to privacy, especially with public figures who should be willing to forfeit their rights, as at times their private live impacts their public roles (Bouchet, 2003). The liable willpower of the balance between the public's genuine right to know and public inquisitiveness rests with the media in the first instance but eventually for the public itself, and if needed, for the autonomous judiciary (Bouchet,2003). It is unimaginable how, in the absence of free and independent professional media, the issues of corruption, unaccountability, and transparency would have been addressed (Chiyamwaka, 2007). The media is, therefore, a channel for public opinion and debate

that also allows for two-way communication, from citizens to government and vice versa, where numerous prospects, recommendations, and criticisms can be made (Ukka, 2019).

The independent media, free from government intimidation, somehow play a significant role in creating knowledge and awareness about governance issues and parliamentary functions e.g. the law-making process (Bouchet, 2003). Communication from institutions such as Parliament, in a political realm that is inclusive and well-functioning, goes through the media to affect opinions and responses from citizens (Bennett & Pfetsch, 2018). In a democratic system or command the media should be allowed to transfer a host of information that is truthful concerning the plight of the citizens in whatever form, that examines the actions of government and be able to organise debates that give relevance to public opinion and for the citizens to be heard by the authorities (Ukka, 2019). The World Bank Institute together with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association encouraged Members of Parliament to spearhead and safeguard the role of the media in the quest for upright leadership and fairness (Bouchet, 2003). These institutions with the support from various parliaments conducted conferences with an outcome in recommendations made to advance the flow of data among people and their chosen representatives and governments (Bouchet, 2003). Freedom of the media is not only for the media practitioners but encompasses the rights of the public to know and to partake in the free flow of information (Bouchet, 2003). Citizens should be able to evaluate the actions of government independently once fed with regular information and only will the government be well appreciated and its legitimacy confirmed (Ukka, 2019).

Dr. John Jingu quotes John Fisches (1991) in a paper on the role of the media in public policy, and that the media provides people with essential information to participate effectively in political issues and offers a platform for deliberation on civic matters (Olengurumwa, 2013). The media in a democratic setup can freely investigate and reveal public issues openly to the citizens on policy and developmental issues, and programmes intended for the public good (Ukka, 2019). The media serves in the interest of the public and offers significant public service to all people, regardless of wealth, age, language, or rural location (Piece & Sen, 2005). The media is assisting governments to distribute pertinent information regarding public services and their activities while they guide opposing parties to disagree with the government and allow for alternative policies" (Olengurumwa, 2013).

The role of the media is vital as citizens remain informed about the social realms of policy development and its impact, and governments in turn became aware, based on the feedback received through the media, of the impact of policies on citizens (Olengurumwa, 2013). The media is a significant institution that is essential for the community and a democratic state therefore should act professionally and only broadcast transparent and fact-based information and news (Ukka, 2019).

Media systems are the primary channels between citizens and policymakers as it influences political discourse and the flow of information (Olengurumwa, 2013). The broadcast media is undoubtedly the most dominant form of media today, therefore can play a significant role in bringing useful and engaging information because of its capacity to reach as many people as possible, especially with the advent of satellite TV that can make information instantly available (Olengurumwa, 2013).

With the arrival of digital technology and the growing ICT sector across the globe including in developing nations such as Namibia, ICTs assist in activating and informing citizens accordingly (Sefora, 2017). Participatory democracy in a rapidly changing technological sphere requires ICT instruments for computerised information campaigns and public information systems to narrow the gap between those easily accessing information and the rural poor (Sefora, 2017). The government can now strongly look into the benefits of e-governance as it can increase the participation of citizens and stakeholders alike on matters of national concern (Keyter, 2019). The new media will therefore be beneficial and include instruments such as open computer networks, teleconferencing facilities, or accessible town hall meetings to attract citizens to actively participate, learn and share their views (Sefora, 2017).

Namibia's drive towards a paperless parliament or simply adopting the e-parliament strategy with the necessary support from the World Bank can as well embrace the electronic democracy model amidst the rapidly improving electronic space across the globe (Sefora, 2017). This can assist in the local democratic practices by enhancing public participation and improved governance processes (Sefora, 2017). Kersten (2003) states that e-democracy is regarded as participative democracy and asserts that creating electronic systems for participation, should consider the needs of possible users because

as much as e-democracy is more synonymous with direct democracy, it has created challenges for the orthodox belief of representation (Sefora, 2017). The realization of the significant use of the internet within many parliaments as a useful tool for communication with the citizens has brought about the e-parliament (Sefora, 2017). The internet use along with the usual public participation models such as committee hearings, outreach programmes, and petitions, parliaments can interact with the public using ICTs (Sefora, 2017).

The dissemination of comprehensive valuable information completely transforms a democratic state through the availability of information through the mass media (Ukka, 2019). The Namibian Government in its broadcasting policy promised citizens access to broadcasting services locally as well as internationally, from urban to remote rural centres, also to have equal access to information for growth in various spheres and conscious participation in democracy (Namibian Broadcasting Act 9, 1991).

Parliaments can appoint public relations and information officers to adequately publicise the activities of parliament, specifically through various media that do not cover Parliament (Bouchet, 2003). The PROs and Information Officers can conduct outreach programmes to sensitise the interest in parliamentary democracy in an apolitical manner with stringent measures in place (Bouchet, 2003). A participatory style that is people-centred and requires non-partisanship and civic-mindedness, is best suited to engaging the public since state resources and policy guidelines are being used (Esser & Pfetsch, 2020).

2.5.3. Democratic Governance and the role of the media in development

Democracy dictates that it is the citizens' right to elect representatives they can hold accountable for the implementation of any decisions that affect them (Moriyole & Adesopo, 2015). People need to be empowered to regularly involve themselves in local government issues, especially in developing societies with obvious low literacy rates and a lack of unity amongst them and are not aware of their civic rights (Moriyole & Adesopo, 2015).

Democratic governance is the foremost helpful element for development and equally shunned is the understanding that media growth is a vital cause of modernity to help

traditional societies to advance into contemporary societies (Piece & Sen, 2015). The valuable democratic right that is entitled to all people and that is being exercised in the media space, is favourable to development (Piece & Sen, 2015). This is affirmed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), therefore, many academics and campaigners regard the media as a possible enabler of public participation and empowerment that encourages human development (Piece & Sen, 2015). The combination of economic and political rights should be clear in participatory methods of a structured communication process (Piece & Sen, 2015). An example of McQuail's (1983) view, is that the independent participatory role of the media which concentrates on its central inclinations toward diversity, multiplicity, and variation, brings together ethnic identity, democratisation, and involvement of people at all levels (Piece & Sen, 2015). Amatya Sen, therefore, calls for social progression that improves literacy and provides for accessible and inexpensive health care, women's empowerment, and the free flow of information which are important forerunners for development (Piece & Sen, 2015).

Development that involves people becomes paramount and obligatory once fundamental values of participatory democracy, equal common involvement, the statutes, and human rights are adhered to (Isike & Uzodike, 2009). Tötemeyer (1996) asserts that capacity development in many African communities is paramount at local and central government levels although human, financial, and technical ability in central and regional government in a country becomes questionable in the quest for socio-economic development overall (Keyter, 2019). Leeuwis, 2004; Taylor, 1994; Cherdpong & Flor (2014) asserts that the absence of communities benefiting through their participatory role at whatever level is believed to be the cause of the failure of many developmental projects (Faisal & Alhassan, 2018). Communities are knowledgeable on issues that impacted their lives and can handle developmental projects on their own by being in control and exercising ownership (Faisal & Alhassan, 2018). If they are given the chance and opportunities to participate in decision-making, they might exercise their world view on developmental issues, because many a time they see themselves as incapable or lacking the necessary skills to bring about social change for themselves, therefore, could through participatory efforts build capacity to change their lives (Faisal & Alhassan, 2018).

Isike & Uzodike (2009) quotes the media as an instrument of freedom of expression, which in itself facilitates democracy, because the attainment of truth through untrammelled public debate, is a precondition for an efficient people-oriented democracy. The media is at the forefront of the attainment of growing democracies by reporting on developmental stories and taking the lead on aspects of anti-corruption, and adherence to the rule of law (Isike & Uzodike, 2009). The media protects the political, collective, and profitable rights of people and their responsibility, in terms of civic involvement and analysis, and the grooming of them for nationhood (Isike & Uzodike, 2009).

Development journalism demands reportage on concepts, programmes, and events that pursue achieving anticipated goals associated with advances in people's way of life in both remote and metropolitan centres (Isike & Uzodike, 2009). The public will not be able to make informed decisions if they are provided with inaccurate information by the government to advocate for its favoured view or realism (Isike & Usodike, 2009). The role of the media specifically in the developing world is strengthened by the media for development model, which involves a beneficial partnership between media and the state, and translates and shows development visualisation in the general interest of the government and the citizens (Isike & Uzodike, 2009). It means that the media rallies citizens at the grassroots to involve themselves in development and this espoused the agenda-setting role of the media (Isike & Uzodike, 2009). Individually and in groups, citizens are encouraged through participatory media projects such as community radio to become aware of their potential and to involve themselves in, and reclaim ownership within themselves (Faisal & Alhassan, 2018). This will ultimately allow them to have a voice in crafting their developmental agenda, by identifying and implementing projects that they have started on their own (Faisal & Alhassan, 2018).

2.5.4. Language: a resource for development and a human right

Language plays a significant role in the communication process among humans because, in their daily lives, they use it to express, create and interpret meanings to establish and maintain social and interpersonal relations (Comeau & Stevick, 1984). A language builds inclusive societies where their rights are recognised on political, economic, or social levels in a supportive environment (Sehume, 2019). For language to be a social practice that establishes meaning and interpretation, its users need to know how to use it to create

and represent those meanings when communicating and engaging with others (Comeau & Stevick, 1984). Humans as social beings, wherever they live, communicate in a language with one another, therefore, understanding and learning a particular language becomes paramount in a certain society at all times as it builds human interaction whether in written form or orally (Sehume, 2019). Language, therefore, becomes a link that unites people across various cultures wherever they live because they can express emotions, beliefs, and interacts through language (Liddicoat, 2018). It is in language that human, social and cultural development prospers in unison with other civilisations to share the common good, and it is in the fundamental nature of language that prosperity is achieved (Sehume, 2019). The English language was seen as a viable option to exhibit a matter of universal development (Mweri, 2020).

The year 2019 was declared the "International Year of Indigenous Languages", a declaration which was already adopted as a resolution in 2016 by the United Nations General Assembly in the wake of about 40% of the world's languages seemingly becoming extinct, most of it affecting indigenous people (Sehume, 2019). It is of cardinal importance for UNESCO to safeguard about 60006 languages of the world because a language bears and imparts numerous values and beliefs whether it is on technological or civilised fronts (Sehume, 2019). If a language becomes extinct, it may lead to a loss of historical knowledge and cultural identity which is a societal patrimony (Sehume, 2019).

There is this claim that colonial languages have caused "linguistic inequality" in Africa as these foreign languages are given higher priority while local languages are regarded as inferior (Kirkpatrick, 2011). Mweri (2020) states that the over-reliance on foreign languages such as English, French, and Portuguese, which happens in most developing countries, is based on the false narrative that English language education equals development. This false narrative has seen English being promoted and used as an important factor in international development programmes (Mweri, 2020). Foreign languages replaced local languages in many African countries after the third grade in schooling although there are attempts to preserve and upgrade local languages (Kirkpatrick, 2011). On the contrary, foreign languages are being empowered (Kirkpatrick, 2011). The extinction of indigenous languages might harm people's culture

and way of life, loss of valuable knowledge on good governance, unity, peace, and prolonged development (Sehume. 2019).

The subjugation of several indigenous languages in Africa has affected the development of the continent especially as different groups co-exist with divergent linguistic orientations (Akinwale, 2011). People's socio-economic rights, language, and identity are intertwined and cannot be separated therefore should be allowed to have access to freedom of expression and equal opportunities for their survival (Sehume, 2019). Communities were denied platforms for their languages to thrive and were marginalised from socio-economic activities, therefore, what needs to be seen, is whether the conditions have changed especially for those regarded as the first inhabitants of southern Africa, whose languages were extinct and their identity affected by globalisation (Sehume, 2019).

Sustainable development for Africa can be achieved through the promotion of indigenous languages as people from diverse origins can harmoniously work together (Akinwale, 2011). However, the marginalisation of African languages at the expense of some foreign languages seems to be a setback, as these foreign languages are yet to be understood properly by Africans (Akinwale, 2011). Mazrui and Mazrui (1998: 114) states that every language in a multilingual society has the right to exist and to be given equal opportunity to develop legal and other technological limbs to flourish, therefore, multilingualism can be a benefit rather than a stumbling block to development (Akinwale, 2011).

Ndhlovu (2008) asserts that when languages are neglected and are imperceptible in the development sphere, the accrued wisdom about politics, philosophy, ideology, and living vanishes. African communities are unique in the way they interact with the environment in the aspects of language, wisdom, ideas, and knowledge systems, and is having the ability to turn around the socio-economic gains of the world (Ndhlovu, 2008).

Adamo (2005) argues in the case of Nigeria, that the English language imposed on the world and Africa in particular under the pretext of globalisation through the media, information technology, or other means of publicity, is a form of linguistic intimidation and may cause stagnation, degeneration, and lack of growth and development (Ndhlovu, 2008).

The arrival of unconventional information and communication technologies will ensure that African languages linger past the geographical boundaries of the African continent (Ndhlovu, 2008). Merten (2006) states that electoral processes and voter education are conducted mainly in other lingua francas and select African languages in many African countries causing a language barrier and barring many Africans from political processes (Ndhlovu, 2008).

No language is fundamentally superior or inferior to another thus have the right to exist equally and to grow amidst limited material and human capital (Alexander, 1989). All planning is important to secure a healthy existence around the globe and equally so, is language planning with the full participation and accord from all people (Alexander, 1989).

2.5.5. English: the lingua franca for Namibia

Namibia previously known as "Southwest Africa" is a multiracial country, with a diversity of languages on ethnic lines with a population of about 2.6 million people (Stell, 2019). A policy of monolingualism is followed in which English is regarded as the official language (Frydman, 2011). Kirkpatrick (2011) states that English does not have any historical context in the country and only a limited number of people are fluent in English although adopted as the official language. English became more prominent in the northern regions of the country, mainly as the medium of instruction, and subsequently became the official language of the country as well as the overall medium of instruction (Stell, 2019). The current governing party, after the country gained its independence in 1990, removed Afrikaans which was regarded as the "language of the oppressor" and took English as the official language of the country (Kirkpatrick, 2011). The majority population of the country believed that English would unite the nation as the perception that the people were restricted to communicate with the international community was very much relevant, therefore, English was adopted as an official language over other local languages (Kirkpatrick, 2011). It was understood that English would foster the relationship between Namibia and other liberal societies in Africa, thus would also be beneficial, as the language was widely spoken in neighbouring countries and across Africa in general (Iipinge, 2013). The United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN, 1981) and Haacke (1996) wrote that it was understood that English helped the

country during the development of sea and air communication alongside universal training and consultations at administrative, governmental, and business levels, thus also linked the country with the rest of the world (Iipinge, 2013).

The Namibian Constitution in Article 3 stipulates that the official language of the country shall be English, but does not prohibit the use of other languages as a medium of instruction in schools (Sehume, 2019). Upon the country's independence in 1990 and the subsequent launch of its National Development Strategy called Vision 2030 in 2004, the issue of language was not catered for in the plan (Frydman, 2011). Frydman (2011) argues that it is critical to address the language policy as part of the national development plans of the country. A language policy was adopted which is of official monolingualism with English as the only official language which could have extensive, damaging consequences for development and the people of the country (Frydman, 2011).

The Namibian population is diverse and is divided into approximately nine distinct ethnic groups, therefore, various languages are spoken but ironically, English, spoken by the lowest fraction of the country's population, has been adopted as the official language and is used in all official structures (Frydman, 2011). Alexander (2012) states that expression in one's native language boosts self-worth and appreciation of oneself, allows for creative abilities, and fosters a sound direction thus can be regarded as the bases of all democratic entities and processes (Sehume, 2019).

The language policy of the country was officially recognised in 1981 but the governing party supported English as the only official language much earlier based on the socio-political environment of the country (Frydman, 2011). English as the country's official language obtained extensive support from the people, deduced from the surveys conducted, even though only 0.8% of the inhabitants were speaking English as a first language and only 4% as a second language (Frydman, 2011).

2.5.6. Language and participatory democracy

Citizen participation is essential for any democracy states Rousseau (1978), whose view was that participation of citizens in decision making of a functional state has brought various concepts of participatory democracy, and is not limited only to political decision making, but at workplaces and among local communities (Moriyole et al., 2015).

Participatory democracy in the modern-day combines features of direct democracy in the present systems of representative democracy thus giving citizens the right to participate in the decision-making processes that affect them (Sefora, 2017). Participatory democracy gives ordinary inhabitants of a country an empowered voice to engage on policy matters and participate in the decision-making processes of the government as this encourages democracy locally as well as internationally (Gwalugano, 2020). It is unfortunate that in some parts of the world, the public is disconnected from politics and does not want to engage in political activities because other than voting, few rather choose other forms of political and civic participation such as volunteering in national services etcetera (Duguid, 2020). Political engagement is significant for both the community and the state as it is beneficial in policy and decision-making processes at all governmental levels (Duguid, 2020).

Transparency is featured prominently in government programmes brought about by democracy which has led to more public liability and upholding of human rights (Van Rooyen, 2003). The concepts of public participation, debate, and citizen upliftment are tenets prominently featured in participatory democracy, which allows citizens to be in the forefront because at the core of democratic relevance, is the active participation of ordinary citizens in the affairs of any state (Gwalugano, 2020). The concept of Participatory democracy came to the fore in the 1960s, which emphasised the need for citizens to jointly partake and decide on issues that affect them (Gwalugano, 2020). A wide-ranging engagement with local communities is necessitated by the different views, needs, and prospects that exist among various stakeholders, therefore, need some sort of compromise that would accommodate the expectations of the communities to effectively participate in governing processes (Van Rooyen, 2003).

English being the official language has substantial implications and serves numerous purposes such as being the lingua franca and enabling communication among different ethnic groups (Frydman, 2011). English also serves as the language of instruction in higher learning institutions (Frydman, 2011). Blumler (2017) states that communication is a significant process to the extent that the exchange of benefits and what citizens want in representative legal power and simplified policymaking options other than the politics of power, is what needs to be engulfed in the communication process (Esser & Pfetsch,

2020). Heugh & Rassool (2006) however states that foreign languages have kept the official status in teaching, government operations, and businesses in general, and so is the monolingualism setup in language planning and policy in Africa (Banda, 2009).

The linguistic dominance of English locally is a clear connotation with the situation globally, whereby English is more preferred in the areas of business, diplomatic relations, technological industries, and human interaction (Sehume, 2019). The English preference justifies the language as one of the four major languages believed to be spreading very fast in human history, as the spoken language by about 1.75 billion people across the world (Sehume, 2019). The English language however served Namibia efficiently in the international arena but is seen to be benefiting only a select few being the official language of the country (Frydman, 2011). The challenge is how to advance and incorporate African languages into our education systems, which are often dominated by talks of negative effects on the African cultures and languages (Banda, 2009). These criticisms manifest mainly when using English as a medium of instruction in other spheres of socio-economic development in Africa (Banda, 2009). Approximately the past 20 years, it is evident that English is not the only useful language in Namibia, deduced from the limited exposure to the language among the uneducated and those living especially in rural areas (Frydman, 2011).

With only a small fraction of Namibia's population conversant with English, it is challenging to believe how it could play a meaningful role to build a united Namibia (Frydman, 2011). It is said that communication in one's native language is very important, notwithstanding the empowering nature it has, that allows for the sustenance of culture and identity and therefore should be seen as a matter of national concern (Sehume, 2019). It is only in Africa that children started schooling in a foreign language, creating the belief, especially among young people that their languages become a burden rather than the means of articulation and production (Sehume, 2019).

According to the 2011 Housing and Population Census, about 3.4% of the population are English speakers and this harms participatory democracy in the country (Frydman, 2011). The official business of government is conducted in English which is the official language of the country, therefore, the uneducated and rural masses who do not speak or understand English, do not have access to the political space and neither cannot

participate actively in politics (Frydman, 2011). In certain communities, official multilingualism portrays a diverse socio-political nature and divergent belief systems, where economies become integrated into this globalised world, therefore, various languages can coexist as a benefit politically and on social levels (Moreno-Rivero, 2019). The language used in legislation is technical and many citizens are hesitant, although they might be interested to read and understanding legislation, crafted to their benefit (Roberts & van Houten, 2021). Apart from its fundamental role as a channel for communication, language use plays a major role that can foster nation-building and bringing together people on various social levels (Sehume, 2019). Many people feel excluded from participating in government activities because of the language barrier, and there is the likelihood that the government itself will not adequately address the needs of the people (Frydman, 2011). Many countries have simplified their legislative documents to avoid constant barriers for those trying to access and analyse certain legislative documents (Roberts & van Houten, 2021). The promotion of participatory democracy is the motto since the independence of Namibia, but the use of English will cause people to participate selectively and the majority will be excluded. (Frydman, 2011). The implementation of indigenous languages in the political arena would have allowed citizens to participate competently in politics and therefore genuine participatory democracy would have been possible (Frydman, 2011). A unified society functioning well in its political engagements shall effectively resist and brings about needed change once oppressed (Duguid, 2020). The communication and production of indigenous languages are neglected at the expense of English as the medium of instruction in schools, therefore, it is disadvantaging native cultures (Frydman, 2011). The domination of the English language in almost all spheres of life allows for monolingualism across the world, while neither bilingualism nor multilingualism can foster quality education (Sehume, 2019).

The instinctive economic and political lives of indigenous minority societies may be affected by decisions taken by governments, be it on self-sufficiency, self-determination, and limitation in ways of survival, if they are not consulted (Duguid, 2020). Even though English as an official language is stream-lined for being appropriate in the field of science and technology, it is indeed futile in serving this platform, as those who do not have high competency in English are being discouraged to pursue careers in this field (Frydman, 2011). Namibians would be considerably more inspired and sanctioned to back their

country's growth through the quest for science and technology if indigenous languages were advanced to integrate scientific and practical terminology for use in these fields (Frydman, 2011). Frydman (2011) asserts that numerous scholars in other African states maintained that the only use of English in administrative domains, thwarts the learning of indigenous languages thus leading to the destruction of these languages. It is important for the acknowledgment and safeguarding of indigenous languages, and it is advanced in status and given recognition in informal domains (Frydman, 2011).

Article 3 in Chapter 1 of the Namibian Constitution made English the official language but further stipulates approval of other languages other than English for law-making, governmental, and legal purposes, as well as for teaching and learning, "where such other languages are spoken by a substantial component of the government." (Frydman, 2011). Article 3 provides for open-mindedness and the possibility for interpretation of native languages in case English becomes a barrier in certain public domains, therefore calling for the official recognition and promotion of status in a multilingual policy (Frydman, 2011). Parliamentary proceedings must be carried out and recorded openly in a constitutional democracy, for everybody to understand, a phenomenon that is also to apply to electoral processes in which the electorate are informed in languages they understand (Ndhlovu, 2008).

Marten (2006) states that legislation, deliberation, authorisation of expenditure, and forming and scrutinising of governments are but some of the functions of legislatures, and many a time, the African people have no significant contribution to these processes because of the language barrier (Ndhlovu, 2008). Currently, parliamentary democracy is propped up by prejudices that promote marginalisation of those speaking languages other than those chosen for the specific official or national function (Ndhlovu, 2008).

Parliaments are the most powerful political establishments in any democratic society, therefore, can offer a chance for ostracised groups to find their position in national dialogues (Ndhlovu, 2008). A language-based proportional parliamentary representation may be advantageous, as it might be aware of the diverse pluralistic characteristics of multilingual communities such as in Norway and Scotland (Ndhlovu, 2008).

2.6. Theoretical Framework

2.6.1. Habermas' public sphere theory

This study draws from the Habermasian Public Sphere theory. The Public Sphere Theory by Jürgen Habermas (1962) is significant for the study as it states that opinions are formed around social and cultural needs which put prominence on the business aspect of cooperation (Yetkinel & Çolak, 2017). Habermas argues that the central resolve of media is to facilitate discussions around the public, therefore, he advocates for human rights to be appreciated freely by every person, and not limited to a selective group or advantaged class (Yetkinel & Çolak, 2017).

The Public Sphere theory is about a realm where citizens or people are coming together not of personal interest, to deal with matters of general concern and common interest to form a public sphere (Pearson, Taffel, Nicholls, Wengenmeir, Chin, Phillips, Urbano, 2014). The conceptualisation of the theory can be traced back to the 18th century when Habermas reflects government control as 'public power' that is legalised through the people in elections (Pearson et al., 2014). The government and its influential dealings and rule are not part but rather an equivalent of a public sphere where ideas are formed (Pearson et al., 2014). The basic tenets of a public sphere demand the mediation between the government and the people, thus allowing for the autonomous rule of government activities (Pearson et al., 2014). The modern Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), the 4th Industrial Revolution, and many other dynamics have indeed altered the public sphere (Telleria, 2021). The emergence of radio and television, more specifically cable television and many other mass media tools in the 20th century have meaningfully influenced the advancement of the public sphere (Telleria, 2021).

The question by Habermas is to what extent the mass media offer a public sphere where people can deliberate concerns in an autonomous platform, where the powerful can be held answerable to the people (Livingston & Lunt, 2013). The media is influential in the modern-day society, and therefore are associated gradually with the creation of government dealings and the controlling of governmental judgments, and this is also stated in the works of Garton et al. 1991; Keane, 1991; Raboy and Dagenais, 1992 (Livingston & Lunt, 2013). The modern-day public sphere essentially differs from what Habermas envisioned, although this was already even described by himself as to how the 18/19th-century bourgeois public sphere would be replaced by the mass media-driven

public sphere (Telleria, 2021). People to contribute meaningfully to a democratic society will require entree to a professionally safe platform to express their sentiments, which will allow them to be able to interrogate recognized rules (Livingston & Lunt, 2013). The discussions around the participation of people in governmental interaction direct to queries about media as a public sphere, hence there is a cordial relationship between reputable rule and citizens (Livingston & Lunt, 2013). Lubenow (2012) states that *"the mass media hierarchize the horizon of possible communications, establish obstacles and substitute the structures of communication that had enabled the public discussion"* (Telleria, 2021).

Habermas highlighted how free media without government control can empower citizens to express their will and freedom of thought and express free judgment amidst other methods of political feat in the public sphere (Lunt & Livingstone, 2013). Lubenow (2012) reaffirms these conditions that independent media should maintain its status as a political communication link between civil society and politicians alike, whereas the unbiased civil society encourages citizens to participate and be part in issues of common concern that do not debouche into a captured communication mode (Telleria, 2021). Habermas states that public participation through expansive routes of discussion could justifiably encourage administrative policymaking (Lunt & Livingstone, 2013). Habermas emphasises the significance of unity, multiplicity, individuality, the conclusion of an agreed government, the scattered governance, and the intricacy of collective structures, amidst certain criticisms of the theory, yet he retained the public sphere as an ultimate theory, if not as a civilized realism (Lunt & Livingstone, 2013).

Habermas' public sphere is regarded as an ideal type although various challenging aspects and concepts have frequently been exposed by opponents such as those in the feminist theory and globalisation studies (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009). The ultimate discussion in the public sphere to achieve common ground politically was objectionable and difficult, therefore, it was expected that the public sphere ought to offer passages for the countenance of combined desires and opposition between similar political projects (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009). The antagonistic view by Jacka (2003) on the public sphere is that it is concentrated on compromise and the state has too much power over privately owned broadcasting and the superiority of contemporary journalism and media component (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009). Jacka (2003) further states that vital contributions made by

commercial media to modern democracies, which are the dissemination of information, nurturing of identities, and establishment of grounds for public deliberation, are being neglected (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009). Some fundamental changes in the media domain, render Habermas' ideal of an inclusive public sphere theory seemingly inaccessible with the rapid increase of social and digital media that have divided the multiplicity of public voices (Bennett & Pfetsch, 2018). This division of the public has created challenges leading to the increase of dwindling confidence in institutions such as Parliament, which is regarded as authentic centres of information sharing in prosperous democracies (Bennett & Pfetsch, 2018). Lubenow's (2012) description of the modern-day public sphere seems to take hold because it is regarded as an expression space of opinions without valid reasoning, hollow thinking, failure, and untruths, while Habermas' public sphere focuses on mainstream media (Telleria, 2021).

The citizens have ventured into the social media public sphere, which is birthed into the "Virtual Sphere" and Luhmann (2000) describes it as *"whatever we know about our society, or indeed about the world in which we live, we know through the mass media."* (Telleria, 2021). Habermas' public sphere is now regarded as virtual, and what we lately observe, is indeed consistent with his notion of the public sphere which is more open and accessible than it was before (Telleria, 2021). It is regarded as perfect because the more information is accessible, the more informed citizens become, leading to more informed decisions from them (Telleria, 2021). The citizens become active role-players, as they can create their reality, and on the contrary, this may lead to debates short on rational thinking and propaganda (Telleria, 2021). In fact, with this advancement of the public sphere, citizens have the power and influence in decision-making and actions by others, whether it is on economic or political levels locally and internationally (Telleria, 2021).

These discussions on the public sphere theory, however, proved that public participation in law-making and government processes remains important. This fact is supported by the critical role the mass media plays in which it promotes public engagement and shaping people's opinions when it comes to the crafting of laws for the country.

In the Namibian context, it becomes imperative that all citizens participate without being classified based on status, social standing, or class, and above all, at whatever location they find themselves. Habermas asserts that the mass media should elucidate and apprise

societies by distributing evidence that is factual and dependable, therefore, emphasise the significance of acute marketing, the democratic landscape of arguments that is to triumph in a free culture, where ideas are formed and not made up (Yetkinel & Çolak, 2017).

The public's participation in the law-making process and governance issues, therefore, becomes significant as the voice of every individual, no matter his or her social standing, and from whatever location, can through the mass media, let their voices be heard, while contributing to the crafting of the laws for the country.

2.7. Chapter summary

The final analysis and summary of this chapter focused on the analysis of NBC's live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings, therefore, prominently featuring the aspects of the public's participation in the law-making process. Public participation is the political principle that seeks to facilitate the involvement of those affected by decisions taken at the governmental level. It highlights the government's responsibility to empower citizens, and in the case of Namibia, this is contained in the Namibian Constitution and as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948. The role of the media in public participation in the law-making and parliamentary processes is espoused in its critical role, in informing society to partake in government affairs. The media is expected to cover developmental issues and rally citizens to get involved as such. The role played by the national broadcaster (NBC), its policy and overall ICT policy frameworks, and the relevance of Public Service Broadcasting is looked at, of which PSB is to inform, educate and entertain the citizens in general. Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) are to contribute meaningfully at all levels of society, for example, to e-governance locally and internationally. ICT offers limitless possibilities, therefore, Parliaments across the world can broadcast parliamentary processes live to their citizens. Chapter two had a look at the issue of language, especially in the African context, as language is supposed to establish and maintain social and interpersonal relations. In Africa, it is believed that colonial languages have caused "linguistic inequality" as foreign languages are given higher priority, while local languages are regarded as inferior. The English language is therefore connoted with this notion. Namibia, although it is a multiracial country, with a diversity of languages, adopted English as its official language in the belief that it would unite the nation, as the perception that the people were restricted to communicate with the international community was relevant. Participatory democracy is

significant, as it gives citizens the voice to engage in policy matters. English is the official language of the country and it has substantial implications and serves numerous purposes such as being the lingua franca, and enabling communication among different ethnic groups. English serves as the language of instruction in all learning institutions. Habermas' public sphere states that opinions are formed around social and cultural needs, which put prominence on the business aspect of cooperation. It argues that the central resolve of media is to facilitate discussions around the public, therefore, the theory advocates for human rights to be appreciated freely by every person, and not limited to a selective group or advantaged class of citizens.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This section describes the methodology underpinning the study. In this view, research philosophy, research design and approach, the location of the study, target population, sampling, data collection, data analysis, validity and reliability, and ethical considerations of the study are described in depth.

3.2. Research philosophy: The Interpretive Paradigm

This realism is intricate and multifaceted according to the interpretivist philosophers, as they are convinced that creativeness and social dynamic constructivism, lies with the people individually and has to be studied as such without the involvement of the researcher (Dammak, 2015). People construct meaning differently thus reality is compromised, therefore the interpretive paradigm does not question individual beliefs but accepts them (Scotland, 2012). The interpretive paradigm is relevant for this study because the diverse Namibian society is being affected, which views and accepts the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings differently.

3.3. Research Design

A research design is an overall plan and roadmap the researcher is using to carry out research and arrive at findings (Okong'o, 2016). Kothari (2004) defines research design as the blueprint to collect, measure and analyse data (Okong'o, 2016). The study follows a phenomenological design as it explores the public's ordinary life experiences and studies the notions or phenomena, experienced by one or more individuals (Mohajan, 2018). (Donalek, 2004; Guerrero-Castañeda et al., 2017) assert that phenomenological research is used to learn areas in which there is little understanding and therefore it is a design of the analysis, imminent from philosophy and psychology, where the researcher highlights the lived experiences of persons about a phenomenon, as narrated by the participants (Mohajan, 2018).

3.3.1. Qualitative research approach

The essential features of qualitative research are aimed at giving an in-depth interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants by learning about their social and physical surroundings, capabilities, perceptions, and histories (Moriarty, 2012). It deals with samples on a smaller scale, purposively selected based on significant criteria, of which methods usually involve close contact between the researcher and the research participants, which are collaborative and progressive, and consent to emergent issues that need to be discovered (Moriarty, 2012). The qualitative research analysis is exposed to evolving models and ideas that may produce meticulous narrative and classification which identifies trends of association or develop typologies and explanations (Moriarty, 2012). Qualitative research outputs are inclined to revolve around interpretations of social denotation through mapping and representing the social world of participants (Moriarty, 2012). In the same way, qualitative research is also based on words, feelings, emotions, sounds, and other non-numerical and unquantifiable elements (Andhini, 2017).

The study, therefore, employed the qualitative research approach by conducting interviews with concerned Namibian citizens. The research questions for this study were not focused on assumptions about the presence of a distinct realism but were intended to disclose a 'plurality of truths' as Fraser (2004) asserts, therefore, the qualitative approach was more suitable in presenting the justification of causal relationships (Moriarty, 2012). Participants might have different experiences and views with regards to the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings on the national television and its impact, therefore, it was possible through qualitative methods, to apprehend why people behave as they do in specific circumstances or respond to particular stimuli or interventions as Moriarty (2012) asserts. In other words, in qualitative research, the researcher explores meanings and perceptions in a given situation and studies indigenous knowledge and acceptance of a specific programme, familiarities of the people, values, and interactions, and social practices and circumstantial elements that ostracizes a group of people (Mohajan, 2018).

3.4. Location of the study

The study was carried out in Windhoek. Windhoek is the seat of the Central Government, the Namibian Parliament, and the headquarters of the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) is located in the Capital City, Windhoek.

3.5. Population and sampling

3.5.1. Population

Kasonde-Ng"andu (2013) asserts that a population is a cluster of persons, substances or things to be measured as a sample, for example, a population of students (Haluyasa & Chakanika, 2018). In another definition by Phiri (2013), it is a whole group of people or elements having at least one thing in common (Haluyasa & Chakanika, 2018).

The target population for the study included the citizens of Namibia from various sectors of society, residing in Windhoek, including the Members of Parliament and the NBC Manager for Programmes. The Covid-19 pandemic during the period of the study and subsequent limited human interaction and random travel restrictions in place at the time, caused the researcher to only focus on a smaller population based in the capital, Windhoek.

3.5.2. Sampling

Kasonde-Ng"andu (2013) states that a sample is defined as a subset of the population and refers to the number of participants chosen from the whole population to form the desired sample (Haluyasa & Chakanika, 2018). Through sampling, the selection is done, following systematic measures, a small and controlled set of matters, persons, and events from which tangible information is taken, to learn more about the whole population (Haluyasa & Chakanika, 2018). The selection of the sample for this particular study was determined by the theoretical framework supporting the research study (Silverman, 2013). Qualitative research usually focuses in-depth on reasonably small samples purposefully selected (Moriarty, 2012). The sampling process in qualitative research is usually iterative, with new participants chosen to respond to new or unanticipated aspects emerging from the research (Moriarty, 2012).

Purposive sampling is a method of sampling where the researcher purposefully selects who to include in the study based on their capability to offer the required data (Haluyasa & Chakanika, 2018). The sampling method allows the researcher to intentionally target a group of people assumed to be reliable for the study (Haluyasa & Chakanika, 2018). Qualitative researchers at times consider sample sizes, using simple random sampling, not only considering the number of participants and the method of selection but also under which conditions the selection was done Omona (2013) asserts. In this particular

study, the researcher uses purposive sampling, intentionally targeting a smaller sample believed to be reliable for the study under the difficult circumstances due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Phenomenological research justifies the sample size used in this study as Creswell (1998) confirms for interviews, which suggested about 10 participants (Omona, 2013).

Based on the above arguments from Haluyasa & Chakanika (2018), Moriarty (2012), and Omona (2013), the researcher focused on a small sample size of 21 participants, which was purposefully selected for this particular study. The purposive sampling consisted of 10 Members of Parliament (MPs) chosen from about 138 elected Members of Parliament, 10 Namibian citizens also purposively selected from a population of Windhoek residents, and the Manager for programmes of the national broadcaster NBC. All samples were purposively selected from the population described earlier. The sample size used also considered the Covid-19 pandemic and its impact as described under section (3.5.1.) above.

3.6. Data collection methods

The data collection method is denoted as the gathering of information to assist and verify some facts as Kombo and Tromp (2006) assert, therefore, is done to advance the researcher's appreciation of perplexing issues (Haluyasa & Chakanika, 2018). Data collection for this study was done through interviews, the most common data gathering method in qualitative research. Interviewing is an accustomed and flexible way of probing people about their thoughts and experiences (Moriarty, 2012). Kahn and Cannell (1957) argue that an interview is a conversation with a purpose (Mohajan, 2018). Semi-structured interviews were conducted, consisting of open-ended questions. An interview guide with pre-set questions was used to collect data, which was conducted with the targeted citizens, lawmakers, and the manager for programmes at the NBC. A field recorder was used to record the interviews whereby the audio recordings were transcribed and analysed accordingly.

The interviews conducted with the citizens, the lawmakers, and similarly the manager for programmes of the national broadcaster (NBC), were to explore the significance of the only use of the official language and the importance of live broadcast of parliamentary

proceedings on NBC and to probe whether the citizens were effectively engaged in parliamentary proceedings.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, required health protocols were observed, by applying social distancing measures when interviews were conducted face to face. The interview with the NBC Manager for programmes was done telephonically at her request, the reason given the Covid-19 which poses a health risk. This interview was then recorded and transcribed.

3.7. Data Analysis

Andrienko and Andrienko (2006) state that data analysis is the method of calculating several summaries and consequent values from particular data by studying and scrutinising data to come up with conclusions about the phenomenon under study using several systematic techniques (Haluyasa & Chakanika, 2018). The qualitative research data is descriptive and in the form of interview records which were recorded, transcribed, and analysed inductively (Mohajan, 2018). Mohajan (2018) states that the sources of data should be from practical situations, be natural, and should occur in non-manipulated settings. As such, thematic analysis was done by following an inductive approach based on the theory that the researcher used for the study. The data was classified, transcribed, and arranged into themes and sub-themes for analysis purposes as Haluyasa & Chakanika (2018) state. Transcription was done from the recordings using a field recorder. The researcher read and familiarised himself with the content to understand the meaning of the text before coming up with the different themes. Analysis was done based on the themes, dividing the participants into their respective categories, namely MPs, NBC manager, and citizens.

3.8. Pilot study

The interview questions were pilot-tested with about 10% of the sample size, which is the usual acceptable size for pilot testing as Hertzog (2008) asserts. The 10% from the sample size, which gives 2.1% in this case, was deemed sufficient. Pilot testing assists the researcher to determine if there are mistakes, restrictions, or other shortcomings within the interview design and allows for needed reviews before the implementation of the study (Turner, 2010). A pilot test is conducted with participants having similar interests as those that will participate in the implemented study (Turner, 2010).

3.9. Reliability and Validity of the Instruments

Reliability and validity are commonly used in quantitative research as it encapsulates the positivist perspective (Golafshani, 2015). Reliability deals with the consistency of results and the precise demonstration of the total population under study while validity determines the truthful measures anticipated to measure or how truthful the overall research results should be (Golafshani, 2015). Stenbacka (2001) asserts, that reliability in qualitative research is aimed at generating understanding and the term as such becomes irrelevant in the qualitative study (Golafshani, 2015).

The researcher, understanding the concepts of reliability and validity, did not use these instruments during data analysis. As trustworthiness is creating confidence in the findings of many qualitative studies as Lincoln & Guba (1985) assert, which is even defensible as Mishler (2000) affirms, replaces reliability and validity as a truth-finding measure in qualitative research (Maxwell, 1992) argues.

A qualitative study assists in understanding perplexed or puzzling issues as Eisner (1991) states, therefore, the consideration of trustworthiness is of cardinal importance in ensuring reliability in qualitative research, according to Maxwell (1992). Trustworthiness was therefore used as a reliable instrument for this particular study. Qualitative researchers tend to look at the integrity of data, the balance between reflexivity and subjectivity, and the perfect interpretation of findings as the main classifications of trustworthiness Williams & Morrow (2009) argue.

As was the case with this study, researchers many a time involved themselves more openly with participants to try and understand their experiences and by working together with them on projects of interest using interviewing techniques to encourage discussion to understand the participants better Knox & Burkard (2009) argues.

This study is focused on qualitative analysis to understand the study objectives and therefore considers trustworthiness during data collection and analysis. The researcher, therefore, used face-to-face, semi-structured interviews consisting of open-ended questions to determine how the citizens felt, thought, and experienced the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings in the official language on NBC. The

participants' demonstrated honesty and reflexivity that was consistent in almost all their responses.

3.10. Ethical considerations

Ethics is the foremost understanding of the rights of people, therefore, should be truthful and done in a dignified manner (Cohen, 2006). For this particular study, informed consent was obtained from the participants after giving them comprehensive information about the research and their roles in it as Gravetter & B.Forzano (2006) argue.

The research study was purely for academic purposes, therefore, the participants were assured of the confidentiality of the information gathered, and that it shall be kept private and only shared between the student and the supervisor. The participants understood the information and then voluntarily decided to participate in the study (Gravetter & B.Forzano, 2006).

When interviews were conducted as a research instrument, priority on human rights and the safeguarding of personal information was paramount, and this was explained to the participants as Qu & Dumay (2011) state.

Ethical approval was obtained from the Faculty of Human Sciences, the Department of Communication of the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST), with the issuance of an Ethical Clearance Certificate (ECC) by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee (FREC), before the commencement of the study.

3.11. Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed the theoretical and philosophical assumptions underlying the research methodology. Philosophical assumptions came from the interpretive tradition and does not question individual beliefs but accepts them. Discussions on the research design were made additionally, and is a plan and roadmap to carry out research to arrive at findings. Interviews were subsequently conducted with Namibian citizens to determine the impact of live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings by NBC. The study was carried out in Windhoek, which is the seat of the central Government, the Namibian Parliament, and the headquarters of the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The next chapter will present the data and give an in-depth analysis of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the research findings under the thematic sub-sections in line with the study objectives. In this view, this chapter proceeds as follows;

The presentation and analysis of three sets of interviews were conducted with MPs, the citizens, and the Manager for programmes of the NBC. This data was subsequently analysed separately, first for the MPs, followed by the manager of NBC, and lastly the citizens.

4.2. Responses from the Members of Parliament

4.2.1. MPs' awareness of broadcasting provisions by the Namibian Constitution

The Namibian Constitution does not prescribe live broadcasts of parliamentary proceedings by the NBC, although the constitution guarantees the right to information and that of the press as one of the fundamental freedoms. This fact was not known to the majority Members of Parliament that the constitution does not make any provision for the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings on the national broadcaster or any other media platform. However, they would want the constitution to make provisions, for it might fall within the realm of a good governance framework. In line with this, this is what some of them had to say:

MP 1; *"To be honest, not that I am aware of but the question for me is probably having it or not having it and looking at the need thereof and then if the need weighs more than its absence, then having some instruments that allow the process to take place".*

MP 2; *"I don't think there is any constitutional provision but I think it is merely a matter of consensus and applying common knowledge with regards to other jurisdictions and in terms of the general perception and good governance framework, I think it is a good thing".*

MP 3; *"Yes, talking under correction, there are proceedings of parliament on NBC and also on Facebook, where it goes live while the session is on but I don't know whether there is a constitutional provision which I haven't seen".*

MP 4; *"The Namibian constitution does not prescribe live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings by NBC, however, the constitution guarantees the right to information and the press being one of the fundamental freedoms. On the other hand, the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) Act, Act 9 of 1991, mandated the NBC to inform and entertain the public, and to contribute to the education and unity of the nation and that is basically to promote peaceful endeavors that are aimed at helping the people to further strengthen the ability to live together in unity, to contribute towards the economic development of the country. It also provides and disseminates information relevant to the socio-economic development of the country. This shows that the NBC has a clearly defined mandate to carry out its important mandate".*

The researcher concurs and supports the call for a constitutional provision to broadcast parliamentary proceedings live to the citizenry as media systems as Olengurumwa (2013) asserts, are the primary channels between citizens and policymakers as it influences political discourse and the flow of information. Olengurumwa (2013) further states that the broadcast media is undoubtedly the most dominant form of media today, therefore, can play a significant role in bringing useful and engaging information because of its capacity to reach as many people as possible, especially with the advent of satellite TV that can make information instantly available.

As for Namibia, on the other hand, the Communications Act of 2009 only makes provisions for the public, commercial, and community broadcasting, but more on licensing issues (Botswana, 2014), while in other jurisdictions such as Kenya, its Constitution in Chapter 118, allows parliamentary business to be open to the public, states Okong'o (2016). Okong'o (2016) asserts that the awareness levels of the day-to-day work of Parliaments are increased with continuous live broadcasting of Parliamentary Proceedings, as in the case with Kenya and other jurisdictions across the world. Miller (2008) states that over 60 countries across the world are presently allowing television and radio recordings of parliamentary proceedings in their respective legislatures, including a greater majority of the Commonwealth States such as South Africa, Botswana, and Nigeria (Okong'o, 2016). The Namibia Broadcasting Act, Act 9 of 1991 somehow guides and mandates the national broadcaster to report and broadcast on parliamentary issues to the citizenry. Pearson et al., (2014) maintain that Habermas

reflects government control as 'public power' that is legalised through the people in elections as the government and its influential dealings and rule are not part but rather an equivalent of a public sphere where ideas are formed. With these reflections, having a law regulating live broadcasts will be beneficial for both government and citizens alike as common partners because the basic tenets of a public sphere demand the mediation between the government and the people and allows for the autonomous rule of government activities.

4.2.2. The language used in Parliament and its impact on law-making and citizen's participation

The language used in parliament and its impact on the public's engagement in the law-making processes unlocks a variety of views and responses from the MPs, some echoing sentiments that it impacted negatively on the citizen's participation in the law-making process. Although some MPs believe that the use of the official language is good for communication purposes, as it forces the citizens to learn the language, some are arguing that it at times denies the citizens the right to factual and correct information. Those not conversant in the English language cannot comprehend what their elected representatives are saying on the floor of both Houses. In line with the above, the following were some of the responses from the MPs;

MP 1; *"I think for me it's a negative. One must benchmark it from the history of our country vis a vis the English proficiency levels. When the Minister of Education late Abraham Iyambo came on board, there must have been something that prompted him to want to initiate an English proficiency test for all teachers, and that tells you something, that if the medium of instruction is not well understood, so is the transfer and limitation on information, therefore the English language becomes a barrier if other languages are not equally promoted or used. Live broadcasts instigate real-time communication and have got real-time feedback, for example, when you are following a Facebook Livestream, you get instant feedback. So I think the real-time dissemination of information helps it positively, to advance and improve effectiveness and efficiency".*

MP 2; *"Yes the use of English have partially a negative impact even for the MPs themselves as they cannot express themselves very well as they would have done so in their languages. People on the ground cannot express themselves in the English language*

but if it was their vernacular, they would have expressed themselves from the bottom of their heart. Most of the communities in rural areas are having difficulties understanding English and they cannot participate in the law-making process. Even if we go to them with Parliamentary Standing Committee work, we are talking in English and some of them cannot participate because they don't understand what is going on".

MP 3; *We have set for ourselves that English be the official language and it is a constitutional provision since Namibia is a diverse country in terms of languages, culture, and dialects. Before independence, it was very tough for some regions that opted for Afrikaans as a medium of instruction apart from the Zambezi region. People started to learn the language and although they do not follow everything, they do. Parliamentary language is a legal language and some parliamentarians are well versed in the language and sometimes the public is left out. As much as we are using English as the medium of instruction, is like forcing everybody naturally to learn the English language which is also good for communication in a country where you have twenty or more dialects. The barrier is that we still got people left behind after independence and still stuck with two dialects, one being their language and Afrikaans. They can follow English but just the basics and those basics may not allow them to follow parliamentary proceedings which impacted negatively on them. They will be bored with following proceedings that are in a language they do not understand. Those with the basic vocabularies will at times follow the parliamentary language".*

MP 4; *"Of cause the official language has got its requirements and therefore there is little that we can do other than engage in the constitutional official language. But then when we go down to the community and look at the cultural diversity of our country, it does not do any harm if one looks for example at South Africa where all the 11 languages or all the languages spoken, (indigenous languages) are regarded as official languages. I do not see any disadvantage, in fact, it only adds as an advantage, allowing people to communicate eloquently in any language and it brings togetherness, it brings closeness, and oneness as a nation as well. Because of the colonial history, our people do not adequately communicate in the official language therefore a provision for them to express themselves in a language they can better express themselves in will do no harm, as I have said, South Africa is a unique example so why can't we then also do it. English is of cause the medium of instruction and allows us as a nation to be able to communicate*

with the rest of the world. In terms of globalization where we are headed towards, we cannot live as a country in isolation. I think the issue of exclusion in terms of local development and communities can be dealt with through various ways for example that people can be directed to ensure that whatever comes from parliament or should go to parliament through whichever ways or structures, should then be addressed in those particular vernaculars that people understand so that their feelings are adequately captured, because once you are in parliament, you are required to communicate in the official language to express yourself. There is a certain requirement in terms of understanding the dynamics of politics and the dynamics of economics for you as a law-maker to take informed decisions. So the need thereof, (to speak the official language) in terms of parliamentary proceedings, is essential and cannot be overemphasized. In terms of how it influences and affect those for which laws are made to benefit their lives, and how they understand them is also an issue that can easily if we put our minds to it, be addressed so that things can be translated into booklets, so we just need to think out of the box ".

MP 5; *"It is not such a huge portion of our society that is fluent in English as our national language, so the impact it has on the portion of society it reaches is very positive. If we can as parliamentarians get to the point of properly re-allocate funds and redress the current allocation in the Appropriation Bill, I would love to see the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology (MICT) get the bigger chunk to empower the NBC as our only national broadcaster to have these broadcasts in other vernaculars, that would be good because I am not saying we should go into a specific ethnic type of broadcasting but the Oshiwambo speaking person that is not good in English would prefer to hear what is going on in parliament in Oshiwambo. The same for the Nama and Afrikaans speaking person that is not good at English and would love to hear in their language. Now if we could get to that point even if we could start with three languages and then over some time move into all other languages spoken in our country, that would be good"*

MP 6; *"The answer is "yes" and "no". But first let me clarify that Members of Parliament, especially the National Assembly are allowed to make use of local languages during their contributions in the debate, provided they inform the Secretariat of the National Assembly in advance for proper arrangements to be made for both translations as well*

as the necessary logistics so that a particular member can be clearly understood when he/she does the contribution. On the other hand, the use of English sometimes denies our people those who are not conversant with the English language to comprehend what their elected representatives are saying on the floor of the House. That of cause is something that we must take into account and it is for that reason provisions have been made for those who prefer to express themselves in their language. As alluded to earlier on, some of the citizens might find it difficult to follow the proceedings or to understand what their leaders are contemplating during such a debate. And that is one of the reasons that cause some people depending on the neighborhood, depending on the region where they are located, they could have an instant translation from those who can follow that particular language and be able to get a summary of what's been said on so forth. But of cause, it is always ideal to get information directly that is being provided because one mustn't be forced to delay accessing such important information".

Based on the responses from the MPs, it is evident that the language used in parliament is one such essential component to be considered fairly, and carefully. Frydman (2011) states that Namibia has a policy of monolingualism and English is regarded as the official language, therefore, only a limited number of people are fluent in the language even though it was adopted as the official language.

The 2011 Housing and Population Census indicate about 3.4% of the population being English speakers, and this has a negative impact on participatory democracy in the country states Frydman (2011). Many citizens believed that English would unite the nation and would foster relationships between the country, the international community, and neighbouring countries, states Iipinge (2013). It is now evident from the study that the use of English in parliamentary processes and events have a negative impact on the citizens' engagement in parliamentary processes and events.

Namibia advocated for the promotion of participatory democracy since gaining independence in 1990, and Frydman (2011) argues that the use of English will cause people to participate selectively and the likelihood that the majority would be excluded was real. Adamo (2005) in the case of Nigeria states that the English language imposed on the world and Africa in particular in the pretext of globalisation through the media, information technology, or other means of publicity, is a form of linguistic intimidation

and may cause stagnation, degeneration, and lack of growth and development. The researcher tends to agree with these arguments because the Namibian Constitution in Article 3, also clearly states that although English is the official language of the country, other languages can be used for law-making and governmental processes, where interpretation of vernacular languages is possible.

Comeau & Stevick (1994) notes that broadcasting in vernacular languages will ultimately lead to effective participation and ultimately increase the development and growth of the country. Comeau & Stevick (1994) further states that language plays a significant role in the communication process as people use it to express, create and interpret meanings to establish and maintain social and interpersonal relations. Sehume (2019) argues that a language builds inclusive societies where people's rights, whether on political, economic, or social levels are recognised in a supportive environment. Language is a social practice that establishes meaning and interpretation and its users need to know how to use it to create and represent those meanings when communicating and engaging with others Comeau & Stevick (1984) further assert.

Humans as social beings, wherever they live, communicate in a language with one another, therefore, understanding and learning a particular language becomes paramount in a certain society at all times as it builds human interaction be it in a written form or orally (Sehume, 2019) argues. Liddicoat (2018) notes that language, therefore, becomes a link that unites people across various cultures wherever they live because they can express emotions, and beliefs and interacts through language. It is in language that human social and cultural development prospers in unison with other civilisations to share the common good, and it is in the fundamental nature of language that prosperity is achieved, states Sehume (2019). Based on these arguments, the researcher believes that alongside the official language English, local languages should be considered and used in parliamentary processes and events to accommodate the citizenry at all levels. People will participate competently in politics and subsequently in government and law-making processes if indigenous languages are advanced in status and given the necessary recognition at all levels. Sehume (2019) maintains that communication in one's native language is very important, notwithstanding the empowering nature it has, that allows for the sustenance of culture and identity, therefore, should be seen as a matter of national concern. Political engagement is significant for both the community and the state as it is

beneficial in policy and decision-making processes at all governmental levels Duguid (2020) argues. Habermas advocates for human rights to be appreciated freely by every person, and not limited to a selective group or advantaged class as Yetkinel & Çolak (2017) stresses, therefore the language used in parliament should be considerate and accommodative to all citizens.

4.2.3. Participants' perception of the role of the media

The role of the media is regarded as significant in citizens' participation, law-making, and processes of parliament. This section analyzed the responses from all the participants both MPs, the NBC Manager and citizen's perceptions of the role of the media and this is what some of them had to say:

MP 1; *"Yes definitely, I think development through the law-making process is about participation, it's about knowledge, and it's about being aware of what is taking place and the appropriate platform or mechanism to use is the NBC to disseminate information and empower the people in this process".*

MP 2; *"I think their custodian role should be to facilitate, inform and educate the nation. Whether they are playing it most effectively and efficiently, is maybe debatable but that is one of the reasons for their essence of existence, to educate, inform and transmit information in all kinds of forms as it happens in real-time. I think moving forward in the technological age in which you get real-time information as things happens becomes of paramount importance".*

MP 3; *"The NBC being the only medium that I know especially the television and to a big extend also the radio platforms reaches almost every corner in the country. They can probably live and operate that mandate to inform, educate and entertain. Now the NBC also being on the DStv platform, is a good platform for information regarding parliamentary happenings, national politics etcetera, and then, especially when we are in session, the special coverage they give with regards to parliament, I regard that as a very good tool to inform the nation about what is happing with the elected officials".*

MP 4; *"Whenever public participation is needed for law-making or Committees go out to undertake important outreach activities, we use NBC and its various platforms to*

announce such visits in different parts of the country. We also use NBC platforms to advise citizens in the country on how they can submit in-writing, submissions in terms of their inputs on particular proposed legislation. So NBC in this connection is always there to provide that kind of support and connect our people to various national institutions".

Citizen 1; *"You see, the thing is people tend to remember things that they see, so the print media and also the televised information, those programmes, they (people) will be eager to participate as a citizen because if you see things and you hear things, you tend to remember and put a start to get interested in it. That's why it is such an important intervention. Now that people are also given the floor to come to parliament chambers and also listen to, cause if they see it on television, they will get that courage to come also to the chambers to come and listen so that they get the feeling about the law-making process as a citizen".*

Citizen 2; *"Yes, the media does play a vital role. Growing up, if something for instance said on NBC, we regard it as true. If you see a headline in the Namibian newspaper, they regard it as true back then. So for example NBC, whether National or Oshiwambo, the two radio stations that I grow up listening to, till up to now deep in the villages if something is said on NBC Oshiwambo radio. Is true. So it is vital that media put out the correct information".*

Citizen 3; *"I think media is very much important if people understand what legislative process is all about and if they can take outreach programmes to community members especially us that are staying like in deep locations. When we understand or hear the importance of it, I think people will start watching all these things".*

Citizens 4; *"Media play an important role because only through media, people will understand the problems they are facing, the current situation in the country. Is only through media that how and whether their problems and challenges are addressed at political level",*

Citizen 5; *"I think the media is an information service because most of the happenings in Namibia, you only get to know it through the media most of the time, therefore, media*

is very important but not all of us have radio and not all of us have a TV but it is very important so that we can stay informed and know what's going on in the country".

Citizen 6; *"I think the media plays a big role. I give thanks to our government and our country for our freedom of speech is not limited. Our newspapers are open as they report everything and they influence the citizens. If there is corruption going on, they put it there in the open and people can engage on social media about what is happening in the country. I think social media and media, in general, plays a big role and we thank God for that and that our country is on the right path".*

NBC 1; *"When we covered the parliamentary proceedings for example MPs going to the regions to have public hearings and then as NBC we would announce those public meetings, the time and date and interview a particular MP to give more light also through our news because it is correlated and that's how we influenced. Parliament used to have what they called "Parliament on Wheels" a bus which we have promoted which was mainly aimed at influencing and ensuring that the public understood the functions of parliament and to give input on e.g. Bills at public hearings".*

Bouchet (2003) quotes the media as continuously playing a critical role in informing society about their right to participate in the governance of their country. Bouchet (2003) further states that it creates knowledge and awareness about governance issues and parliamentary functions for example the law-making process.

Being regarded as the fourth estate of democracy along the three pillars of government, Isike & Uzodike (2009) notes that the media can strengthen the government's performance through checks and balances. The media as Chiyamwaka (2007) asserts, uplifts the government and civil society's capability to maintain the input and participation of the public in the decision-making processes. The media is, therefore, a channel for public opinion and debate that also allows for two-way communication, from citizens to government and vice versa, where numerous prospects, recommendations, and criticisms can be made Ukka (2019) argues. Ukka (2019) further states that the media in a democratic setup can freely investigate and reveal public issues openly to the citizens which are on policy and developmental issues and programmes, intended for the public good. Piece & Sen (2005) confirms that it serves the interest of the public and offers

significant public service to all people, regardless of wealth, age, language, or rural location.

Ukka (2019) further states that the media is a significant institution that is essential for the community and a democratic state, therefore, should act professionally and only broadcast transparent and fact-based information and news. The CPA study group of MPs reaffirmed the importance of media as a tool to promote civic engagement and recommended the removal of any obstacles to establishing an informed society Bouchet (2003) concludes.

In concurrence with some of the literature and responses from the participants, Habermas' public sphere theory (1962), encapsulates the media as a public sphere where citizens are participating in governmental dealings such as the law-making process. Habermas highlights that cordial relationship between reputable rule by government and citizens Livingston & Lunt (2013) asserts. Habermas emphasised how free media without government control can empower citizens to express their will and freedom of thought and express free judgment amidst other methods of political feat in the public sphere Livingston & Lunt (2013) further argues.

Yetkinel & Çolak (2017) states that Habermas's public sphere argues that the central resolve of media is to facilitate discussions around the public, therefore, Habermas is advocating for human rights to be appreciated freely by every person and should not be limited to a selective group or advantaged class. This phenomenon in the researcher's view is very much prevalent in the Namibian context. Many citizens are unable to participate in law-making and parliamentary processes because of the rural and urban divide, and many citizens cannot access various services due to a lack of ICT infrastructure in their vicinities, especially in rural areas.

Habermas further argues as Lunt & Livingstone (2013) state, that public participation via expansive routes such as that of the media could justifiably encourage administrative policymaking. Armstrong & Weeds (2007) quotes William Haley, Director General of the BBC who wrote in 1947 that "the public service broadcaster's aim must be to make people active, not passive, both in the fields of recreation and public affairs". This notion holds water and similarly ties in with the public sphere theory that advocates for people

to impulsively participate in issues that are of political importance, to achieve consensus without any interference.

The media in strengthening their role as the fourth estate of government in collaboration with a civil society called on the Namibian government to enact the Access to Information law in recent years. This call was adhered to and the Bill was re-tabled in September 2021, after it lapsed in 2020 due to no parliamentary sittings, because of the Covid-19 pandemic. This law is intended to promote a democratic open society that will enable citizens to have access to information held by the government for informed decisions and to better their lives. One can argue that access to information becomes critical because it creates the understanding of one's immediate surroundings and the world at large, even schemes or structures that hampers development in Namibia Keyter (2019) confirms. Telleria (2021) quotes Lubenow (2012) as saying, *"the mass media hierarchize the horizon of possible communications, establish obstacles and substitute the structures of communication that had enabled the public discussion"*.

Telleria (2021) states that the citizens have ventured into the social media public sphere which is called the "Virtual Sphere". This is also consistent with Habermas' public sphere but is more open and accessible than it was before, and is regarded as perfect because the more information is accessible, the more informed citizens become, leading to more informed decisions they can make. One of the MPs was quoted as saying "*I think moving forward in the technological age in which you get real-time information as things happens becomes of paramount importance"*. This latter statement ties in with the tenets of the "Virtual Sphere" as Namibia is moving along with the rest of the world in terms of ICT growth and interconnectedness.

4.2.4. Broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings in vernacular languages

Many parliaments across the globe make provision for the broadcasting of parliamentary events in various languages, even availing translation services for citizens to follow these events in their languages. This section too analyzed the responses from both the MPs, citizens, and the NBC Manager on the question of whether they would want parliamentary proceedings to be broadcasted in vernacular languages. The majority concur and argued that government should consider making provisions for broadcasts in vernacular languages and this is what some of them had to say;

MP 1; *"I believe we do have the capacity in terms of technology, the technology changing almost constantly, we only need to have proper planning and proper system of coordination to be able to achieve those objectives and it is all about the recruiting the right personnel who have got the capacity and the knowledge to make use of the technology. And I think everything being equal where we were talking about resources for NBC to commit itself to an appropriate amount of money to be utilised but then to have a core group of people, professionals who are well trained and then we have kind of a framework that would help to make sure that we coordinate these activities in a manner that benefits the institutions and the role that the institutions can play. At the end of the day, we go back to what we started with, which is to inform and to educate and these should be seen in that context".*

MP 2; *"One would have loved to see that the line ministry (MICT) to get the bigger chunk to empower the NBC as the only national broadcaster to have these broadcasts in other vernaculars, for example, an Oshiwambo speaking person, that is not good in English, would prefer to hear what is going on in parliament in Oshiwambo. Likewise, the Nama speaking person that is not good in English, I believe would like to hear in Nama".*

MP 3; *"As opposed to knowing that this is a need, educational realities on the ground says that our people are without education or are having that backlog, therefore the inclusion of vernaculars is an important thing, therefore the government in line with it should make policy and budgetary provision for other vernacular languages to be taken care of for the sake of inclusivity, allowing people to partake in the law-making process".*

MP 4; *"There is a barrier if the sender sends the message but the receiver can't interpret or receive the message due to barriers of language or so, then the communication process is not complete because it's not just an aspect of transmitting, sending out but an aspect of transmitting, hearing and understanding and then getting feedback".*

MP 5; *"It is at a very small scale that we have introduced programmes in vernacular languages through which people are getting all the information that is occurring at the parliament level. However, the only challenge here is that information on legislative processes is being broadcasted in those vernacular languages in summary form and not*

live broadcasts as they are happening. So you will only expect the media practitioner to summarise what was said instead of allowing Namibians to follow every tiny piece of information that is taking place in parliament. However, it will now come with resources, human resources, and capital resources. Translations will cost millions for the country and NBC is struggling to fund its programmes".

Citizen 1; *"For a layman, it is quite difficult to follow in the official language. You will hear but you will not understand everything, so that will impair your participation. If you want to speak to a man or want to get to a man's heart, you speak to him through his vernacular (own) language. For another person(s) that is academic, they will grasp or understand but for my mother in the village who likes to listen to the radio and the proceedings is in English she will not be able to contribute. So if some of the deliberations can be translated into various vernacular languages like they are trying with news that is in various vernacular languages perhaps every week. It will be helpful and also attract interest in every Namibian".*

Citizen 2; *"O yes! That that will be an advantage to all communities because English is not our language even though it is our official language, many people will be happy to have them in their vernacular languages".*

Citizen 3; *"Yes, I think it will be the best if it is. I am privileged because I can understand English, Afrikaans, Damara, Tswana, etc. But then what about those people who only understand Oshiwambo and don't understand any other language. So I think to be fair to them, it is good that translations are being done for those who can only speak and understand their mother language because we have a variety of different tribes in Namibia, the Hereros, Damaras, the Bushman you can name them all, so the majority of them struggle with English, so it's good for them to listen to everything in their vernacular language".*

Citizen 4; *"Yes, I would want that and that would be a dream come true. I want them to broadcast all the languages in Namibia because the citizens know a lot of information at the grassroots. So if you translate all the debate into all the languages then people will be able to follow nicely, even our old people in the village, they will be able to follow and they will be able to contribute and understand what's going on".*

Citizen 5; *"Yes! Why is because citizens honestly at the grassroots, those who did follow parliamentary proceedings will be able to understand it better in their vernacular than in English. So then it will be informative rather than everybody just speaking English and not everybody is conversant with the English language".*

Citizen 6; *"Yes, it would be a good initiative for our elders and senior people that are in the constituencies to best understand what is going on with the law-making process of parliament".*

NBC 1; *"It is like these daily updates of Covid-19, it's huge. People are affected, families are affected and they want to follow and the updates are in English. By requirement, it has to be in the official language but you could have simulcast translations. It's something that I haven't raised yet as it has come to mind now and it will be costly. Already we are saying we don't have enough money for vaccines and things like that, although some sponsors are coming on board. Maybe the next idea is to, even for any other disaster that will come, have a link from the same centre of people translating and the various radio stations then take those links and the producers can only perhaps summarize still in the same language".*

Merten (2006) argues that electoral processes and voter education for example are conducted mainly in other lingua francas and select African languages in many African countries, which is causing a language barrier and barring many Africans from political processes. Ndhlovu (2008) quotes Marten (2006) that legislation, deliberation, authorisation of expenditure, forming and scrutinising of governments are but some of the functions of legislatures, and many of the African people have no significant contribution to these processes because of the language barrier. The same can be said with the broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings and processes in the official language which may cause a barrier for those not conversant with the official language. Ndhlovu (2008) states that there is an assertion that when languages are neglected and are imperceptible in the development sphere, the accrued wisdom about politics, philosophy, ideology, and living vanishes. Ndhlovu (2008) further implies that African communities are unique in the way they interact with the environment in the aspects of language, wisdom, ideas, and knowledge systems and is having the ability to turn around the socio-

economic gains of the world. Taking into consideration these arguments and notion by Ndhlovu (2008), the government should make provision for the adoption and recognition of indigenous languages in all spheres of government. A language should not be neglected thus every language should enjoy an official status for preservation. Namibia and its citizens are diverse in terms of languages, cultural practices, and norms, therefore, may have different outlooks on political and philosophical perspectives. Africa (2020) argues that communication in one's native language is important, notwithstanding the empowering nature it has therefore broadcasting parliament and government activities in vernacular languages might be beneficial to all citizens.

Akinwale (2011) states that the subjugation of several indigenous languages in Africa has affected the development of the continent, especially as different groups co-exist with divergent linguistic orientations. Frydman (2011) states that the 2011 Housing and Population Census records indicated a fraction of the population as English speakers and this may harm participatory democracy in the country.

Ndhlovu (2008) argues that currently, parliamentary democracy is propped up by prejudices that promote marginalisation of those speaking languages other than those chosen for the specific official or national function. Ndhlovu (2008) further states that Parliaments are the most powerful political establishments in any democratic society, therefore, can offer a chance for ostracised groups to find their position in national dialogues. Perhaps a language-based proportional Parliamentary representation may be advantageous as it might be aware of the diverse pluralistic characteristics of multilingual communities such as in Norway and Scotland Ndhlovu, (2008) notes. South Africa for example regards all indigenous languages as official, curbing the possibility of a language barrier, although it might be a costly exercise for government and parliament, in particular, the groundwork is breakeven for citizen participation and deliberation.

Akinwale (2011) states that sustainable development for Africa can be achieved through the promotion of indigenous languages, as people from diverse origins can harmoniously work together. The issue of indigenous languages is encapsulated in the Sustainable Development Goals with Mweri (2020) noting that each goal is to achieve an expected target by the year 2030. One can take an example of SDG 1 as Mweri (2020) explains, that is focusing on ending poverty all over the world and expecting governments to

address income inequality at all levels, especially at the grassroots where indigenous languages are spoken. For development to take place Mweri (2020) asserts that the locals are addressed in their languages on how to overcome poverty and make a better living.

One of the MPs was quoted as saying; *"whatever comes from parliament in whichever way or structure should be addressed in vernacular languages people understand so that their feelings are adequately captured"*. However, the marginalisation of African languages at the expense of some foreign languages seems to be a setback as these foreign languages are yet to be understood properly by Africans Akinwale (2011) notes.

Akinwale (2011) quotes Mazrui and Mazrui (1998: 114) that 'every language in a multilingual society has the right to exist and to be given equal opportunity to develop legal and other technological limbs to flourish,' therefore, multilingualism can be a benefit rather than a stumbling block to development. Again Habermas, therefore, advocates for human rights to be appreciated freely by every person, and not limited to a selective group or advantaged class as Yetkinel & Çolak, (2017) states. Habermas further argues that citizens should be empowered to express their will and freedom of thought as well as free judgment amidst other methods of political achievement in the public sphere Lunt & Livingstone (2013) asserts.

4.3. Responses from the NBC's Programme Manager

4.3.1. The mandate of the NBC as a public broadcaster

Although the Namibian constitution does not make provision for live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings, the mandate of the NBC is spelled out in the Namibian Broadcasting Act, Act 9 of 1991. It tasks the NBC with objectives which are to inform and entertain the public and contribute to the education and unity of the nation. NBC should promote peaceful endeavors aimed at helping the people to strengthen the ability to live together in unity and to contribute towards the economic development of the country. Finally, the NBC is to provide and disseminate information relevant to the socio-economic development of the country. The NBC Manager for Programmes had the following to say with regards to the mandate of the national broadcaster as a public broadcaster;

"The NBC is guided by the Broadcasting Act of 1991, that's Act 9 of 1991, and we lean more on that one as there might be other provisions such as the Communications Act, but at the moment I have not seen any Constitutional requirement but at least the Act was good enough to ensure that coverage across the board is taking place and I think that mandated us to do so".

The NBC as a public broadcaster should broadcast programmes people want to watch, which in turn should address wider social issues such as education and promotion of citizenship Armstrong & Weeds (2007) argues. Again, the statement of William Haley, Director General of the BBC, written in 1947 is quite significant as it states that "the public service broadcaster's aim must be to make people active and not passive, both in the fields of recreation and public affairs". This is affirmed by Jürgen Habermas' (1962) public sphere, that people should spontaneously participate in politically significant matters, to achieve common ground without government and market interference as Moe & Syvertsen (2009) argues.

Moe & Syvertsen (2009) states that the advent of digital technologies has created space for public service broadcasters to be able to combine technological, economic, political, and cultural dynamics to create and broadcast public service content, however, due to digital broadcasting, worthy public service content that impacted viewer attention is weakening, therefore, requires more innovative ways and practices for the NBC too, to reach viewers in delivering these messages.

Armstrong & Weeds (2007), states that there might be citizens interested in parliamentary affairs and following live parliamentary broadcasts, because television viewing tastes are heterogeneous and provision can be made for a diverse and balanced range of programming, under the public service broadcasting concept that can increase viewership. Dissemination of diverse information is also significant for the political discourse because the communication of multiple views and opinions is important for democratic systems to work properly argues Armstrong & Weeds (2007).

Armstrong & Weeds (2007) further maintains that public institutions such as Parliament should be proactive and allow for programme content with a greater benefit to society, such as the broadcasting of parliamentary processes and activities. Armstrong & Weeds

(2007) stresses that some people are paternalistic, a view that they are inept to choose in their best interest, hence failing to attain an ideal result for themselves. The public broadcaster such as the NBC will therefore be in a position to make better decisions which is the live broadcasting of parliamentary processes for accomplishing the public's welfare asserts Armstrong & Weeds (2007). Television, specifically NBC is therefore a powerful medium to build citizenship and a tool to deliver information and arouse curiosity in diverse topics such as policy issues and or the law-making process Armstrong & Weeds (2007) notes. Provision of factual information and current affairs will build an informed society that can influence government and other interests to the advantage of many, Armstrong & Weeds (2007) argues. Stuart Hall (1992) praises subsidised public service broadcasters like the NBC, which is currently subsidised by the Namibian government, that empowers the audiences and gave representation to ostracised groups, and that broadcasting must be turned into the space where cultural diversity is created, showcased and epitomised as Moe & Syvertsen (2009) notes. This is possibly what is expected from NBC in fulfilling its mandate as the national broadcaster.

4.3.2. Importance and adequacy of publics' participation in the law-making process

Mboya (2016) states that public participation is one such essential way the citizens take ownership and governance through the constitution. In seeking clarity on the importance and adequacy of the public's participation in the law-making process, this section analysed the views and responses from both the MPs, citizens, and the NBC Manager. The following is what some of them had to say;

MP 1; *"Again we are back to democracy, many communities do not understand the importance of law so it would be hard for this country to develop that interest of interaction on laws and even to participate and that is the barrier that we have.*

MP 2; *"So if we want participation from society in terms of legislation, we need to start to inform, we as parliamentarians. We need to start to inform on a regional basis. We need to start to have these meetings with our people. We need to tell them over the radio. We need to tell them over other social media, this is what this means. Break it up in bits and pieces, whenever an issue comes up, jump onto the bandwagon, inform and educate people about what's happening".*

MP 3; *"First thing, I will advocate for is our rules to make it compulsory that during the second reading of any Bill it is referred to the relevant Standing Committee, and in doing so this Committee can fully consult the broader public to ensure their full participation during law-making. There are always public hearings and opportunities for the Committee to receive written submissions from the public that can then be submitted for the input on any legislation. At the end of the day, the quality of any piece of legislation is depended on how much has been broad-based consultation, so that we do not produce a particular Bill that would then require further amendment within a very short period. Al these idea of consulting broadly and making sure that stakeholders are broad into the picture is all aimed at making sure we have a solid piece of legislation at the end of the day".*

Citizen 1; *"As a citizen, it is paramount that we have to be part of the law-making process because it affects us at the end of the day. So if we can influence the law-making process through participation it will help so that the government can focus, if you make a law it should be to the benefit of the citizens of the country that's why I think it is quite important that we should be part of the process".*

Citizen 2; *"Very much important participate because these are the people daily affected by the challenges and problems in the community. They need to participate to express their concern and problems they are facing in the community for their problems to be addressed at the parliamentary level".*

Citizen 3; *"It is very essential that all members of the community from all social backgrounds from all areas should participate because the laws that are made by Members of Parliament affect us in all ways, so the laws that they make can either affect us negatively or positively so as a youth, elderly people, I cannot emphasize how important it is".*

Citizen 4; *"I think it is so very much important to always talk to the community about what they want to include on a specific law especially when it affects the community at large".*

Citizen 5; *"In a democratic society it is very important because at the end of the day if you take part in the law-making process, you own it".*

Citizen 6; *"I think it's important because a democracy where people do not participate does not make sense, it's like a dictatorship system. So we are in a democratic country, people, we are free to contribute, it's our country. We are free to throw in ideas here and there when a Bill is passed and you think the Bill is omitting something as a public you are free to come and put your contribution on the table so that the Bill can cater for everyone in society".*

NBC 1; *"It is access to information, now when you say access to information, where will the public get this information. They will get it from the Parliament Chambers. Now since our country is so vast, when will they come to these chambers? They now do it through the various conduits that we have. One of them is the media, and others such as the councillors and the MPs when they have their public hearings, which have now been derailed because of Covid-19. The main thing now is to use modern tools which include various platforms. With the virtual proceedings, there are also challenges, like I mentioned before that you must have your connectivity issues also sorted and the timing. What can we do as a country to have effective participation? Again I think if we cover events live in all the languages, through translations because NBC at the moment, according to the latest researched data, reaches 1.6 million daily via our platforms compounded. All the NBC radio services, the Facebook pages, and TV can reach and we are over 2 million-plus citizens although some areas have transmission challenges we also use DStv to reach some areas. I think the translations will do much better. We can involve schools where critical Bills are to be discussed because some have monitors, that can be used and children will take the messages home to inform others".*

Sefora (2017) quotes Ballard (2007) that participation and democracy, although complex, are good for democracy as it promotes debate and allows for opposing voices. Sefora (2017) further states that the public participation principle is a growing trend across the world and thus embraced in democracies to enhance policymaking, transparency, accountability, and sound governance. Arnstein (1969) gives a definite term for citizen participation as "citizen power" and says that it is the redeployment of power that allows

citizens to be purposefully involved in all political and economic processes of government, Chingaipe & Msukwa (2012) argue.

Democracy (2009) states that stakeholder involvement and citizen building are said to have become an integral part of many governments in their policy-making agenda. Chingaipe & Msukwa (2012) states that citizens can encourage socially beneficial programmes that can collectively benefit them as a society because they are involved in the primary stages of policy development and processes. Sefora (2017) supports that notion and states that citizens are actively and extensively involved in the processes of government that exemplify their role in self-governance. Democracy becomes stronger and vivacious once citizens participate because leaders are held responsible and kept in check, not to abuse their power Democracy (2009) argues. Democracy (2009) further states that governments become aware of what citizens want if they participate, therefore, they can make pronouncements that are advantageous to all citizens of the country. Mboya (2016) argues that it becomes fruitless and time-wasting, the efforts spent on legislating and debating statutes, if citizens are not sufficiently consulted in the law-making process. Golubovic (2010) states that citizen participation is viewed as an important element in policy-making, and in participatory democracy, which is in support of representative democracy, which is to function properly claimes Chingaipe & Msukwa (2012).

Chingaipe & Msukwa (2012) asserts that there are different forms of citizen participation which is direct and indirect forms of which the indirect form deals more with managing territories and how representation is functioning, while the direct participation flagged under instrumental versus transformative participation involves citizens, which gives those in leadership a chance to achieve set goals and others who are fully involved in the decision making processes that impacted on their lives respectively.

Citizen participation is explicitly recognized in the Namibian Constitution, Article 17. The constitution further states in Article 95, subsection (k) that "*the State shall actively promote and maintain the welfare of the people by adopting policies aimed at encouragement of the mass of the population through education and other activities and their organizations to influence Government policy by debating its decisions*" (Government. 1989).

Sefora (2017) argues that the concept of public participation being recognised through international and regional agreements, forces states to enhance participation, accountability, and transparency. Sefora (2017) further argues that the Manila Declaration on People's Participation and Sustainable Development (1989), as Theron (2009) states, gives modalities on public participation that also resonates with the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation (1990), and are outlined as follows;

- Authority lies with the citizens, who are the genuine players of progressive transformation. The citizens are well aware of what is good for them and will positively impact and influence their existence. If authority lies with the citizens, they are supposed to spearhead the development process, which they own and run properly (Korten, 1990).

- The government should be true to itself and allow citizens to put up and follow their programmes. The government executives should be aware and acknowledge that citizens are not self-evidently receptive to change but rather choose to actively participate in self-growth.   A cordial relationship between government and citizens becomes beneficial therefore citizens become empowered to successfully implement their development programmes. This can also be seen as mobilisation other than empowerment (Korten, 1990:44; Theron, 2008:41-73).

- With the relevant information at their disposal, citizens will be able to hold government executives answerable because they freely dispose of their authority and spearhead the development of the communities and themselves as resources are also in their control.

- Those assisting in the development agenda of the citizens should be well aware of their role as supporters only because their valuable contribution will be the yardstick displaying the improved quality of the citizens which will be the determining factor of their future.

Theron & Mchunu (2014) quotes International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) (2002), which came up with core values for public participation exercise which is;

- *The public should have a say in decisions about actions that affect their lives.*
- *Public participation includes the promise that the public's contribution will influence the decision.*
- *The public participation process communicates the interests and meets the process needs of all participants.*
- *The public participation process seeks out and facilitates the "involvement" of those potentially affected.*
- *The public participation process "involves" participants in defining how they participate.*
- *The public participation process communicates to participants how their input affected the decision.*
- *The public participation process provides participants with the information they need to participate in a meaningful way.*

(Sefora, 2017).

Barnes, Newman, Knops, & Sullivan (2003) argues that better public participation is seen as able to improve excellent and valid decisions in the public sector organisations, and have the prospect of addressing the shortcomings in a democracy and uplifting abled communities that will work together.

Sefora (2017) stresses that although some parliaments made public participation a key priority, strategies to fully adopt this principle is taking time to come to fruition with some parliaments.

Government officials can assist the citizens to establish all-inclusive participatory forums to deliberate on goal-oriented issues, and include marginalised groups to be part of the policy and decision-making processes maintains Barnes et al. (2003). Underprivileged societies are mostly excluded from decision-making processes on various grounds such as lack of access to resources, ignorance and improper access to the media affirms Sefora (2017). Dzur (2008) states that the inequality spectrum only benefits those with resources as many are denied their voice in institutions of government, therefore, losing trust in the legal and political systems Sefora (2017) claims.

Sefora (2017) further postulates that many democratic governments have forged partnerships with public and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) for sound governmental practices because citizens' participation in developmental issues, has taken the middle ground as a significant condition for attaining enhanced sustainable development. Sefora (2017) further states that it is an element of a development strategy that is centred around the people. Many actors in the development sphere have emphasised the need to safeguard citizen participation in policy and developmental processes, Moriyole et al. (2015) claim.

Moe & Syvertsen (2009) asserts that the arrival of digital technologies allows for the involvement of ordinary citizens through the public participation concept, to consider user-generated programming that is significant for public service broadcasters in modern times.

Habermas' public sphere theory portrays the media as an ideal platform for citizen participation, for they can contribute meaningfully to a democratic society, therefore, require entree to a professionally safe platform to express their sentiments, which in turn will allow them to be able to interrogate recognized rule, Livingston & Lunt (2013) argues. Livingston & Lunt (2013) upholds that the discussions around the participation of people in governmental interaction, direct queries about media as a public sphere, therefore, there is a cordial relationship between reputable rule and citizens.

Telleria (2021) states that independent media should maintain its status as a political communication link between civil society and politicians alike, whereas the unbiased civil society should encourage citizens to participate and be part of issues of common concern that do not debouche into a captured communication mode and this, Lubenow (2012) reaffirms. Lunt & Livingstone (2013) stresses that according to Habermas, public participation via expansive routes of discussion could justifiably encourage administrative policymaking. Lunt & Livingstone (2013) further proclaims that Habermas lay emphasis on the significance of unity, multiplicity, individuality, the conclusion of an agreed government, the scattered governance, and the intricacy of collective structures, amidst certain criticisms of the theory, yet he retained the public sphere as an ultimate theory if not as a civilized realism.

Telleria (2021) pronounces that citizens became active role-players as they can create their reality and on the contrary, this may lead to debates short of rational thinking and propaganda. However, with the advancement of the public sphere, citizens have the power and influence in decision making and actions by others be it on economic or political levels locally as well as globally Telleria (2021) claims.

Discussions on the public sphere theory proved that public participation in the law-making and government processes remains significant and is supported by the critical role the mass media plays. The mass media promotes public engagement and shapes people's opinions in the law-making process.

In the Namibian context, it becomes imperative that all citizens participate without being classified based on status, social standing, or class and above all, at whatever location they found themselves.

4.3.3. Preferred medium of live broadcasts for parliamentary proceedings

Various platforms are used for the broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings and events such as television, the radio, and social media platforms. Pearson et al., (2014) proclaim that radio is regarded as the most reliable, affordable, accessible, and timely medium of communication that reaches a large number of audiences in the country and it is set to be providing approximately 97.5% coverage, although some parts of the country are still struggling to receive radio signals. This section looked at and analysed the responses from both MPs, citizens, and NBC manager for programmes and this is what some of them had to say;

MP 1; *"That goes without saying because traditionally our communities are radio listeners, all the information that they get is from the radio and the area that I come from even guys that are educated who you should think of probably would listen to NBC English radio, you'll still find them listening to the radio in his vernacular (Damara/Nama) because it is something that we grew up with you know, now am specifically talking about Damara/Nama because I am coming from that area but it is equally the same when you go to the north in terms radio Oshiwambo that people apart from television and so on, apart from the benefits of the TV visuals that can lead to radio probably in comparison with any other medium would be also one of the most*

appropriate to be included or incorporated in terms of doing live broadcasts because it has got the audience, radio has got the audience, a lot of audiences and loyal audiences".

MP 2; *"Radio can be used during different languages in parliament proceedings and law-making processes because most people are listening to the radio in rural areas if we are concerned more about these people where the development must take place, I think the radio is the one which is coming to them where some of the areas not having even network or cell phones and TV's where these people are watching, so I will say that the radio will be the ideal platform that can be used in rural areas".*

MP 3; *"For me now what we are currently doing is, we use television and we also use Facebook for parliamentary broadcasting but since that is already there, I would go further and say let's diversify and move into radio because radio to my knowledge, NBC radio reaches every nook, craves and corner of our country but then, unfortunately, we are sitting there with a language barrier again. So I do not say that the Caprivians my Zambezian brothers are better off but I found over the years through my visits that they are quite fluent in English so for them to listen to National Radio would not be a problem but go into the Kavangos, go deep into the Kunene's, etc., if we can take that same even if they could only hear it, I believe they would appreciate that, so my preferential mode or medium would now be radio".*

MP 4; *"We have various generations in this country. While we are having those that are enjoying the social media as a mode of communication e.g. someone sitting with a cell phone listening to NBC, we still have got those that rely on the oral communication and they are in the majority. They sit around one radio and listen. Now if you bring in new technology you put aside the majority that relies on oral transmission. Oral transmission plays an important role than social media, Twitter, and so on".*

MP 5; *"I am still of the view that the radio coverage is far greater, it's got a greater percentage of our people, the radio continues to be accessible throughout the country and whatever we do the radio will always be on top of the list. But I do not rule out the possibility of using modern technology like social media, Facebook, live streaming, etc. All that is overwhelmingly useful particularly to be utilized in today's world. We just need*

to zero in with the necessary resources and make sure that the quality is appropriate and is responsive to the needs of our people".

Citizen 1; *"We are now living in a leading world where we are having gadgets at our hands so Facebook and live streaming help that we don't miss the things that we need to because the Facebook platform is live, even if you are not in front of your television, if you have a smartphone you surely gets to follow, that's why I always follow on Facebook live streaming".*

Citizen 2; *"Ok, I think the most important thing that we can use for now is Facebook because, especially young people, many of them are on Facebook if they can put every time on Livestream or whatever you call it, I think it will help them to follow the debates".*

Citizen 3; *"Preferably radio because it is accessible to all, not everybody owns a television set, so would advise, the radio will do".*

Citizen 4; *"I think I prefer the Facebook one even if you are in the shop waiting in the queue, you can just log in and you listen to the broadcast it's very user friendly it doesn't require any hassles".*

NBC 1; *"What has been more effective from our side is just the dedicated slots on radio services, like the NBC has what is called, it's also correlated and by correlation, I mean it's across all radio stations, they have what is called "Community hour". Community hour slots and then they have youth hour slots. Now during those slots we will, for example, have in the mornings Councillors of various constituencies and lawmakers calling into the programme and make announcements, for example, public hearings on a particular bill, maybe dedicated adverts or maybe just promotional messages and we can do that and we have always been responsive. Radio because it's so instant and even online for the youth, we have a Facebook page, it is just a matter to saying this is the address and we can do it".*

Faisal & Alhassan (2018) asserts that it is believed, that radio enhances the exchange of knowledge and assists communities to make informed choices on matters of cardinal importance independently, as they understand the messages easily when it is done in local

languages. In the argument of Armstrong & Weeds (2007), Public service broadcasting needs to be relooked in the wake of digital broadcasting. This is true because worthy public service content that attracts viewer attention is significantly weakened, (unless the radio was alternatively used), therefore, requires more pioneering practices to reach viewers in delivering important messages. Armstrong & Weeds (2007) further argues that there might be citizens interested in parliamentary affairs and following live parliamentary broadcasts on television but provision should be made for a diverse and balanced range of programming that includes the radio under the public service broadcasting concept that can ultimately increase listenership and viewership. The researcher support Armstrong & Weeds' (2007) assertion that the dissemination of diverse information is significant for the political discourse, because the communication of multiple views and opinions is important for democratic systems to work properly, and the use of prominent media or mediums such as radio will be beneficial for the citizens. Armstrong & Weeds (2007) states that some people are paternalistic, meaning they are unable to choose in their best interest and therefore fail to attain the best results for themselves, therefore, Parliament as a public institution should be proactive and allow for programme content that will benefit them as a society when broadcasting parliamentary processes and activities. Citizens are encouraged through participatory media projects such as community radio to become aware of their potential and to involve themselves in, and reclaim ownership within themselves that will ultimately allow them to have a voice in crafting their developmental agenda, by identifying and implementing projects that they have started on their own, notes Faisal & Alhassan (2018).

Jürgen Habermas' ([1962] 1989) public sphere that people should spontaneously partake in politically significant matters, aimed at attaining common ground without government and market interference Moe & Syvertsen (2009) professes. Paddy Scannell (1989) like Garnham (1986) criticises opinions diminishing broadcasting as a way of societal control, ethnic normalisation, or philosophical parody and supports Habermas' notion that radio and television have made access to the public sphere for all people were traditional, civil, spiritual, political events and entertainment are placed in an open domain and public life, balanced in a way never possible before Moe & Syvertsen (2009) further pronounces.

Telleria (2021) claims that the emergence of radio and television, more specifically cable television and many other mass media tools in the 20th century have meaningfully influenced the advancement of the public sphere. Lunt & Livingstone (2013) states that Habermas presents that public participation through expansive routes of discussion for example on radio, could justifiably encourage administrative policymaking.

4.4. Responses from the citizens

4.4.1. Participants' understanding of the law-making process

Mboya (2016) states that public participation can be regarded as an empowerment tool and a mechanism through which parliament adheres to the requirement of the constitution in an autonomous governing process where stakeholders and citizens alike become important role players in the governing and policy-making process. This statement confirms that citizens are important role players in crafting laws for a country, therefore, questions were posed to the participants to gauge their knowledge and the understanding of parliament and the law-making process, and how one participates in this policy-making process. The following are some of the responses from the citizens;

Citizen 1; *"What I know about the Parliament of Namibia is that it's part of the three organs of government which is the legislature and it has two Houses, the Upper House, which is the National Council, and the Lower House which is the National Assembly. Both Houses consist of Members of Parliament who are responsible for either reviewing or passing laws/bills. As a member of the community, one of the ways that you can participate is by writing a proposal depending on the subject matter. Maybe you have a concern on fisheries you have to address your proposal to the Ministry of Fisheries, they then go through your proposal, weigh it and then bring it before the cabinet, or before parliament which is now in the National Assembly chamber. It is debated upon and all political parties can give their input".*

Citizen 2; *"Parliament is a legislative body that makes laws. In short, that's what I know. One can participate in the law-making process through committee meetings when parliament is going out when a Bill is tabled, through public hearings hence public is encouraged to come to public hearings to give their input. And nowadays we have social media, e-parliament and you can contribute through that and parliament is also open to*

the public it's only that we are living in the Covid-19 era now but normally you can come and listen and participate".

Citizen 3; *"I know that parliament has got two Houses which is the National Assembly and the National Council and of which the Assembly passes Bills to the National Council for consideration or review. And the line Minister normally to my knowledge I think the line minister will refer these draft bills to the parliament and will be deliberated by the Members of Parliament and then after deliberation, they will be referred to the National Council so that the regional concern can also be considered within the law-making process so that is in a nutshell what I know about the law-making process. What is happening is that at the National Council as I am seeing on television that they are going out to regional government or local authorities and they held some kind of hearings where the electorate or the citizens of that region give inputs as to the bill that is on the table so that is how the electorate takes part or can participate in the law-making process, by coming to hearings and then giving input as to how the law-making process affects them".*

Citizen 4; *"Parliament is a constitutional body which consists of two Houses, that's now the National Assembly and National Council. It's difficult to say but what I know is that the parliament has got an outreach programme where they are inviting the public to participate and give their input in the process of law-making".*

Citizen 5; *"I understand it in such a way that Parliament or parliamentarians make laws which every citizen should be abiding by. You can either participate individually or they will be able to come up with an issue that can be translated to law or it can be through other means as citizens".*

Citizen 6; *"What I know about Parliament is that the National Assembly makes the laws and the National Council reviews the laws. You can participate through oversight and public hearings and so on and the committees go out into the public to hear from them what they think about the laws made by the parliament".*

It is evident from the responses that the participants understand what the law-making process is and its importance. The reason could be that many parliaments provide

scholastic worth to the citizens that do not understand or are familiar with the dealings and practices of parliament. Some parliaments give citizens a direct and immediate understanding of Parliament at work, other than they would have received from reports or annotations from parliamentary reporters states Okong'o (2016). Okong'o (2016) further states that the open door policy of many parliaments allows for more involvement from people and organisations to contribute to the work of parliament and this might be the case as could be picked up from the responses by the interviewees. Many Parliaments want people to be well informed of their work and therefore allow parliamentary proceedings to be broadcasted to a wider audience and this could be amplified if parliamentary broadcasts are done through media such as the radio that is easily accessible to the citizens, Okong'o (2016) propounds.

Wiese (2003) attests that the Namibian Parliament indeed has a bicameral system composed of two houses namely the National Assembly, the Lower House, and the National Council, the Upper House, which is also known as the House of Review.

Democracy (2009) states that stakeholder involvement and citizen building have become an integral part of many governments in their policy-making agenda. Citizens can encourage socially beneficial programmes that can collectively benefit them as a society because they are involved in the primary stages of policy development and processes Chingaipe & Msukwa (2012) reaffirms. Sefora (2017) asserts that some citizens are actively and extensively involved in the processes of government that can exemplify their role in self-governance. If citizens are allowed to understand and participate in the law-making processes, democracy becomes stronger and vivacious, because leaders are held responsible and kept in check not to abuse their power, Democracy (2009) confirms. Democracy (2009) further claims that governments become aware of what citizens want if they participate, therefore, they can make pronouncements that are advantageous to all citizens of a country.

4.4.2. Participants' experience of the parliamentary live broadcast

Okong'o (2016) states that live Parliamentary broadcast may lead to amplified consciousness and gratitude towards the work of Parliament, improve civilised behaviour and insight towards it, and lead to more participation in Parliamentary debates from the public, and this may lead to more accountability from politicians alike. People tend to

remember things they saw, therefore, one can assume that televised information and programmes are allowing for more participation. Television broadcasts may encourage citizens to visit parliamentary chambers to participate in the law-making process. This section analysed the participants' experience in parliamentary live broadcasts, its significance, and whether it is enriching to the citizens' knowledge. The following is what some of them had to say;

Citizen 1; *"It is very important for them to broadcast the parliamentary session cause this will then make people aware of how they are being presented by the parties that they voted and this will also help them to make the right decision when they have to vote next time. It is enriching but then they are not appealing too much. I think they should invest in their equipment because for me to watch a programme on TV, the visuals, how things are being laid out should be appealing for me to watch".*

Citizen 2; *"You know previously we were just hearing, picking up the laws, bills, and workings of parliament through print media after it has happened but with the live broadcasts you can follow the proceedings on real-time bases, so that is one of the programmes that should never be compromised. The live broadcasts of the parliamentary proceedings should stay because the views of the people from outside, gave an understanding to the people of the parliamentary process, so the live broadcast gives a sense of understanding as to what is parliament and how they go about, and how, where do I fit in as an ordinary Namibian, that is why live broadcasts make us pay our TV licenses all the time. I can confirm that live broadcasting is enriching to my knowledge".*

Citizen 3; *"Live broadcasts are important but not that important too. It also depends on the resources of NBC. If they cannot afford to broadcast live, they can record it and still we will get the same message. For me, it's both, but live broadcasts will catch the attention of the people right there so that they can follow rather than you record and then you tell the people that the thing will be broadcast at what time. Some people will not be able to watch it. Live broadcasts are enriching because when you broadcast something live you are putting it out there even if there are mistakes the citizens have to see them because they can interact like on Facebook live broadcasts. People can chat while the debate is going on so it's indeed enriching. The people, even the grassroots, if you have*

a cell phone, he/she can be able to lock in and connect to NBC without even a TV set and follow the live debates".

Citizen 4; *"Yes live broadcasts are very important provided that they look at people that are staying in the rural areas, they should broadcast those programmes in different local languages so that people do understand what it is all about. It is enriching because in most cases we are only learning the current situation through live broadcasting. So without broadcasting, we are left behind".*

Citizen 5; *"Yes, live broadcasting is important although not everyone has a TV set, especially the people in the rural areas. I can't imagine how they will be able to view how the members are sitting and debating, unless the parliament in the olden days, is taken to the regions, which they have stopped. Not everyone has a television set, not everyone has skills in technology. Yes, it is enriching because I get to know what I didn't know with regards to what is being informed about the public and some topics which are being held which are related to our situation in Namibia. You will know what effective regulations you can follow and what you can do to prevent the situation that is currently taking place like the Covid-19 pandemic that we are facing within our country. Not all of us knew that you have to go for vaccination but through the media, we were informed that vaccination places are where, and where and what vaccines are there so that you can go and get yourself vaccinated against Covid-19.*

Citizen 6; *"I can say it is important but then people have to be informed, they have to be sensitized about the importance of it. Because many people as I have told you in the past that people don't know what is happening in parliament. Yes, live broadcasting is very enriching because they are informing us of the developments of what is going on in the country".*

Citizen 7; *"Yes in a democratic society it is very important for live broadcasts because at the end of the day if you take part in the law-making process, you own it. I am not too sure, especially on the issue of parliamentary matters and I am not sure if it is enriching or if we can find another means of broadcasting so that people will be able to follow. I feel that Parliament should come up with a radio station".*

Armstrong & Weeds (2007) argues that there might be citizens interested in parliamentary affairs and following live parliamentary broadcasts, as television viewing tastes are heterogeneous. Armstrong & Weeds (2007), therefore, advocate for the provision of a diverse and balanced range of programming, under the public service broadcasting concept that can increase viewership.

Okong'o (2016) states that television promotes consciousness towards the work of Parliamentarians, therefore, this is convincing to the audience that indeed their issues are being taken care of. Okong'o (2016) further argues that the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings is seen as a rise in advancing events of Parliament, therefore, increasing the participation of the public in the governance of the country and leading to increased accountability and transparency of the work of parliament.

Public institutions such as Parliament, therefore, should be proactive to allow for programme content with a greater benefit to society, such as the broadcasting of parliamentary processes and activities, as stated earlier, some people are paternalistic, a view that they are inept to choose in their best interest, therefore, fail to attain an ideal result for themselves Armstrong & Weeds (2007) argues.

Continuous live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings is being enhanced by regularly creating awareness of the day-to-day work of Parliaments Okong'o (2016) argues. Okong'o (2016) further states that over 60 countries around the world are allowing television and radio recordings of parliamentary proceedings in their respective legislatures including a greater majority of the Commonwealth States such as South Africa, Botswana, and Nigeria.

Many parliaments have an open door policy which allows for more involvement from people and organisations to contribute to their work, claims Okong'o (2016), as they (parliaments), want people to be well informed of their work, therefore, the broadcasting of the parliamentary proceedings to a wider audience.

Surtees (2007) further maintains the reasoning as Okong'o (2016) cites, that parliaments working together with the media will create a connection between the legislature and the various electorates and societies, while they (Parliament) are also looking at changes to

portray optimistic images of proceedings to avoid apathy and frustration. Bennett & Pfetsch (2018) stresses that communication from institutions such as Parliament, in a political realm that is inclusive and well-functioning, goes through the media to affect opinions and responses from citizens. Temple & Temple (2018) cite the CPA study group of MPs, who reaffirmed the importance of media as a tool to promote civic engagement and recommended the removal of any obstacles in establishing an informed society. Temple & Temple (2018) further propounds that people becoming interested in parliamentary affairs is increasing universally, therefore, many parliaments are working around the clock to allow people and various entities to make contributions to their work.

Armstrong & Weeds (2007) argues that television viewing is associated with certain distant effects which might be either positive or negative, therefore, the researcher classifies parliamentary broadcasts under positive effects, which from the social standpoint might seem low in terms of following the trend, but are justified because of its social impact, as it is simply having educational, social or public benefits. Many participants indeed indicated during the interviews that they hardly follow parliamentary proceedings and rather choose to watch sports and news programmes.

The coverage of parliamentary processes should as such be wide-ranging to smoothen civic understanding, be impartial, and contain knowledgeable debates, claims Armstrong & Weeds (2007), because programmes with educational value can be regarded as part of the PSB concept he asserts.

Armstrong & Weeds (2007) further argues that television is therefore a powerful medium to build citizenship and a tool to deliver information, and arouse curiosity in diverse topics such as policy issues and the law-making process. The provision of factual information and current affairs will build an informed society that can influence government and other interests to the advantage of many citizens Armstrong & Weeds (2007) concludes.

Wandera & Mugubi (2014) quotes Norman St. John-Stevas as claiming that televised parliament would, at a stroke, restore any loss it has suffered to the new mass media as the political education of the nation.

Moe & Syvertsen (2009) claims that Habermas is having the view that radio and television have made access to the public sphere for all people possible, and that is where traditional, civil, spiritual, political events and entertainment are placed in an open domain, and the public life balanced in a way never possible before.

Telleria (2021) upholds that the modern Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), the 4th Industrial Revolution, and many other dynamics have altered the public sphere, especially with the emergence of radio and television, specifically the cable television and many other mass media tools in the 20th century, which have meaningfully influenced the advancement of the public sphere. Telleria (2021) quotes Lubenow (2012) that *"the mass media hierarchize the horizon of possible communications, establish obstacles and substitute the structure of communication that had enabled the public discussion".*

The rapid increase of social and digital media has divided the multiplicity of public voices as Bennett & Pfetsch (2018) state and this hampers the Habermas' ideal of an inclusive public sphere theory inaccessible. This division of the public, as Bennett & Pfetsch (2018) asserts, has created challenges leading to the increase of dwindling confidence in institutions such as Parliament, which is seen as authentic centres of information sharing in prosperous democracies.

Telleria (2021) claims that Habermas' public sphere is now seen as virtual and what we observe is consistent with his notion of the public sphere which is more open and accessible than it was, and regarded as perfect, because the more information is accessible, the more informed citizens become, leading to more informed decisions from them. This is confirmed in the responses from the participants, that many felt using new media tools such as mobile phones, and to follow parliamentary proceedings and activities on the social media platforms such as Facebook. Telleria (2021) further postulates that citizens become active role-players as they can create their reality, although debates might be short of rational thinking full of propaganda, however, with this advancement of the public sphere into the "virtual sphere", citizens have the power and influence in decision making and actions by law-makers, whether it is on economic or political levels locally as well as internationally. One can therefore conclude that the

live broadcasting and subsequent engagement of citizens in parliamentary processes and activities might be enriching to their (citizens') knowledge.

4.5. Chapter Summary

The chapter presented and discussed the research findings under the thematic sub-sections in line with the study objectives, using the qualitative data analysis method. The face-to-face interviews were recorded and transcribed manually from a targeted sample of 21 participants.

The significant role of the media and the importance of citizens' participation in the law-making and government processes was amplified based on the responses from participants. The important role of the national broadcaster NBC was recognised as being the entity to inform, educate and entertain the population.

Different stakeholders and citizens are identified as important role players in the governing and policy-making processes. This notion is supported by Habermas's public sphere theory which states that citizens are participating in governmental dealings such as the law-making process, which highlights the cordial relationship between reputable rule by government and citizens.

The impact of the English language on public engagement in law-making and participatory democracy could be established from the responses of participants, where is it evident that it negatively impacts the development of the country overall, as many citizens cannot participate or have their voices heard due to the language barrier.

There is a need for parliamentary proceedings to be broadcasted in various vernacular languages, and this is evident from the responses by the participants, who requested that the national broadcaster should consider translations into different vernacular languages. Any form of exclusion based on language can infringe on the fundamental rights of citizens.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

The live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings is significant as parliament is supposed to be a public entity accessible to all citizens of a country. It is an open free space where citizens are supposed to deliberate on issues that affect them, ultimately participating in the decision-making processes as recognised stakeholders.

Parliamentary events are in the spotlight through live broadcasting, therefore, citizens become aware and are possibly enticed to participate and by so doing increase the accountability and transparency aspect from the side of parliament.

Chapter 1 introduced the study and gave a description and overview of the study. Chapter 2 describes the literature review and theoretical framework while chapter 3 described the methodology underpinning the study. Chapter 4 was dealing with the presentation and analysis of data. Lastly, this chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study based on the findings.

5.2. Summary of findings

5.2.1. Objective 1: To investigate the role of the media, specifically the NBC, in facilitating citizen participation in law-making and processes of the Parliament

Based on this objective, the main finding of the study indicated that the media play a critical role in informing society about their right to participate in the governance of their country. It creates knowledge and awareness about governance issues and parliamentary functions, for example, the law-making process. The media is regarded as the fourth estate of any democracy along the three pillars of government and can strengthen the government's performance through checks and balances. The media uplifts the government and civil society's capability to maintain the input and participation of the public in the decision-making processes. The media is a channel for public opinion and debate that allows for two-way communication, from citizens to government and vice

versa, where numerous prospects, recommendations, and criticisms can be made. The media is a significant institution that is essential for the community and a democratic state, therefore, should act professionally and only report transparent and fact-based information and news. It is a significant tool to promote civic engagement and recommends the removal of any obstacles to establishing an informed society.

5.2.2. Objective 2: To investigate the extent to which language is a barrier to the public's participation in the law-making processes.

Based on this objective, the study found that the exclusive use of the official language may have a negative impact on the citizens' participation in the law-making process due to the language barrier. This may not encourage engagement by the majority of the public due to the low levels of literacy, especially among the rural poor, as the 2011 national census statistics indicate the literacy rate at 88.27% of the population while English is spoken as the first language by only 0.8% of the population. This indicates that English proficiency by Namibians is indeed very low, therefore, will deny the citizens the chance to participate in issues that concern them, due to the language barrier and more so, will deny them their human right to participate in issues of national concern.

5.2.3. Objective 3: To analyse the impact of Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings in English, on the citizenry during the 2017 and 2018 Parliamentary sessions.

Based on this objective, the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings and processes in English may leave high chances that some citizens do not follow the proceedings due to the language barrier. The live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings is regarded as important, however, the use of the official language causes people at the grassroots level, not able to follow because they are not conversant with the language. English, although being the official language is not understood by many citizens, especially the older generation and those in rural areas. Live parliamentary broadcasts may lead to amplified consciousness and gratitude towards the work of Parliament, improve civilised behaviour and insight towards it, and more participation in parliamentary debates from the public, and in return, may lead to more accountability from the government. The citizens feel that they are not consulted enough on Bills introduced and debated in

parliament and therefore, are unable to give any input. Citizens do not understand what the Bills entail, as many of them are not even aware of such Bills and might not have picked them up through broadcasting. Even if they attend public hearings, they won't be able to participate because of the language barrier. There is a call that the Bills be properly explained and interpreted into various vernacular languages before citizens are consulted to source their input.

5.3. Recommendations

The findings of this research have shown that live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings in the official language English, leaves a high chance that all citizens will not follow the proceedings due to the language barrier. It will not encourage public engagement because of the gap in literacy rates amongst citizens, especially those in rural areas. Below are some of the recommendations:

- Establishment of a policy, guiding live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings.
- The Namibia Broadcasting Act, Act 9 of 1991 somehow guides and mandates the national broadcaster to report and broadcast on parliamentary issues to the citizenry. It would be good if Namibia follow the footsteps of others across the world and established a law that will guide the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings which will benefit all the citizens of the country in its entirety as a multi-racial country.
- Alongside the official language English, local languages should be considered and used in parliamentary processes and events to accommodate the citizenry at all levels.
- Indigenous languages should be advanced in status and given the necessary recognition at all levels.
- During live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings, necessary translations into various vernacular languages should be considered.
- Sign language interpretation should be considered for live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings and braille language for all Information, Education, and Communication (IEC) material for relevant government information dissemination.
- Indigenous languages should be afforded official status like in South Africa.
- A language-based proportional parliamentary representation can be considered, as it might be advantageous for the diverse pluralistic characteristics of multilingual communities, such as the case in Norway and Scotland.

- Public institutions such as Parliament should be proactive to allow for programme content with a greater benefit to society, such as the broadcasting of parliamentary processes and activities in vernacular languages.

- Government officials should assist the citizens to establish all-inclusive participatory forums to deliberate on issues that are goal-oriented, and inclusive of marginalised groups to be part of the policy and decision-making processes.

- The use of social media for broadcasting parliamentary proceedings and government business should be strongly considered as it may likely encourage increased interactivity, especially from the youth.

- Parliament should appoint Public Relations or Communication Officers to adequately publicise the activities of parliament, more specifically through various media that do not cover parliament, to conduct outreach programmes to sensitise the interest in parliamentary democracy optically with stringent measures in place.

- Recorded parliamentary sessions should be replayed to enable those who do not get the opportunity to watch or listen to live parliamentary proceedings to catch up or watch at a later stage.

- Further research in the areas of Parliament's customer or stakeholder satisfaction involving civil society organisations and development partners in the oversight roles should be considered and undertaken.

- Radio broadcast should be considered together with television broadcast for broadcasting parliamentary proceedings and government processes to accommodate those not owning television sets and to accommodate those living in rural areas and relying on radio broadcasting.

- Provision should be made for a diverse and balanced range of programming that includes the radio under the public service broadcasting concept that can ultimately increase listenership and viewership.

- Smartphone technology is vibrant among the youth, thus social media platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, and YouTube can be used to broadcast parliamentary proceedings to accommodate the youth segment of the population.

- A separate dedicated parliamentary radio and television channel can be considered to broadcast parliamentary proceedings with vigorous promotion to attract interest.

- Alternatively, a news channel broadcasting parliamentary business on 24 hour basis as many citizens are interested in news channels.

- Constant coverage of plenary meetings and committee activities of parliamentary business on radio and television should be considered.

- Webcasting of parliamentary proceedings can be considered for those having regular access to the internet.

- A Public Participation Model should be considered where key roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders are considered to ensure the successful implementation of public participation in Parliament.

- The rapidly changing technology must be used to design relevant computerised information campaigns and mass public information systems to narrow the gap between the "information-rich" and the "information-poor".

5.4. Limitations of the study

The Covid-19 pandemic and subsequent restrictions on travel, movement, and limited human interaction had an adverse effect on the completion of the study. The study, therefore, focused on citizens in the capital city, Windhoek.

5.5. Areas for further research

This study was conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic when human contact was minimal. This may have attributed to the lack of participation observed, especially from Members of Parliament, therefore, future research can focus on increased sample size, using the mixed-method design, following a quantitative approach where wider areas are covered to compare results to determine, for example, the language barrier and its impact on the citizens' participation in the law-making process. The other area could be the impact of social media on parliamentary oversight and legislation as to how it can influence the greater participation of citizens in the law-making and processes of government.

5.6. Conclusion

This study concludes that the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings in the official language only could have a negative impact on the public's participation in the law-making and processes of government. Language plays a significant role in the communication process as it establishes and maintains social and interpersonal relations between citizens. The exclusion of particular languages may affect development, and

when languages are neglected and are unnoticeable in the development sphere, citizens will stay uninformed about politics, will not be able to harness their ideologies, and living will simply become meaningless.

Adamo (2005) argues that the English language imposed on the world and Africa in particular under the pretext of globalisation through the media, information technology, or other means of publicity, may affect development.

The role of the media is critical and is regarded as the fourth estate/pillar of government, therefore, it should inform citizens about governmental dealings and developmental issues in particular, without fear of reprisal. Independent media that inform and educate the masses on governance issues and parliamentary functions in particular, without any sanction or censorship will benefit all citizens. Members of Parliament must therefore take the lead to protect media and its operating space for sound leadership that is fair for every citizen. The media also plays the advocacy role by sensitising citizens to participate from the grassroots level in developmental issues, therefore, the agenda-setting role it deserves.

People are provided with pertinent information through the media to be able to participate effectively in political issues that affect them regardless of status, social standing, language, and rural or urban setting, he or she hails from.

The role of the media thus remains vital as citizens remain informed on policy development and its impact, and based on the possible feedback through the media, governments become aware of how to address certain policies having any bearing on citizens. The broadcast media which is still dominant, together with new media prominent in the fourth industrial revolution, can meaningfully engage the citizens. It can bring useful information that is instantly available, as it can reach as many people as possible, including those living in rural areas.

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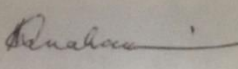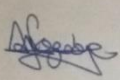
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Annexure A: Ethical Clearance Certificate

FACULTY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (F-REC)

DECISION: ETHICS APPROVAL

Ref: S022/2020
Student no: 2005123

Issue Date: 29 July 2020

RESEARCH TOPIC

Title: An analysis of the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings during 2017-2018 Parliamentary sessions

Researcher:	Immanuel Kooper
Tel:	+264 81 237 2348
E-mail:	ikooper7@gmail.com

Supervisor:	Dr Hatikanganwi Mapudzi
E-mail:	hmapudzi@nust.na

Dear Mr Kooper

The Faculty of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee (F-REC) of the Namibia University of Science and Technology reviewed your application for the above-mentioned research. The research, as set out in the application has been approved.

We would like to point out that you as principal investigator, are obliged to:

- maintain the ethical integrity of your research,
- adhere to the Research policy and ethical guidelines of NUST, and
- remain within the scope of your research proposal and supporting evidence as submitted to the F-REC.

Should any aspect of your research change from the information as presented to the F-REC, which could have an effect on the possibility of harm to any research subject, you are under the obligation to report it immediately to your supervisor or F-REC as applicable in writing. Should there be any uncertainty in this regard, you have to consult with the F-REC.

We wish you success with your research, and trust that it will make a positive contribution to the quest for knowledge at NUST.

Sincerely,

Prof Rewai Makamani
Acting Chairperson: FREC / Associate Dean: Research and Innovation
Tel: +264 61 207-2688
E-mail: rmakamani@nust.na

Prof Alinah K Segobye
Dean: FoHS
Tel: +264 61 207-2418
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B: Permission letters

Office of the Speaker

Private Bag 13323
Windhoek
Republic of Namibia

Tel: (+264-61) 288 2506
Fax:(+264-61) 231 626

Ref: 8/2/4/5
Enquiries: Ms. Ripuree Tjitendero
Tel: 061 – 2882561

19 May 2020

Mr. Immanuel Kooper
Chief Information Officer: National Council
Parliament Building
Windhoek

Dear Mr. Kooper

ACADEMIC RESEARCH WITH THE PARLIAMENT OF NAMIBIA – NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

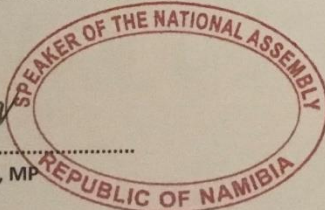The above-mentioned subject bears reference.

Thank you for your letter on the subject seeking permission to undertake academic research on *"Language as a barrier to public participation in the law-making processes: an analysis of the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings during the 2017 and 2018 Parliamentary sessions",* which may require access to parliamentary resources and interviews with Parliamentarians and staff.

I whole-heartedly welcome this academic undertaking especially because it is in line with the National Assembly's vission to be inclusive and accessible to all Namibians and with our initiative of shifting towards an e-Parliament.

Kindly liaise with the Office of the Chief Whip in the National Assembly that could assist you with accessing different Parliamentarians for your research work. I also hope the output of your research could contribute towards strengthening the work of the Parliament of Namibia.

Kind regards,

....
HON. PROF. PETER H. KATJAVIVI, MP
SPEAKER: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

INTERNAL MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr Tousy Namiseb
             Secretary: National Council

FROM: Mr Immanuel Kooper
             CIO: Research and Information Services

DATE: 18 March 2020

SUBJECT: REQUEST TO DO ACADEMIC RESEARCH WITH THE PARLIAMENT OF NAMIBIA (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY & NATIONAL COUNCIL)

I Immanuel Kooper, with this memo seeks your permission to conduct academic research on the topic; *"Language as a barrier to public participation in the law-making processes: an analysis of the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings during the 2017 and 2018 Parliamentary sessions"*

I am a student (no. 2005123) with the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST) for the Master of Journalism and Media Technology degree, hence are to commence with my research study on the abovementioned topic. Upon presenting your letter of approval, the Higher Degree's Committee of NUST will issue an "Ethical Clearance Certificate" with which I am permitted to continue with the research study.

The research study may require access to various parliamentary resources such as the Hansards and interviews with Members of Parliament to investigate whether language could be a barrier to public's participation in the law-making process as well as to explore the significance of live broadcasts of parliamentary proceedings by the National Broadcaster (NBC).

Thanks in anticipation.
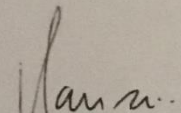
Kind regards,

Immanuel Kooper

nbc
Namibian Broadcasting Corporation

13 May 2020

To whom it may concern

Confirmation of authorization for Mr. Immanuel Kooper to do his research at the NBC in fulfilment of his Masters' Degree in Journalism and Media Technology.

This letter confirms that the NBC has granted permission for Mr. Immanuel Kooper, Chief Information Officer at National Council currently doing a Master's Degree in Journalism and Media Technology at the University to do his research on the production of Parliamentary proceedings and live broadcast thereof. This permission is however granted on condition that Mr. Kooper provides a copy of his thesis to NBC.

Kindly contact myself, Mr. Vezenga Kauraisa, Chief Human Capital Officer, vkauraisa@nbc.na or 0811415472.

Mr. Vezenga Kauraisa
Chief HR Officer

It's Ours

PO Box 321 • Windhoek - Namibia • Tel +264 61 291 3111 • Website: www.nbc.na

| Directors | Stanley B Simīlo | Sven Thieme | Wilhencia Uiras | Inonge Mainga | Moses Matyayi | Andrew Kanime |
| | Director General | Chairperson | Deputy Chairperson | Director | Director | Director |

C: Interview guides

The following are the interview questions done face to face with Members of Parliament, ordinary Namibian citizens and the Manger for Programmes at the National Broadcaster (NBC).

a) Interview Questions for Lawmakers (Members of Parliament)

My name is Immanuel Kooper, a Master of Journalism & Media Technology student at the Namibia University of Science Technology (NUST). I am conducting a study titled: "An analysis of the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings during the 2017 and 2018 Parliamentary sessions". This research project is undertaken in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Journalism and Media Technology and the information gathered through your assistance will be solely used for academic purposes. You have been selected to voluntary participate in this study and therefore requested to participate in this interview. You are further requested to sign a consent form, as proof that you understand the purpose of this study and voluntarily agree to take part. **Please introduce yourself. Name/title/occupation.**

- According to your knowledge is there perhaps any constitutional provision for live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings on the National Broadcaster (NBC) or on any other media platform?

- Do you believe that the media, specifically the NBC, plays a significant role in facilitating citizen participation in *the* law-making and processes of Parliament?

- Do you think the use of the official language (English) in Parliamentary proceedings has either a positive or negative impact on the public's engagement in the law-making processes? Kindly explain your view.

- What impact, if any, does the live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings in the official language by the NBC have, on the participation of ordinary citizens in the law-making and government processes?

- Don't you think parliament (or government/state) should consider making provision for the NBC to broadcast parliamentary proceedings and law-making processes in various vernacular languages to reach the majority of the population?

- Using of Mass media such as radio and television to broadcast parliamentary proceedings versus the use of the evolving new media such as smart phone technology. Should it be an option to use alternative media for lawmaking to try and reach more citizens as possible?

- In your view what do you think is the ideal medium for live broadcast of parliamentary proceedings and law-making processes?

- During the 2017/18 sessions apart from many parliamentary processes covered and reports tabled through live broadcasts on NBC, the following Bills and many others were for example also considered and passed into Law;

  Customs and Excise Amendment Bill [B. 17 – 2016]; Namibia Industrial Development Agency Bill [B. 16 – 2016]; Nature Conservation Amendment Bill [B. 22 – 2016]; Traditional Knowledge Bill [B. 2 – 2016]; Urban and Regional Planning Bill [B. 13 – 2017]; Combating of Trafficking in Persons Bill [B. 14 – 2017] etc.

  Do you think the deliberations on these Bills through the live broadcasts on national television have reached the masses and whether they (communities) have acquainted themselves with these laws?

- For public participation to be meaningful, it must be adequate and reach a certain threshold of a cross-section of the population. What in your view would be adequate public participation in the lawmaking process?

- Anything you would like to share with me?

b) Interview Questions for the ordinary Namibian citizens

My name is Immanuel Kooper, a Master of Journalism & Media Technology student at the Namibia University of Science Technology (NUST). I am conducting a study titled: "An analysis of the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings during the 2017 and 2018 Parliamentary sessions". This research project is undertaken in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Journalism and Media Technology and the information gathered through your assistance will be solely used for academic purposes. You have been selected to voluntary participate in this study and therefore requested to participate in this interview. You are further requested to sign a consent form, as proof that you understand the purpose of this study and voluntarily agree to take part.

- Please introduce yourself.

- Are you conversant with the official language English?

- What do you know about parliament and the law-making process?

- How does one participate in the law-making process?

- Do you think it is important to participate in the law-making process?

- I assume, you have a television set.
  What programmes do you enjoy watching on television and does the NBC offer the prgrammes you would prefer to watch?

- Have you ever followed parliamentary proceedings on the national broadcaster NBC? Which ones?

- Do you think it's important for live parliamentary broadcast on NBC?

- Do you think the media plays or will play an important role in influencing public engagement and participation of citizens in lawmaking?

- Are the live broadcast on TV (or any media) enriching to your knowledge?

- On what other platform have you followed or prefer to follow parliamentary proceedings?

- Would you like parliamentary proceedings be broadcasted in your own vernacular language(s) and why?

- During the 2017/18 sessions apart from many parliamentary processes covered and reports tabled through live broadcasts on NBC, for example the following Bills and many others were also considered and passed into Law;
  Customs and Excise Amendment Bill [B. 17 – 2016]; Namibia Industrial Development Agency Bill [B. 16 – 2016]; Nature Conservation Amendment Bill [B. 22 – 2016];

Traditional Knowledge Bill [B. 2 – 2016]; Urban and Regional Planning Bill [B. 13 – 2017]; Combating of Trafficking in Persons Bill [B. 14 – 2017] etc.

Do you think the deliberations on these Bills through the live broadcasts on national television, have reached the masses and have you and your fellow community members acquaint yourselves with these laws?

- Anything you would like to share with me?

c) Interview Questions for Manager of Programmes at the National Broadcaster (NBC)

My name is Immanuel Kooper, a Master of Journalism & Media Technology student at the Namibia University of Science Technology (NUST). I am conducting a study titled: "An analysis of the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's live broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings during the 2017 and 2018 Parliamentary sessions". This research project is undertaken in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Journalism and Media Technology and the information gathered through your assistance will be solely used for academic purposes. You have been selected to voluntary participate in this study and therefore requested to participate in this interview. You are further requested to sign a consent form, as proof that you understand the purpose of this study and voluntarily agree to take part.

Please introduce yourself. Name/title/occupation.

- When did the live broadcast of parliamentary proceedings start?
- Where does the national broadcaster derives its mandate to broadcast parliamentary proceedings from?
- Is there any constitutional provision that guides or mandates the live broadcasts of parliamentary proceedings?
- What role does the media play in influencing public engagement and participation of citizens in lawmaking?
- What other communication platforms does the NBC use for effective participation of the public in lawmaking processes?
- Admittedly, the NBC has the mandate in terms of its moto to inform, educate and entertain citizens of the country and also encourages the use and acceptance of the English language. In view of that, how does the use of the official language (English) in Parliamentary proceedings affect the public's engagement in lawmaking processes?
- What impact does live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings in the official language by the NBC have, on the participation of ordinary citizens in the lawmaking and government processes?
- "The official language becomes a barrier when it comes to the broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings as well as other government programmes and activities to citizens especially those who are not proficient with the English language". Do you agree with this assertion? Please elaborate.
- Does the NBC broadcast parliamentary proceedings in other vernacular languages?

- During the 2017/18 sessions apart from many parliamentary processes covered and reports tabled through live broadcasts on NBC, the following Bills and many others were for example also considered and passed into Law;

  Customs and Excise Amendment Bill [B. 17 – 2016]; Namibia Industrial Development Agency Bill [B. 16 – 2016]; Nature Conservation Amendment Bill [B. 22 – 2016]; Traditional Knowledge Bill [B. 2 – 2016]; Urban and Regional Planning Bill [B. 13 – 2017]; Combating of Trafficking in Persons Bill [B. 14 – 2017] etc.

  Do you think the deliberations on these Bills through the live broadcasts on national television, have reached the masses and whether they (communities) have acquainted themselves with these laws? If not, what measures did you put in place to ensure adequate access by the masses?

- For public participation to be meaningful, it must be adequate and reach a certain threshold of a cross-section of the population. What in your view would be adequate public participation in the lawmaking process?

- Anything you would like to add to our conversation?